















# HISTORY OF SICILY

*E. A. FREEMAN*

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THE  
HISTORY OF SICILY

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES

BY

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OF ATHENIAN INTERVENTION

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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.



p. 4, l. 8, for "with" read "in"

p. 7, l. 4, after "and" insert "for us"

p. 14, note 2, for "grown" read "shrank up"

p. 17, side-note, for "southern" read "eastern"

p. 27, l. 2 from bottom, for "Motica" read "Motyca"

p. 35, note. See Additions and Corrections to vol. i.

p. 41, l. 15, for "house" read "church"

p. 43, note 2, for "appear" read "appears"

p. 46, l. 3, for "homeward" read "honoured"

p. 66, l. 5 from bottom. I am not sure that I have, either here or at p. 80, brought out so clearly as I ought that at Akragas there was an akropolis within an akropolis. The original city, the present Girgenti, became the akropolis of the enlarged city. But there is a distinct akropolis within this, namely the height once occupied by the temple of Zeus Atabyrios, and now by the church of Saint Gerlandus. This must have been the akropolis of the original city and it was doubtless its wall which Phalaris had to build.

p. 73, l. 2 from bottom. I ought to have mentioned the strange story preserved by Athénaios (xiii. 78), according to which Apollôn (as in the case of Croesus in Herodotus, i. 91) procured for Phalaris an extension of life (perhaps for two years) on account of his mercy to Chariton and Melanippos; *ἔδωκε δ' Ἀπόλλων ἡσθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναβελὴν τοῦ θανάτου τῷ Φαλάργει ἔχαμνατο*. So Soidas in *δραβολή* (see also both him and Hésychios in *Φάλαργι*); *Ἀλιανός*: *Λετίαι δὲ καὶ Ζεὺς πατὴρ ἀναβολὴν θανάτου ἐγγράσαντο Φαλάργει ἰτη δύο ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἡμέρας Χαρίτων καὶ Μελανίππου προσηρέχθη*. I do not understand this last, and there seems to be nothing like it in *Ælian* as we have him, though both he and Athénaios quote the Pythian oracle in praise of the pair.

p. 80, note, for "Oitta" read "Oitth"

p. 101, l. 4 from bottom, for "Milytids" read "Mylétids"

p. 104, side-note, *dele* "B.O. 55"

p. 120, l. 12, for "south-west" read "south-east"

p. 122, l. 6 from bottom. Or did the priesthood anyhow pass to the second son? Of the four sons of Deinomenés the eldest is called from the city, the second from the ancestral rites, *lépaw* from *λερά* (see p. 233). In the names of the other two brothers there is nothing remarkable.

p. 127, l. 2 from bottom, *dele* "all"

p. 144, l. 11. So I understand the scholast at the beginning of the second Olympic ode, as it stands in Boeckh, ii. 58, *καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ ὅθ' ἔγραψεν τὴν Πολυζήλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἰέρωνος ἔγγραμμα θυγατέρα, καθά φησι Τίμαιος*. He mentions that some manuscripts give her a name *Πολυζένη*, which seems made out of the name of her father. But in the new edition of the Scholia by Abel (Berlin,

1891), i. 106. the reading is quite different; καὶ αὐτὸν δ' ὄψαν τὴν Πολυζήλου ἀδελφὴν καὶ Ἰέρωνος ἑγγυε, καὶ φησι Τιμαίης. This is another story but Abel quotes manuscripts as reading δ' ὄψαν τὴν Πολυζήλου ἀδελφὴν καὶ Ἰέρωνος ἑγγυε θυγατέρα, out of which it is hard to make anything. I believe all these divergences are matter of pleasant amusement to editors; but they are serious for those who wish to get at the facts, even on small points.

p. 150, l. 9. His real name was "Mamercus," not "Mamertinus": see p. 507. I should never have thought of looking in Proklos, if Mr. Bury had not sent me to him.

p. 152, l. 18. Refer to Pausanias, iii. 19. 11 and in note 2 for "351" read "551"

p. 156, note 4, for *σοῦτω* read *σοῦτο*

p. 157, l. 4 from bottom. "Eleia" is hardly a proper Greek form. The true name on the coins is TEAN, most likely for FEAN, as in the Latin forms.

p. 174, l. 10, for "seems" read "seem"

p. 184, l. 2 from bottom, for "father-in-law" read "son-in-law"

p. 202, l. 8, after "Imperator" add "and *Pater Patriæ*." Compare the last cases of King Henry of Saxony and his son Otto the Great, not yet crowned Emperor, Widukind, i. 39, iii. 49. Henry is also "rerum dominus."

p. 211, l. 6. There is a little difficulty in reconciling this account of the Greek temples at Carthage with what Diodōros says later (xiv. 77) about the introduction of the worship of the goddesses at Carthage in B.C. 396. It is there spoken of as something quite new at that time. The foreign rites may have been disused and forgotten between the two times.

p. 231, note 2. Is it possible that the confusion is not between Gelōn and Thérōn, but between Gelōn and Gellias? See below, p. 393. Gellias had a *καλυβήτρα*; but it was for holding wine.

p. 242, note 3, for "Flack" read "Flach"

p. 246, l. 2 from bottom. This action of Themistoklēs is taken for granted by H. Nissen, *Der Ausbruch des peloponnesischen Krieges* in Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1889, p. 392.

p. 249, l. 5, ~~delete~~ comma after "first"

p. 260, side-note, before "story of Skopos" insert "his epinikian ode"

p. 274, note 4, for "where" read "while"

p. 278, side-note, spoken of in p. 420.

p. 283, note 4. I meant a Sikeli element really drawn from Sikeli traditions, not such a Sikeli element in Greek comedy as that spoken of in p. 420.

p. 284, l. 6 from bottom. Some certainly, if I am right in the guess which I ventured in p. 418; but nothing like so much as we get from Aristophanes.

p. 322, note 2, for *κατασκευάζονται* read *κατασκευάζονται*.

p. 349. On the senate of a thousand, see Appendix IX, XXVIII, pp. 490, 561.

p. 352, l. 8, for "there is no choice" read "the only choice is"

p. 391, note. We get the same saying, with a change of place and person, in Plutarch, *de Cupid. Divit.*, τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ῥώμιους δ' ἑταρότατοις ἐπέκαψεν εἰς πολυτέλειαν, οἰκοδομῆν μὲν ὡς ἀσπάρτοις λέγων, σφραγίσιν δὲ ὡς ἀλιγοχρητοῦς.

p. 399, note 1. The fame of the Sicilian wine was of old standing. Athen.

xii 57. Κλέτος δ' Ἀριστοτελίδης ἐν τοῖς περὶ Μιλῆτων Πολυπράγῃ φησὶ τὸν

Σαμίαν τύραννον ὑπὸ τρυφῇ τὰ πανταχόθεν συνάγειν, κίνας μὲν ἐξ Ἡλείου, αἶγας δὲ ἐκ Σαύρου, ἐκ δὲ Μιλήτου πρόβατα, ὅς δ' ἐκ Σικελίας.

p. 410, l. 6. These I saw for the first time this year (1890). There is a short account of them by Professor Salinas in the *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* (*Notizie degli Scavi*), 1888, p. 601. But there is no ground-plan showing their position on the hill; so I am unhappily unable to show them in my own plan of Selinous.

p. 417, l. 15. There is another place in Euripides that I ought to have referred to, namely *Phoenissae*, 202, where the chorus of Phoenician maidens are made to say;

Τύριον οἶμα λιποῦσ' ἔσαν  
ἀκροθίνια Λοξία  
Φοινίσσαι ἀπὸ νόσου

Ἰόνιον ἀπὸ νότον ἔλα-  
τῃ πλεῖστα περριπτον  
ὑπὲρ ἀκαρπίστον πεδίων  
Σικελίας Ζεφύρου πνοαῖς  
ἐκπεσάντες.

I am told, while in the act of correcting these corrections, that the very last thing guessed at is that the chorus came, not from Old Phoenicia but from Sicily, Φοινίσσαι ἀπὸ νόσου. I should find it rather hard to believe that *Τύριον οἶμα* can mean anything in Sicily, or that anybody would call Sicily a Phoenician island. Least of all would Euripides or anybody in his time, when the Phoenician side of Sicily was certainly not that which was prominent in Athenian thoughts. But the mention of Sicily, dragged in in this wonderful way, is one of the many signs how great a place our island just then held in the Athenian mind. Some remarkable things will be found in the scholia and in Paley's commentary on the text. The oddest perhaps is that *Σικελία* does not mean Sicily *Σικελίαν δὲ εἶνα, μικρὰν νῆσον μεταξὺ Καλαίδος καὶ Αὔλιδος; ταύτην δὲ ἀκαρπτον εἰρήσθα, παραβαλλομένην τῇ μεγάλῃ νήσῳ καὶ πολυκάρπῳ Σικελίᾳ* (cf. the *Σικελία λόφος* in vol. i. p. 487 and Stephen of Byzantium also says; *ἵστι καὶ ἄλλη Σικελία κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον*). We read also; *ἀκαρπίστα δὲ πεδία οἱ μὲν τὰ πολυκάρπια, οἱ δὲ τὰ θαλάσσια πεδία, ὃ ἵστι τὰ ἀκαρπια, ὡς πον καὶ ἀτρίγιντος λέγεται*. So Paley quotes more modern commentators as taking the *ἀκαρπίστα πεδία* to mean the sea around Sicily, *περριπτον* (see vol. i. p. 457) being, one must suppose, taken as active. Looking at the artificial way in which the tragedians write and their fondness for bringing in dark allusions to their own times, I should venture to paraphrase *περριπτον ἀκαρπίστα πεδία* something in this way; "The plains of the island of Sicily, now, in the days of Eteoklés and Polyneikés, not cultivated, but which, by the time Euripides can bring the story on the Athenian stage, will have become very fruitful indeed." It is just the same notion as the passage in the *Kyklops* quoted in p. 418.

The notable point after all is that Zephyros or any other wind should have blown Sicily into a place in a story where it was not the least wanted. Alkibiadés could have told the reason.

p. 421, l. 5 from bottom. See Additions and Corrections to vol. i. p. 535.

p. 425, l. 9 from bottom. H. Nissen, in the article already quoted (p. 393).

points out the chronological confusion of Diodorus, who places these preparations in 439, according to his reckoning of archons, and in 446, according to his reckoning of consuls. I took the former date, because the archons are more likely to be right than the consuls, and because all this is not likely to have happened before the death of Dacotus. But when I come to my third volume, I shall have to consider whether Nissen may not be right in suggesting a still later date. Diodorus is careless in these matters; still it is hard to sneer at him as "der Schwachkopf," and to say that he shuffles his dates like a pack of cards. But for the despised "Schwachkopf," Nissen would never have heard of "der Aufstand der Schüler," of which he speaks in the same page.

p. 422, l. 3 from bottom, for "must, like Thucydides, have" read "had, like Thucydides"

p. 431, l. 3 from bottom. It does just come into one's head whether Alcin or the writer whom he copied might by *ἐγχεσας βασιλευς* have meant a Cretan king. This view of our Pollis would save some trouble, but it would hardly fit in with the other descriptions which seem certainly to imply a Syracusan.

p. 445, l. 14. The reckoning of Platarch leaves out Epipolæ, or so much of it as was not Tyche or Tomenitis, as part of the city. And indeed when we come to the story of Marcellus, we shall see that it was hardly looked on as such. Dionysius had fenced it in for military reasons, but it was not thickly inhabited like Ortygia and Lower Achradina.

p. 466, l. 15 from bottom. This article of Soudas, like many others, is copied from Hæschius of Miletus. The remarks therefore about the forged letters at the bottom of p. 469 belong to Hæschius and not to Soudas. Now as nobody seems to place Hæschius much later than the reign of Justinian, while some, as Soudas himself (in *ἱερέας*), place him as early as that of Amantius, this is important for the date of the forgery.

p. 476, l. 3 from bottom, for "Elaa" read "Hysia." See on p. 167.

p. 478, l. 15. I do not think that the value of this distinctly historical statement put into the mouth of Gelon is at all affected by the estimate which we may form of the story of the sun, many generally. It is clearly meant to be a narrative of facts, quite unlike the flourishes about Agamemnon and Menestheus.

p. 478, l. 13 from bottom, for "argument" read "an argument"

p. 494, l. 19. The combined citizenship of Syracuse and Aetna is the more to be noticed when we see how completely their native Gela had passed away from both Hieron and Chromios as conceived by their poet.

p. 546, l. 7, for "Mainadron" read "Mainandrios"

p. 549, l. 16 from bottom, after "given" read "Erastes"

p. 551, l. 15 from bottom, after "war" insert "of"

p. 552, l. 9 from bottom. The words are *τὰ δὲ χρυσία ἑξήκοντα (ἢ ἑβδομήκοντα) [τ]αλάντων*. Can this mean gold to the amount of sixty talents of silver?

p. 562, l. 15. The story about jumping into the crater and about the shoe is also told by Hæschius of Miletus, and is copied from him by Soudas, *ἀντὶ δὲ γρηγορεῖν ἐγχεσας, νέκυντα ἑρπιδος ἑαυτοῦ εἰς σπυγῆρα σπηλεῖ, ὅθεν πρὸ φασγάνου ἀντὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ οὐκ ἐκείνου, καὶ σαρδάλιον ἀντὶ τοῦ λαβρυνθέντος ἐκ τοῦ σπηλεῖ.*

## CHAPTER V.

### THE FIRST AGE OF THE SICILIAN GREEKS.

B.C. 735-480<sup>1</sup>.

THE early days of the Greek colonies in Sicily were a time of remarkable prosperity. This prosperity they shared with the Greek settlements in other parts, both with their own neighbours in Italy and with the more distant settlements in Asia. We are so apt to concentrate our whole attention on two or three centuries of Greek history to the neglect of those before and after them, and in those chosen centuries the cities of old Greece are so conspicuously the centre of the story, that we find it a little hard to call up the time when it was otherwise. Yet beyond doubt there was a time when Milētos in Asia and Sybaris in Italy stood in some points before any city of Peloponnēsos or Northern Greece. They could not

Early prosperity of the Greek colonies.

They outstrip the cities of old Greece.

<sup>1</sup> We are still without any continuous narrative, good or bad, contemporary or otherwise. The books of Diodōros which dealt with these times are lost along with the earlier authorities on which they were founded. We have therefore still to patch up everything from fragments and casual notices. But towards the end of our period we begin to get casual notices of much higher value than before. For the expedition of Dōrieus and for the rise of the Deinomenid dynasty at Syracuse we have narratives in the fifth and seventh books of Herodotus, which, if not strictly continuous and not strictly contemporary, come much nearer to those characters than anything that we have had hitherto (see vol. i. p. 455). Herodotus, born during the life-time of Hieron, might easily have talked to men who remembered the rise of Hippokratēs. Earlier too than Herodotus, we have the many references to Sicilian matters in the odes of Pindar, and also the comments of his scholiasts, whatever value we set upon them. See vol. i. p. 458.

CHAP. V. rival Athens or Argos in traditional and religious honour, but they surpassed them in the more tangible results of wide commerce and wide dominion. Nor is there any reason to think that, in the great days of Milêtos and Sybaris, any city of Greek Sicily stood quite on their level. The highest greatness of Syracuse and Akragas belongs to a time when the greatness of Milêtos had passed away and when Sybaris had ceased to be. The Greek cities of Sicily were undoubtedly prosperous in the sixth century before Christ; but they were far more prosperous in the fifth. And with the greatest of Sikeliot cities, the time, not of freedom, not of the truest prosperity, but of the highest position in Hellas and the world, comes later still. It was in the fourth century that Syracuse outshone all other European cities. And that was a time when none of the other Sikeliot and Italiot cities held the same relative position in the world which they had once held. Syracuse rose in truth very largely by the misfortunes of her neighbours.

The Sikeliot cities in the sixth century B. C.

Advantages of the colonial position.

Power of expansion.

Many causes combined to bring about this remarkable early prosperity of the Greek colonial cities, and of the Sikeliot cities among them. One chief cause doubtless was the fact that they were colonial cities. A colony of the Greek fashion is likely to owe its origin to a burst of energy which, if the site and other circumstances of the new settlement are favourable, is likely to carry it, for a while at least, to a greater height of prosperity than its own metropolis or than any other of the elder cities. A city of old Greece was in its own nature straitened by its position. It could not enlarge its borders or extend its dominion, except at the cost of other Greek cities. The colony had a new world opened to it. Planted almost of necessity in its first days as an outpost of Hellenic life, it could expand itself almost at pleasure, whether for purposes of trade or dominion, among either barbarian friends or barbarian



subjects. The gradual planting of other colonies might bring it to the condition of the cities of old Greece by hemming it in with Greek neighbours. But, in the West at least, this process was never thoroughly carried out. Any Greek city of Sicily or Italy kept a wider field for growth than belonged to any of the elder cities. Even along the coast the cities were not so thick together, and the Greek settlement was seldom altogether hemmed in by other Greek settlements. Its inland neighbours were sure to be barbarians. In Sicily at least these barbarian neighbours were neither savages doomed to die out before the face of civilization nor yet powerful neighbours who threatened the existence or the independence of the Greek settlements. The Sikels, with whom the Greek settlers had most to deal, were just in that state which made them useful subjects. The Phœnicians of the island, withdrawing before the Greeks to their own western settlements, in no way threatened the Greeks, and they seem to have had but small dealings with them. The Sikeliot cities, planted in an island continent, combined to a great extent the advantages of land and of sea powers. The coast, with its havens, opened to them a wide trade, largely with newly opened regions. And, unlike those seafaring cities which were planted on some rocky and barren island, they could each occupy a territory greater than commonly fell to the lot of a Greek city, a territory renowned for its fruitfulness and abounding in good things of every kind. Everything combined to raise the Sikeliot cities, like the Greek colonial cities generally, to a high pitch of prosperity at an early stage of their life as commonwealths.

Relation to  
barbarian  
neigh-  
bours.

Advantages of  
the Sikeliot cities.

Freedom  
and prosperity  
more lasting  
in the mother-  
land.

But if for a while the cities of colonial Hellas outstripped those of the motherland, it was only for a while. Neither their political freedom nor their material prosperity was so lasting. The kindest soil for Greek life was after all

CHAP. V. to be found in Greece itself. Down to the latest times, however fallen from its old greatness Greece may have been, it has still remained Greek. No foreign conquest, no foreign settlement, has, in Greece itself, ever rooted out the Greek tongue and Greek national memories. But the colonies of Greece have ceased to be Greek for ages. The change is more instructive in the Western colonies with which we have to deal than with those of the East. In these last Greek life has to a great extent been simply rooted out. So it has been largely in Asia Minor; but where Greek life has not been so rooted out, it remains. Much has become Turkish, but what has not become Turkish remains Greek. In the West, on the other hand, in Sicily most conspicuously, Greek life has never been rooted out by barbarians. It lived through Phœnician and Saracen invasions; it has simply given way to influences of other kinds, but to influences which are European and not barbarian. Sicily finally ceased to be a Greek land through influences from the neighbouring mainland. Its Greek element, after widening and falling back for so many ages, after holding up against so many barbarian enemies, at last gave way step by step to the subtle influence of the Lombard followers of the Norman princes.

Greece remains Greek.

Dying out of Greek life in East and West.

Sicily ceases to be Greek.

Barbarian neighbours; in Sicily; in Asia; elsewhere in Europe.

The Sikeliot colonies for some centuries after their foundation enjoyed one special advantage in being altogether free from dangerous neighbours<sup>1</sup>. In this they differed from nearly all the Greek colonies elsewhere. The settlements in Asia were exposed to the attacks of the great Asiatic powers. They were subdued by the Lydian and the Persian, as they were subdued in after days by the Saracen and the Turk. The settlements north of the Euxine had to keep up a constant struggle against barbarian enemies who threatened, as the Lydian and the

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 17

Persian did not, the utter destruction of Hellenic life. In CHAP. V.  
 Gaul, on the other hand, the Greek colonies were planted  
 among barbarians who, instead of threatening the destruc-  
 tion of Hellenic life, largely looked up to the Greeks as  
 their teachers. Massalia has a life of more unbroken Massalia.  
 prosperity than any other city of Greek foundation; but  
 it has for ages ceased to be Greek, not by the rooting  
 up of Hellenic life, but by influences of the same kind  
 as those to which Hellenic life gave way in Sicily. But  
 the most instructive comparison in this matter lies be- Compari-  
 tween Sicily and Italy. After the Phœnician settlers son of  
 in Sicily withdrew before the Greeks, the Greeks had Sicily and  
 practically to deal only with the native races, Sikels and Italy.  
 Sikans. Neither of these were dangerous. The Greek  
 settlement came at a time when the developement of  
 Sikel nationality had hardly begun. The people who  
 might otherwise have grown into the fellows of Samnites,  
 Latins, or even Romans, were thus checked in their native  
 growth and stood ready for Greek assimilation. No bar-  
 barbarian neighbour threatened the Sikeliot cities till the  
 Phœnician settlements in the island, hitherto harmless,  
 passed under the dominion of the great and enterprising  
 Carthage. In Italy, on the other hand, the beginnings  
 were much the same as in Sicily. The Italiot cities were  
 planted among people in much the same case as the natives  
 of Sicily, some of them of the same Sikel race. Assimila- Assimila-  
 tion on a great scale began earlier in Italy than it did in tion in  
 Sicily. The shape of the country allowed it. More than Italy.  
 one Greek city of Italy was able to spread its dominion  
 from sea to sea, which no city of Sicily could do in the  
 same sense. And with the dominion, say of Sybaris,  
 its influence, its speech, its general culture, spread faster  
 over the narrow peninsula which was concerned, than it  
 ever could over the solid mainland of Sicily. It was Greek Ἡ μεγάλη  
 Italy, not Greek Sicily, which so early won for a season Ἑλλάς.

- CHAP. V the name of the Greater Greece<sup>1</sup>. In that name Sicily had no share; neither in Sicily nor elsewhere could Greece in the same way spread herself from the one sea to the other. But this was only for a season; the name of the Greater Greece is everywhere spoken of as a name which has passed away. It passed away because there was in Italy, what there was not in Sicily, a background of nations of the same stock as those which came so easily under Greek dominion and Greek culture, but which were not to be won over in the same way. While Sikels and Messapians were becoming hellenized, Samnites and Lucanians were growing up with a strictly Italian growth. Of these the Lucanians were to become the most deadly enemies of the Greek name in Italy, enemies who cut Hellas short in Italy in a way which in Sicily no native race ever tried to do, and which even Carthage herself never did so thoroughly.
- Disuse of the name. It thus came about that for a short season the Italian cities were yet more prosperous than the Sikeliot, but that they had more dangerous neighbours before whom their prosperity began to give way earlier. In Sicily the general prosperity of the island reaches to the second Carthaginian invasion at the end of the fifth century before Christ.
- Prosperity of Sicily. B. C. 714-409. The invasion at the beginning of that century did not do any serious damage to the well-being of Sicily. It was beaten back, and the land had a respite from Carthaginian attack for full seventy years. Still the first attack marks an epoch; it was the beginning and the earnest of what was to come. It falls in also in point of time with important revolutions in the political state of several of the
- Advance of the Italians.
- First Carthaginian invasion. B. C. 480.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 17, 20. The only place I know where the name *Magna Græcia*, or anything equivalent to it, is so used as to take in Sicily is in Strabo, vi. i. 1, where he says of the Greeks of Italy that *ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἤβησαν ὥστε τὴν μεγάλην Ἑλλάδα ταύτην ἔλεγον καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν*. Everywhere else the name seems to be confined to Italy. But there is something odd when Himerius (Or. xi. § 1), in a panegyric on the Ionians, says *ἐλευσεν δὲ Ἴόνιον, τὴν Σικελίαν αἰκίζοντες καὶ τοὺς Ἰταλῶν δόμοντες Ἑλλάδα κληθήναι τῇ Πυθαγόρου γλῶσσει κατὰδεσαν*.

Sikelot cities. The seventy years between the two invasions is a time which has quite another character from the earlier time. It has another character in itself, and it has another character through our far greater knowledge of it. And again, the first Carthaginian invasion of Sicily, though to Sicily itself of much less importance than the second, holds a higher place in the history of the world. It has its place in a great drama to which belong some of the most famous events that the pen of man has ever recorded, the events which formed the most brilliant period of old Greece and which enabled the motherland to outshine her children. The enterprise of the first Hamilkar has its place in the same tale as the enterprise of Xerxes. Both are alike part of that great barbarian advance, when the enemies from the East and from the West set forth, with a common purpose, to quench the light and the life of Hællas at both ends. Whether true or false as a statement of fact, there was the truest meaning in the far-spread belief that the great salvation of Salamis and the great salvation of Himera were wrought on the same day.

CHAP. V

Seventy  
years'  
respite.B.C. 480-  
409.Import-  
ance of  
the inva-  
sion of  
480.Its rela-  
tion to the  
Persian in-  
vasion of  
Greece.

Our first resting-place then will be the first Carthaginian invasion of Sicily, the war of Hamilkar and Gelôn. In purely Syracusan history it might be more natural to halt at the rise of the dynasty which Gelôn in that war raised to the highest pitch of glory. And the rise and fall of that dynasty are undoubtedly among the great landmarks of Sicilian history. But in Sicilian history, looked at in its relation to œcumenical history, looked at as a contribution to the history of that undying strife in which the day of Himera was one of the brightest days, the first great struggle with the Punic enemy is a greater landmark still. To do justice to its greatness we must be content to split asunder the history of the Deinomenid dynasty, in itself a compact story. We must carry on the first stage of our tale to the greatest exploit of Gelôn,

It marks  
the end of  
our first  
period.

## THE FIRST AGE OF THE SICILIAN GREEKS.

CHAP. V. the exploit which makes us almost unwilling to set his name in the roll-call of the tyrants.

### § 1. *The Affairs of Syracuse to the Beginning of the Deinomenid Dynasty. B.C. 734-495.*

Position of  
Syracuse.

The position of Syracuse in Sicily was, as we have once or twice noticed, a special one. We must indeed not be led astray by impressions drawn from later times. As we are often tempted to mistake the history of Athens for the history of Greece, so we are sometimes tempted to mistake the history of Syracuse for the history of Sicily. Syracuse was for so long a time the actual head of Sicily, before that time it had been so long incomparably the greatest city of Sicily, that it needs an effort to carry ourselves back to days when Syracuse was only one Sikeliot city among others. Yet from a very early time it stood first in some of the elements of greatness, and, scanty as are our notices of its political history, they are at least fuller than those that we have of other cities. We are led therefore to begin our sketch of this time at Syracuse rather than elsewhere.

Its early  
and its  
later im-  
portance.

Question  
of kings  
at Syra-  
cuse.

Pollis of  
Argos.

We are met at the threshold by a question which may seem strange in the case of any Sikeliot commonwealth. Did kings ever reign in Syracuse in days before she as yet had tyrants? Our temptation so to think is the existence of several stray notices of a certain Pollis, who is spoken of as King of Syracuse. Nothing indeed is recorded of his acts; the notice of him is of the most incidental kind. He is spoken of as having given his name to a kind of wine, and the singular circumstance is added that the King of Syracuse was a man of Argos<sup>1</sup>. But it may be argued that the very oddness of the description,

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I.

and the incidental way in which it comes in, look as if the story had some kind of foundation. And after all, the notion of an early Syracusan kingship may not be quite so absurd as it seems at first sight. We must remember how slowly the office and title of king died out in the Greek commonwealths. The kings of Sparta are known to all men, and as late as the Persian war Argos still had a king who could claim to rank alongside of them. Even in democratic Athens, as in republican Rome, the kingly title lived on. At Rome it clung to an officer whose duties were purely religious; at Athens it remained the style of one of the elective archons of the year. This seems to make it certain that the title must have been kept on, in some form or other, by the archons for life and for ten years who came before the yearly nine. In some of the colonies the primitive kingship undoubtedly went on till a much later time<sup>1</sup>. The kings of Ephesos in the days of Strabo were purely nominal; but Kyréné still had real kings in the fifth century before Christ; there were not a few Greek kings in Cyprus, and Evagoras, champion of Hellas, claimed to treat with the Persian himself as a king with a king. Even in Sicily itself, long after any time to which we can assign Pollis, Herodotus, who does not use words at random, applies the kingly title to a ruler of Zanklé. At Corinth too, though assuredly Archias did not sail for Sicily as a king, and though he did not leave any real king behind him at Corinth, yet the abolition of kingship in his city was then a very recent event, and the name may well have lingered there as anywhere<sup>2</sup>. Nor is it wholly impossible that the circumstances of a new settlement may even have led to the revival or establishment of kingship. The tendency of a colony is to equality among its original members; but in a young and struggling settlement the need may well be felt of a stronger

CHAP V.

Kingship  
in the  
Greek  
common-  
wealths;Ephesos  
and other  
colonies;Skythæ  
of Zanklé,

B.C. c. 747

Possible  
revival of  
kingship  
in the  
colonies.<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I.<sup>2</sup> See Appendix I.

CHAP. V. executive than was needed in a city of old Greece. We have a parallel in the early history of our own people. The English kingship in Britain. Jutish and Saxon leaders landed in Britain as *heretogas* and *ealdormen*; they took the kingly title—a title which always remained unknown on the Saxon mainland—for the first time on British ground. The same causes which before long made Sicily so fruitful in tyrants, which made the crop of them so much thicker in Sicily than it was in old Greece, may have led to the keeping on of the primitive kingship or to its revival while it had still not passed out of mind. The subject is not one on which we can pronounce with much certainty. If King Skythés of Zanklé and his acts rest on the authority of Herodotus, King Pollis of Syracuse is a far more shadowy being. We know him only through his wine; we cannot say what he did or when he lived. But, as it would be dangerous to assert, it might be yet more dangerous to deny, the existence either of the man or of his office.

Pollis king, not tyrant. Pollis, if he lived and reigned at all, must have been a king of the old type, and not a tyrant. And such a kingship would most likely lessen in authority in each generation, and at last sink, as in so many other cities, into a venerable name. Such a kingship would in no way hinder the course of political affairs which was sure to take place in a city so placed as Syracuse, and which, as distinct evidence shows, did take place at Syracuse. The first tendencies of a colony are democratic. The name *democracy* was as yet unknown in Greece, because the controversies out of which it arose had hardly begun. But a practical democracy is the natural state of things for a new settlement in its first stage. That is to say, each settler claims a voice in the general assembly of the settlement; he claims also a share—not necessarily an equal share—in the division of the land which the settlers take to themselves. This does not shut out a large measure of respect and

Demo-  
cratic ten-  
dencies of  
colonies.



preference for those who were of high birth—*eupatridai* CHAP. V.  
or *eorlas*—in the old home; but it would seem to shut  
out the danger of any exclusive privileges on their part  
to the wrong of their comrades in the voyage and the  
settlement.

But if a colony starts from a democratic beginning, Growth of  
nowhere is what we may call the *aristocracy of elder set- the aristo-  
tlement* so likely to grow up. The first settlers divide cracy of  
among themselves the land of which they take possession, elder set-  
save only so much as may be set aside as *folkland* for tlement.  
common purposes or as a sacred possession for the gods.  
For a while, as long as the settlement is weak and its New  
members few, they may welcome new-comers, to be en- settlers  
dowed by fresh conquests at the cost of barbarian welcome  
neighbours. As soon as the new settlement feels itself at first;  
strong, as soon as its numbers are large enough for the  
needs of an independent city, the citizens no longer wel-  
come partners in what they are beginning to look on as  
an exclusive possession. New settlers still come; to a  
city with a great haven, enriched with the commerce of  
the seas, they are sure to flock in large numbers. But the  
descendants of the elder settlers are no longer willing to afterwards  
admit such new-comers to any share in their hereditary not ad-  
rights. The strangers may, if they please, sit down and mitted to  
dwell; they may buy and sell and get gain; but they citizenship.  
must not look for a share in the lands of the city or  
for a vote in its assembly. The general law of Greek Nature of  
citizenship—one might say the general law of true citi- citizenship.  
zenship in all times and places—now comes in. This is  
the rule that citizenship can pass only either by descent  
from former citizens or by special grant of the citizen  
body. Mere residence goes for nothing; the children of  
the stranger, even if they dwell in the city to the ninth  
and tenth generation, still remain strangers, unless citizen-  
ship is granted to them by a special vote as the reward of

CHAP. V some special service. The descendants of the first settlers, a pure democracy, it may be, among themselves, become an exclusive body as regards the new-comers and their descendants. As an exclusive body, they follow the law of all exclusive bodies; they lessen in numbers. Families of the favoured order die out, while the class that is shut out, enlarged by further batches of new-comers, grows in numbers, wealth, and importance. Settled on the soil, perhaps for several generations, they begin to look on it as their land and the land of their fathers, and to deem themselves no less its true people than those whose settlement was a few generations earlier. Yet, with so many ties to the city, they are still strangers in it, not sharing in its soil and having no voice in its affairs. Whether, in this particular case of Syracuse, they had further to bear any active oppression we cannot say. The analogies of Rome and Athens suggest that it might be so; but we cannot argue in all things from inland cities like Rome and Athens to Syracuse with her haven. But in any case the new-comers and their descendants deemed themselves the People—the *Démos*, the *Plebs*—of the Syracusan city.

The older settlers become an exclusive body.

Growth of the *Démos* or *Plebs*.

The old citizens become an oligarchy.

The descendants of Archias and his followers stood forth in their eyes as an exclusive and oligarchic body. Men of that body alone still held the landed property of the commonwealth; they alone held private estates; they alone enjoyed the use of the public folkland. As old houses died out, we know not how their lands were disposed of; but assuredly in some way which profitted none but the members of the houses which still lived on. The old settlers then, democratic as they may have been at their starting, had, step by step, put on all the features of an aristocratic body, an exclusive class of landowners. Their position was marked by their name, which, whether formally taken or not, whether given at first in honour or in hatred, is expressive indeed. They were

the *Gamoroi*, the men who had meted out the land among them<sup>1</sup>. CHAP. V.

The unenfranchised multitude which had thus gathered around the older possessors of the soil were at least personally free. Whether all were of pure Greek blood may be doubted. If any Phœnician element had lingered on from præ-Hellenic days, the revolution would hardly affect them. They would live on, if they were there at all, in the character of strangers, of *Metoiikoi*, half favoured, half feared. The gap between them and the Greek was always so wide that we can hardly conceive any men of Phœnician race being present in Syracuse in any other character. We cannot conceive their making their way into either the higher or the lower rank of citizenship in any Greek city. There were other barbarians, European barbarians, who could do so with greater ease, as we find that they largely did in later times. But we may be sure that the excluded class at Syracuse was mainly Greek, and that, at this stage, if any who were not Greeks crept in unawares, they were at least not the Sikels of the Syracusan territory. These last had their place in the economy of the Syracusan commonwealth, but without being its members even in the lowest sense. Under the name of *Kylligrioi*, a name of uncertain origin, they dwelled in a position much like that of villainage on the lands of the Syracusan landowners. They are likened to the Helots of Laconia and to the Penests of Thessaly<sup>2</sup>. But the Helots were Greeks as much as their masters; the Penests were more truly so; a scrupulous genealogist might have called in question the right of the Thesprotian invaders of Thessaly to the Hellenic name. This relation of villainage was a common one in the Greek colonies. The natives of the soil tilled the lands which

Nature  
of the  
*Demos*.

Question  
of Phœ-  
nician  
*Metoiikoi*.

Position  
of the  
Sikels.

The *Kylligrioi*.

Villainage.

<sup>1</sup> On the *Tapéroi* see Appendix II.

<sup>2</sup> On the *Kυλλίγριοι* see Appendix II.

CHAP. V. had once belonged to their own people. They tilled them, perhaps not as the personal slaves of their intruding masters, but at any rate as owing them the service of men *adscripti glebæ*, bound to the soil by a servile tenure. They would most likely serve in war as light-armed troops, and in the later revolutions of Syracuse they might easily find their way within the ranks of citizenship. At present their condition is so low that they could, with perhaps some little exaggeration, be spoken of as the slaves of the *Gamoroi*. But the same evidence shows that they were slaves who were not unwilling to rise against their masters, and whom the poorer freemen were not unwilling to welcome as helpers<sup>1</sup>.

Action of  
the *Gamo-  
roi* as a  
court.

Their  
assembly.

Story of  
Agatho-  
klês and  
the temple  
of Athênâ.

Beyond the general relations of these classes to one another, we hear little of the political affairs of Syracuse during this period. In one remarkable story, deeply interesting on another ground, we see the *Gamoroi* in peaceful action. We get a glimpse of their assembly, an assembly like that of the *Curia* at Rome or the Great Council at Venice, in which every member of the privileged order had a place<sup>2</sup>. That is to say, at Syracuse, as at Rome, though not as at Venice, it was the assembly of the body that once was the whole people, but which, now that another people had arisen round it, passed for the assembly of an oligarchy. In our story the *Gamoroi* sit as a court to judge a charge of sacrilege. The temple of Athênâ, the temple whose columns still abide unbedded in the walls of the great church of Syracuse, was now in building. One Agathoklês, bearing a name afterwards so famous and terrible, had the care of the work, seemingly as contractor

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II.

<sup>2</sup> I believe I am old-fashioned about the Roman *curia*; but I still see in them, at any rate in the only times with which I am now concerned, an assembly of an order which, originally the whole people, has gradually grown into an exclusive body.

for its building<sup>1</sup>. This kind of undertaking was looked on in the Greek cities as important and honourable. It was sought after, not always as a mere source of gain, but at least equally as a course of influence. We shall see that in some cases an employment of this kind on great public works could even be turned into a path towards tyranny<sup>2</sup>. We know that a liberal discharge of the duties undertaken towards the gods or towards the commonwealth might raise a whole *gens* in the general estimation of Greece<sup>3</sup>, and might lead to political results of no small moment. But Agathoklēs seems not to have sought either power or honour, but ends of a purely private kind. Of the stones which were hewn for the service of Athēnē, he took the choicest to himself for the building of his own house. He paid the value; but the mere money payment did not satisfy the goddess; the stones designed for her service were hallowed, and should not have been turned aside to any private use. The divine wrath showed itself beyond dispute when Agathoklēs and the house which he had thus sacrilegiously built were burned up by a thunderbolt. The *Gamoroi* sat in judgement; the heirs of Agathoklēs pleaded that, as he had paid the value of the stones, he had not defrauded the goddess, and was not a wrong-doer. But the *Gamoroi* judged otherwise. They decided that the property of Agathoklēs should be confiscated to the commonwealth—why did it not go to Athēnē?—and that the site of his house should be consecrated by the name of the

CHAP. V.

Position  
of public  
contractors.

Agathoklēs emburies the stones.

Judgement  
of the  
*Gamoroi*.

<sup>1</sup> This story comes from a fragment of the eighth book of Diodōros. Agathoklēs is described as *εισπράτης αἰρεθείς τῆς περὶ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς εἰσοδομίας*. The constitutional bit is this: οἱ γεωμόροι ἐκρίναν τῇ οὐσίᾳ πᾶν τῶν δημοσίων εἶναι, καίπερ τῶν πληρονόμων δεικνύοντων μηδὲν εἰληφότων ἱερῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων. I do not see why Holm (G. S. 1. 148) takes *εὐληφόρων* to be the name of a magistracy, surely it simply means the heirs of Agathoklēs.

<sup>2</sup> As in the case of Phalaris in the next section.

<sup>3</sup> See the story of the rebuilding of the Delphian temple by the Alkmaionidai; Herod. v. 62.

CHAP. V. *Embrontion*, the Thunder-smitten, as a spot which might not be lawfully trodden by the foot of man.

Syracusan  
settle-  
ments.

Territorial  
ambition  
of Syra-  
cuse.

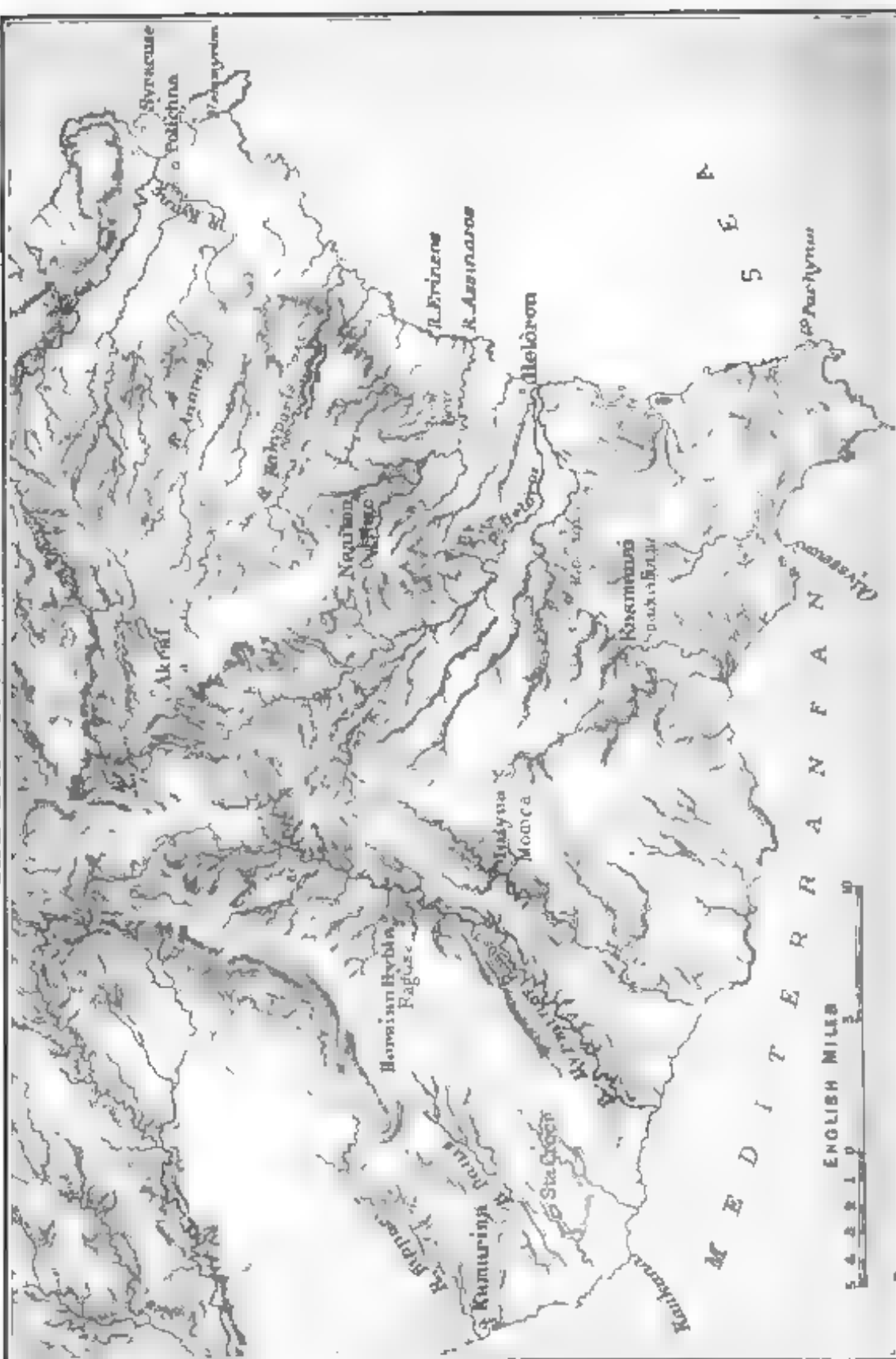
There is perhaps no other case in which we see this body, democratic on one side, oligarchic on the other, playing its ordinary part in ordinary times. Our other notices have to do with stirs and revolutions, or with the founding of settlements and outposts. The settlements founded by Syracuse, settlements not altogether deserving the name of colonies, form an important feature in its earliest history. They mark the peculiar character of the growth and the ambition of the city. The town itself does not grow, but its territory grows largely. We have seen that the geographical nature of Sicily allowed its cities to unite the character of land and sea powers in a way which could seldom be done either by the cities of old Greece or by the colonies in other parts of the Mediterranean. Syracuse, above all, aimed, early in our story, at becoming what, according to the scale of those days, was a great land-power with a large sea-board. Her home might be on an island in the sea, but her ambition was in no way confined to the eastern shore on which she was planted or to the shore of any part of the island. That Syracuse in after days, notwithstanding her unrivalled haven, was greater by land than by sea is clear from the language of her own statesman two hundred and fifty years later, when he contrasts his countrymen as landamen with the sea-faring folk of Athens<sup>1</sup>. Syracuse from the beginning ruled over a land rich in those gifts of D  m  ter which in after-days made Sicily the granary of Rome, a land which the laureate of the Olympic victors marked as no less rich in flocks and in the horses of whose swiftness he sang. And she had every call to extend that rich dominion. Planted on the eastern side of Sicily, she

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. vii. 21. See vol. i, p. 2.



# THE SYRACUSAN ADVANCE.

Scale 1:100,000





had still been planted near enough to its southern point to dream of a dominion on both seas. She might hope for a territory on the coast that looked towards Libya as well as on the coast that looked towards Hellas. Her march to a dominion of this kind was steady, if not speedy; it was evidently kept ever in view for several generations. In this constant carrying of a single plan through the lives of many successive men, the *Gamoroi* of Syracuse went far to forestall the abiding policy of the Roman Senate, that policy which seems as if it were the work of an undying personage Rome rather than of a shifting assembly of mortal Romans.

CHAP. V.

Her steady territorial advance.

Comparison with Rome.

Of the advance of Syracusan dominion from Ortygia and its immediate neighbourhood along the eastern coast down to the south-eastern corner we have no record.

Advance along the southern coast.

We shall presently come to the record of its advance by a landward path to the coast of the southern sea. But we can hardly believe that the power of Syracuse reached very far inland till after the whole coast from Plémmyrion to Pachynos had been occupied. If for no other reason, it was expedient to keep Syracuse from being hemmed in to the south by any fresh Greek settlers on the unoccupied coast. The advance of Syracuse in this direction seems marked by two sites of very different kinds, Helôron on the sea-shore, and Neaiton, Netum, Noto, deep among the hills. Both have ceased to be inhabited, but the old

Outposts at Helôron and Neaiton.

Noto lived on till the end of the seventeenth century, when it perished in the great earthquake which overthrew so many towns in this region, and which has often left only their sites occupied by modern buildings. Noto was rebuilt on another site several miles lower down the course of the Assinaros, the memorable stream which rises among the hills of the old Noto and flows far below the gleaming houses and churches of the new. The ancient Neaiton, we may be sure, was an old Sikel site, and it

Old and New Neaiton or Noto.

- CHAP. V. has been thought that it went on as a Sikel town under Syracusan supremacy till we reach its first mention in history in the third century before Christ<sup>1</sup>. But surely Syracusan policy would hardly allow so much separate being as this to so strong a site in such a position. Of
- Helôron. Helôron on the coast there is as little to say as of Neaiton
- The Helorine road. among the hills<sup>2</sup>; but its importance is marked by the frequent mention of the road near the coast that led to it.
- The river Helôron. Its ruins are still to be traced on a hill above the sea on the left bank of the river from which it takes its name. That river, the modern Tellaro, has received various epithets from the Latin poets. Its rush of waters is commemorated by one<sup>3</sup>. A seemingly opposite adjective applied to it by another<sup>4</sup> may describe its state when the whole of its wide bed, the rich valley which a third poet does not scruple to speak of as the *Tempê* of Helôros<sup>5</sup>, is overspread by its then necessarily shallow waters. Near the spot where the Helorine *Tempê* are spanned by the bridge and viaduct of the present road from Noto to Pachino, there remains one special monument of the days
- The bridge near Helôron. when Helôron was an inhabited town. In a bridge of stone which has now fallen in we can clearly see the construction, not of the real, but of the apparent arch.
- The coast south of Syracuse secured by these two settlements. The object of these two settlements seems clear enough. Helôron, whether it was, like Ortygia, a site from which Sikels had to be driven, or whether its Syracusan occupants were its first inhabitants, must have been a Syracusan settlement in the strictest sense. It was planted there to

<sup>1</sup> Schubring, *Historisch-geographische Studien* (Gela), p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Skylax (13); *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα* [*Συρακούσας*] πόλιν Ἑλωρον καὶ Πάχυντον ἀπεστήλησαν.

<sup>3</sup> Silius, xlv. 269; "Unde clamosus Helorus." Cf. vol. i. pp. 79, 80.

<sup>4</sup> Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 696 (after Arethousa);

"Inde

*Exsuperæ præpingue solum stagnantis Helori."*

<sup>5</sup> Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 477. See vol. i. pp. 79, 80.

occupy and to secure the coast. Neaiton, much more CHAP. V.  
surely a spot wrested from the Sikel, was a landward  
outpost to defend Helöron and its district against the  
attacks of inland enemies. In these settlements, whose  
date is unknown but whose traces are there to speak for  
them, we see a policy which led to the later extension of  
Syracusan dominion in other directions. Syracuse, shut  
in to the north by the foundation of Megara and other  
Greek cities, had secured to herself all that part of her own  
coast which remained unoccupied. Her next ambition was Gradual  
advance  
towards  
the south  
coast.  
to spread her possessions over the whole south-eastern corner  
of Sicily. She would be a power at once by land and by  
sea. But the work was to be done gradually; a settle-  
ment on the African sea was not to be attempted till the  
inland districts which came within such a scheme were  
fully secured.

This was done by the planting of a series of outposts Series of  
outposts.  
spread over a period of sixty-five years. Seventy years  
after the foundation of Syracuse came the settlement of B.C. 663.  
Akrai; twenty years later came that of Kasmenai; forty- B.C. 643.  
five years later again that of the more famous Kamarina <sup>1</sup>. B.C. 598.  
Akrai, the eldest of the three settlements, was at once the  
nearest to Syracuse and the furthest inland. Its object its ob-  
ject and  
position.  
clearly was to defend Syracuse and her home territory  
against attacks from the inland Sikels, while the common-  
wealth was engaged in more distant advances. The settle-  
ment was not strictly a colony<sup>2</sup>; it was not a distinct  
city; it was rather an outlying part of Syracuse itself,  
growing up on this separate spot. The inhabitants, of  
whatever class, doubtless kept the *status* of their own class

<sup>1</sup> The dates come from Thucydides, vi. 5. Of the Scholiast on Pindar, Ol. vi. 16. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides mentions the foundation of all three in the list of settle-  
ments; but, while he gives the dates, he puts them after the cities, both  
dated and dateless. See vol. I. p. 586. Herodotus (vii. 155) says *ἐκ Κασμίνης*  
*πόλεις*; but just at that moment Kasmenai was a separate community.

CHAP. V. in the Syracusan commonwealth. It is only when Sicily was a province that we find separate coins of Akrai<sup>1</sup>. In better days the coinage of the place was that of Syracuse, and the few times that the place is mentioned in history it appears as a mere outpost of Syracuse. The post chosen for the settlement stands nearly due west from Syracuse, at a distance of about twenty-four English miles. It stands high, as its name speaks for it, and well among the hills. In its early days it must have looked forth on homes of the free Sikel on every inland side. But the eastward view is straight towards Syracuse, her harbour and her island; the settler on Akrai was not wholly severed from his native city. In clear weather the eye can reach between the hills on either side, to the flat coast of the sea of Libya, to whose possession by Syracusan holders the winning of Akrai was the first step. The present approach from Syracuse is instructive in many ways. It leads through two widely different regions, and it helps us to put some of the main objects of Syracusan scenery into new groupings. As the ground rises, we better feel the wide extent of the southward plain which formed a chief part of the possessions of Syracuse. Its richness and its stoniness both come out. The gnarled olive-trees, with their fresh branches and seemingly dead trunks, dispute with the wheat-crops the possession of every inch of ground where the rugged limestone does not come to the surface. Presently we pass among the hills, mostly all but bare, pierced here and there by deep gorges where all the vegetable wealth of Sicily flourishes under their shelter. Nature and art between them have cut up the hillsides into terraces or lynchets, and nowhere do we see more striking examples of the rugged roads of old times. The solid rock has been worn away by the passage

Position of  
Akrai.

Approach  
from Syra-  
cuse.

<sup>1</sup> Head, *Historia Numorum*, 103; *Coins of Sicily*, p. 2. I have seen them on the spot.

of hoofs and wheels, seemingly from the first days of Akrai. CHAP. V.  
 The hill itself, which became the special Syracusan out- The hill.  
 post, is less of a peak than might have been looked for  
 from the name. Spreading and massive, with a steep face  
 to the south, it is parted from the opposite hill by a narrow  
 dale. To the north it rises with a gradual slope, some  
 way up which stands the representative of Akrai, the  
 modern Palazzuolo <sup>1</sup>.

The ancient town stood on the top of the hill. The whole Buildings of Akrai.  
 space is too wide to have been ever covered by the buildings  
 of Akrai; unluckily no traces of the walls are left to enable  
 us to trace out its exact extent. Its chief buildings at  
 least, the greater and the lesser theatre, the slight signs  
 of the akropolis above them, stood on the side looking  
 towards the mother city. But the other sides, looking out  
 on the lofty homes of the folk whom Akrai was built to  
 curb, must also have been carefully guarded. From Akrai  
 itself the Sikel was driven, but not till he had left his  
 mark for ever on the hill itself and on every rock around.  
 Every available spot has been burrowed into for the graves Sikel tombs.  
 of the dead, the dead of the folk who gave Sicily its  
 name. Later settlers have made spoil of their primeval  
 resting-places. Here they are enriched by the sculpture of  
 the pagan Greek; there they have been enlarged into  
 the Christian catacomb. It is the works of the earlier  
 race which give Akrai its special character. Yet the  
 early days of Greek settlement have left their memorials  
 in the shape of objects which, from some point of view,  
 are of higher interest still,—the mysterious reliefs on the  
 face of the hill of Akrai. Low down towards the south I Stanton.  
 still sit the figures carved out of the rock, cruelly mutilated,

<sup>1</sup> Claver (354) puts it elsewhere, but Palazzuolo is now generally  
 accepted. I saw Akrai in 1887. I have since found an account of a visit  
 to the place in 1826, in an article in the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*,  
 ii. 240 (London, 1852-53), signed "John Hogg." There are some specu-  
 lations on the *Stanton*.

CHAR. V. a series of female shapes, grave, solemn, and queenly, with satellites and accompaniments of various kinds. There is the horse and his rider, but the rider still by his horse's side; there is the hound, the armed warrior, and other forms hard to be discerned after ages of wanton havoc. But the bushel, the *modius*, borne by the enthroned goddess points to Sicily's own patron Lady, to D  m  ter whose golden gifts grow so richly in the fields below. These mysterious figures—*I Santoni* is the local name—though archaic, are not rude; there is nothing about them like the grotesqueness of the Selinuntine metopes. They are among the most precious remains of Sikeliot art, all the more precious because, graven in the rock for ever, they have been of necessity left on the spot where they were graven.

Comparison with settlement in America.

This earliest plantation of a Greek settlement far away from the coast, this first fixing of a home in the Wild West of the inland *Sikelia*, is a memorable point in the history of such settlements. Let our thoughts fly onwards over twenty-three centuries, and Akrai will be found to occupy much the same position as any outlying post of a New England settlement, open to Indian attack, and whose chief duty was to ward off Indian attack from settlements nearer the coast. It was an outpost of Greece in a barbarian land, exactly as the later settlement was an outpost of England and of Europe. But in this last word lies the difference which presently showed itself between two states of things which were for the moment closely alike. We might indeed say that the New England settlement was an outpost of Old England as well as of New, while Akrai, outpost of Syracuse, was no outpost of Corinth. But there is a deeper difference than this. The New England settlement was an outpost, not only of England but of Europe. This last Akrai was not. The Sikel was not as the Red Indian. The English settler in America had to deal with savages of another race, another colour, whom no process

The Sikel and the Indian.

of war or peace could turn into Englishmen. Their fate was simply to die out before the advance of the more civilized people. The Greek settler in Sicily came across men far beneath him in all political and social advancement, but who were still Europeans like himself, kinsfolk who had simply lagged behind <sup>1</sup>. The Sikel needed not to die out before the Greek—he could himself in course of time become a Greek, and could contribute new elements to the Greek life of Sicily. When Akrai was founded, the Sikel had no alternatives but either to keep a wild independence further inland or to submit to the yoke of Syracusan serfdom. Things had changed indeed, they had changed for some ages, when Diodōros of Sikel Agyrum wrote his Hellenic history without a thought of his own non-Hellenic origin.

CHAP. V

It has been supposed with much likelihood <sup>2</sup> that the occupation of Akrai was suggested by the plantation of Gela on the coast at which Syracuse was now aiming. The next post that was occupied was far nearer to the southern sea, but still not immediately on it. Its occupation seems to imply the Syracusan occupation of the whole land stretching from Syracuse and Akrai to the south-eastern point of Sicily. This was Kasmenai, a place of which we shall hear once or twice in Syracusan history. The creation of both these posts, while their main object was to enlarge and strengthen the Syracusan territory, further implies that the Syracusan city contained an over-  
Akrai suggested by Gela.  
 Foundation of Kasmenai.  
 543 B. C.
flow of citizens or at least of inhabitants, men for whom it was possible, perhaps desirable, to find dwellings at a distance from the city. It has been remarked that the occupation of Kasmenai follows not long after the over-

<sup>1</sup> See vol. I, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Holm, G. S. i. 48. See p. 296. In Steph. Byz. it is *Ἀκρα κτίσμα Συρακουσίων*.

CHAP. V.  
Possible  
connexion  
with the  
over-  
throw of  
the Bac-  
chiads  
B.C. 658-  
655.

Banish-  
ment of  
the My-  
létids.  
648 B.C.

throw of the Bacchiad oligarchy at Corinth and the rise of the tyranny of Kypselos<sup>1</sup>. Certainly no class of newcomers was more likely to be well received at Syracuse than exiles from the mother-city. The sympathies of the *Gamoroi*, even if the forefathers of some of them had left Corinth to avoid the Bacchiads, would be by this time on the side of the house lately ruling and now fallen. And the fact is worth noting, though it might be rash to build much on it, that at a later time Kasmenai appears as a place of shelter for banished *Gamoroi*.

We may further notice, with a somewhat greater measure of confidence, that the settlement of Kasmenai comes shortly after one of the few recorded events of this time in the domestic history of Syracuse itself. That is one of which we have already heard and which distinctly points to dissension among the *Gamoroi* themselves. The foundation of Kasmenai followed within four years after the foundation of Himera, and we have seen that among the settlers at Himera was a body of Syracusans banished in civil strife<sup>2</sup>. Their name, the Mylétids, is clearly the name of a *gens*, an exiled *gens*, a *gens* which, in some dispute within the city, had been driven out by its adversaries. We think at once of Corinthian Bacchiads, Athenian Alkmaionids, Roman Tarquins. The banishment of a whole *gens* is far more likely to have been the work of a hostile party among the oligarchs themselves than of any movement on the part of the excluded people. We may conceive that the Mylétids had set up, or had striven to set up, an exclusive dominion in their own body such as the Bacchiads enjoyed at Corinth. Such a dominion was sure to be withstood by the other *gentes* among the *Gamoroi*. If the Mylétids had been overthrown by a popular movement, their fall would most likely have led, like that of the Bacchiads, to the

<sup>1</sup> Holm, G. S. I. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. v. 5. See vol. I. p. 411.



rise of a tyranny, and the days of tyranny in Syracuse had CHAP V not yet come.

The exact site of Kasmenai has been a matter of Site of Kasmenai. some dispute. It has been placed at Scicli<sup>1</sup>; it has been placed at Rossolini on the road between the modern Noto and Spaccaformo<sup>2</sup>. But some may be inclined to think Spaccaformo. that the far more striking site of Spaccaformo itself has a better claim. Within and about that otherwise thoroughly modern town many signs of ancient occupation are clearly seen. The site is one of no small strength and grandeur, and it is thoroughly suited for the purposes which Syracuse had in view in the settlement of Kasmenai. It marks a stage which naturally came between the foundation of Akrai and the foundation of Kamarina. The plantation of Akrai secured Syracuse against the Sikels on her north-western border; she had already extended her dominion along the eastern coast to the south-eastern corner of Sicily. She was now pressing towards the African sea. But before she actually planted a settlement on its coast, she thought it prudent to secure a point somewhat inland, which should play the same part on her south-western border which Akrai played on the north-western. No site could be better chosen for such a purpose than that of the present Spaccaformo. That town, so called from Position of Spaccaformo. a river of the same name, stands at the junction of several roads, and looks down on the sea from a stony height with a plain of about five miles wide between the foot of its hill and the coast. Signs of an ancient road are plainly seen on this side; but the features which distinctly point out

<sup>1</sup> Cluver. 359. I do not know what the ruins spoken of in the article "Casmenae" in the Dictionary of Geography can be, unless Sir E. C. Hoare made some confusion with the ruins of Kamarina.

<sup>2</sup> Schubring, *Historisch-geographische Studien*, p. 111. He adds: "es ist möglich, dass Kasmenae bald untergegangen ist, dass dagegen Neetum, eine sikelische Stadt [see above, p. 18], aber gewiss unter syracusanischer Botmäßigkeit, dessen Rolle übernommen hat." But why?

- CHAP. V. Spaccaferno as a site which the earlier races would be sure to occupy, and from which the Greeks would find it needful to dislodge them, come out yet more strongly to the landward. The hill on which the town stands, far lower than the hill of Henna, has some points in common with it. Like Henna, it is parted into two by a deep ravine running into the heart of the town, on which houses look down on both sides. Spaccaferno, like Castrogiovanni, keeps on the hill; the gorge in both cases is too steep and narrow to allow of houses running down to the bottom as they do at Modica. Another longer ravine goes far to compass the inland side of the town. Thus that part of the hill which we may conceive to have acted as the akropolis forms a peninsula all but surrounded with deep limestone gorges; it is set upon tall cliffs and looks out on other tall cliffs. And all are thickly honeycombed with the graves of the men of unrecorded times. Both these gorges are in fact branches of the famous valley of Ispica, the narrow and winding glen so specially chosen alike for the dwellings and for the tombs of those earlier races. Its south-western entrance begins at this point, and the hill which has just been suggested as the akropolis of Kasmenai is the key to a pass which must have been a chief outlet of the Sikel territory, and which can hardly fail, both on practical and on sentimental grounds, to have been vigorously defended. Such a spot, we may be sure, was not found empty by the Syracusan settlers. It is a site marked out for early occupation, and signs of early and long-continued occupation are not lacking. The lines of ancient streets are to be seen, the roads worn deep in the rock, some of them leading up from the rocky combe between the two parts of the hill. Here then, rather than at any other point, we may place the central fortress among the three chief Syracusan outposts, when the advancing settlers had come within sight of the sea of Africa but had not yet fixed their dwellings on its shore.
- Tombs.
- Ispica.

The only other point suggested with any degree of likelihood as the site of Kasmenai, that of Scioli, is somewhat further to the west. It is not always clear whether by Scioli we are to understand the present town or an older site on the hills some way off. The modern Scioli lies, somewhat after the manner of Modica, in a plain formed by the meeting of several deep and stony ravines. Between two of them is a site where the signs of ancient occupation are clear. The bare rocks, with the horizontal lines of their strata almost like human buildings, and the jagged peaks which rise above the modern town, have the air of a natural castle. Here too the sides of the rocks are pierced with tombs of every shape and size, showing that the place was occupied by Sikels or by some people earlier than Sikels. The height may well have been crowned by a fort in the days of Syracusan or any other dominion; but it seems hardly possible that it can have been the site of a Greek town capable of playing the part which we shall presently find Kasmenai playing in Syracusan history. It is not a place on which we could fancy the whole body of the Syracusan oligarchs finding shelter, as we know that they found it at Kasmenai<sup>1</sup>. But more than this, the military position of Scioli, though likely to be useful at a somewhat later stage, does not seem, for the particular work of pressing gradually on from Akrai to the southern sea, at all equal to that of Spaccaforno. This last point, the key to the vale of Ispica, is really the key on the Syracusan side to the whole system of gorges of which those both at Scioli and at Spaccaforno form a part. It formed a stronghold specially suited for holding fast what Syracuse had won, and for acting as the starting-point to win more. It may well have had a special reference to the strong Sikel post of Modica, with its own group of ravines at no great distance from the vale of Ispica

CHAP. V.

Scioli.

Not the  
site of  
Kasmenai.<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 155.

CHAP. V. itself. On the sea-side also Spaccaforno seems better to answer the requirements of a site claiming to be Kasmenai. Scicli is actually nearer to the sea than Spaccaforno, and the waters come into view from its heights; but it has not the sea lying at its feet as Spaccaforno has.

Founda-  
tion of  
Kamarina.  
598 B.C.

Kasmenai has no coins. Unless in the one moment of the withdrawal of the *Gamora*, it seems never to have risen above the rank of a Syracusan outpost. Far more famous than Akrai or Kasmenai, the only one of these settlements which has a history of its own was Kamarina<sup>1</sup>. The position of this town, actually on the southern coast, marks the carrying out of the Syracusan policy in this direction, and its foundation must have been somewhat of a challenge to the other Greek cities on that side of Sicily.

Completion  
of the  
Syracusan  
plan.

Territory  
of Syra-  
cuse.

When Kamarina was founded, Syracuse must have already spread her power over the whole south-eastern corner of the island. Her territory at this stage, marked on the landward side by Akrai and Kasmenai, and stretching along the southern sea as far as Kamarina, was already much larger than was commonly held by a Greek city. It had some analogy with the territory of Athens in the number of separate towns and districts which it contained, towns and districts of widely different characters, inland and on the coast. The relation itself in which they stood to the capital was most likely that of an Attic town to Athens. That is to say, whatever was their local constitution, they were not political communities, dependant or independent. They were outlying parts of Syracuse, just as Marathôn and Eleusis were, for all political purposes, outlying parts of Athens. That the relation came about in opposite ways in the two cases, that Marathôn and Eleusis were not Athenian foundations, while Akrai

Compari-  
son with  
Attica.

<sup>1</sup> On Kamarina Schubring has a monograph in *Philologus*, vol. xxxii. p. 490 (Göttingen, 1879).

and Helorôn were Syracusan foundations, does not affect CHAP. V.  
the likeness of the relation itself. The free inhabitants of these towns and their districts were doubtless Syracusan citizens, with their place in the Syracusan assembly. These towns in short have no history of their own; their names are recorded only now and then as the scenes of some event in the history of Syracuse.

To all this the story of Kamarina forms a memorable Special  
history of  
Kamarina;  
exception; but before we tell its story, it may be well to the site.  
look at its site. What that site may have been in its days of splendour it is hardly fair to judge from such signs as the fallen city has left behind it. The modern visitor is tempted to set down Kamarina as the least interesting among the Greek sites of Sicily, and perhaps to wonder where the attraction lay which caused the city to rise again after every overthrow but the last. Yet even now there is something striking in the position of its akropolis rising sheer above the sea with its wide view along the coast on both sides. And we know that the forces of nature have changed things not a little, and that on the landward side the akropolis must have looked down on a scene different in many ways from that which now lies beneath it. Poets have sung of the sounding stream of Hipparis flowing beneath the walls of Kamarina<sup>1</sup>. They have sung too of the lake through which his The lake  
of Kama-  
rina.  
stream passes, the lake from which the town was, like Syracuse, held to have taken its name<sup>2</sup>, and whose nymphs

<sup>1</sup> Schubring, 515.

<sup>2</sup> *Kamárina*, πόλις Συρακῶν καὶ Μίση, says Stephen of Byzantium. In Claudian, *Rap. Pros.* ii. 59, we read, among the other contingents to the array of nymphs, those

“ . . . Quas pigra rado Camarina palustri,  
 . . . . Nutrit.”

The “pigra” perhaps refers to the oracle to which we shall come directly. There is little that is local in Pindar’s ode to the Kamarinaian Pæanias (OL iv.); but the features of the place come out in the doubtful one

CHAP. V. appears on its coins mounted on the swan which sported on her waters<sup>1</sup>. As things are now, the nymph is as likely to be found as the swan; it is indeed an act of faith to believe that either nymph or swan could ever have found a fitting home beneath the hill of Kamarina. Even in its best days we may believe that poetic fancy somewhat improved on the actual prospect. A legend commemorated in a well-known verse lets out the fact that, at some seasons at least, the famous lake became a pestilential

The oracle. swamp. The men of Kamarina sought to drain the lake; but, as in other cases where men sought to improve on the workmanship of the gods<sup>2</sup>, the prophetess of Pythô bade them to leave Kamarina untouched—Kamarina the lake and not the city; she was better as she was<sup>3</sup>. What man strove to do when Kamarina was an abode of men has been done in a certain fashion by the hand of nature, now that the dwellers on the hill of Kamarina are few indeed. Hipparis himself, who has a real and abiding stream, and who has some high banks in the upper part of his course, still makes his way into the sea by a mouth of no great dignity immediately below the akropolis. But the lake is so choked, partly by sand, partly by rushes, as to be a lake no longer. The sand too has spread so thickly over the hill of Kamarina, specially on its landward side, as to

Present  
state of  
the lake  
and hill.

which follows, where Kamarina is addressed as *Ἰστιαρῶ δώγατορ*, and we read of

*ἄλσαι δ' ὄρνις  
τὸ γένος ποταμῶν τε Ἰστιαρῶν, ἐγ-  
χωρίαν τε λίμναν,  
καὶ σεμνοῦς ὀχετοῦς, Ἰσ-  
τιαρὶς οἷον ἄρδαι στρατόν.*

<sup>1</sup> Coins of Sicily, pp. 36, 37; Head, *Hist. Num.* 113. But all these belong to a later time, though one has the legend from right to left. Holm (G. S. I. 397) fittingly refers to the Scholast on Apollônios (il. 500), where there is no mention of Kamarina or Sicily, but where Kyréné is taken by Apollôn to Libya *ἐπὶ κύκλῳ δ' ἄρδαι*.

<sup>2</sup> See the oracle to the Knidians in Herodotus, i. 174.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix III.

make the ascent of its lowly height a more toilsome work CHAP. V.  
 than to climb the steeps of Eryx and Henna. It may well be that this change has been in some sort a protection, and that the heaps of sand shelter beneath them many precious remnants of the ancient city. And truly in Kamarina, as things now stand, any protection in any shape may be welcomed.

Not much is to be seen of the fallen city, but two Remains  
of the  
akropolis  
 small fragments remain in the places where they were set, perhaps by the hands of the first settlers from Syracuse. On the akropolis itself a shattered fragment of a mediæval tower, rising immediately above the sea and the river, is supported by the one surviving piece of the wall of Kamarina. The rest of its extent has to be guessed at; at this one point it stands to speak for itself, perhaps to proclaim its early date by masonry which certainly does not recall the fineness of the mighty rampart of Dionysios. On another of the low heights within the circuit of the and the  
temple of  
Athênâ.  
 city, once rose the holy house of the special patroness of Kamarina, Athênâ herself, whose form appears on some types of her coinage in the early days of her third life<sup>1</sup>. The massive columns of her island temple in the metropolis had but a lowly representative in the temple *in antis* which formed the Parthenôn of Kamarina. But the simple form pointed to an early date, and the historic interest of the building was heightened by the likeness of its destiny to that of its fellows of greater renown. As at Athens, as at Syracuse, the House of the Virgin remained the House of the Virgin, and the Parthenôn of Kamarina survived in the church of our Lady of Camerana. But at Kamarina, as at Athens, there are minds to which such a history as this speaks with no meaning.

<sup>1</sup> Coins of Sicily, 33; Head, 112. These belong to the "Period of Archaic Art." The swan appears but without the nymph. A little later comes the dwarf palm.

CHAP. V. The remains of the temple of at least two religions<sup>1</sup> have been all, save a few courses of stone, swept away in very recent times for the convenience of flocks and herds, the wealth of the only representative of the ancient dwellers in Kamarina. Enough however is still left, here as in the wall of the akropolis, to suggest by its few stones that we look on fragments which have outlived the many times that the site of Kamarina has been swept with the besom of destruction.

Extent of  
the walls.

Otherwise on the hill of Kamarina all is desolate. Here and there we can follow ancient tracks; here and there a stone or two peeps above the sand which suggests that careful digging might reveal somewhat more. But save such traces as this, all is gone. The city is not represented on its own site even by the meanest village. We look from the akropolis for the ancient haven by the mouth of the Hipparis, and we see only the sand by the sea-shore. The line of the walls seems to have skirted the cliffs for no great distance, and then to have turned inland, with the stream of Hipparis to the north, and another very small stream, now known as the Rifriscolaro, to the south. This takes in another low hill besides that of Athênê, on which, by a likely conjecture, a temple of Héraklês has been placed<sup>2</sup>. No striking object comes within the inland view; the eye ranges over bare high ground which neither shows nor suggests anything special.

The wood. Treeless as it now seems, it was once the wood of Kamarina, famous in the latest days of the city<sup>3</sup>. The sea

<sup>1</sup> One would like to believe that, at Kamarina, as at Syracuse and at Athens, the building had been a house of worship of yet a third creed, but the Arabic name of the hill of the akropolis, *Râs-el Hamâm*, seems to show that the Saracen masters of the place used the building as a bath.

<sup>2</sup> Schubring, §27. Of course it is "Herakles-Melkarth."

<sup>3</sup> Schubring, §30. The gallant exploit of Cædinus, Capurnius, or whatever his name was, is recorded by a host of Latin writers, but the place is



and the sandy coast form the best outlook from the site of the city, the best reminder of the object for which it was first called into being as a dwelling-place of men. The final cause of the first Kamarina was to mark and to secure the advance of Syracuse from the eastern to the southern sea. CHAP. V.

The extent of territory which the plantation of Kamarina added to the Syracusan dominion, and which in after days became the territory of Kamarina as an independent city, seems to have been the land between the river Dirillo to the north and the Hyrminos which flows by Hybla or Ragusa to the south. The two rise near together in the heights now known as Monte Lauro, and, if the boundary followed the line of the two streams, the Kamarinayan territory would form a nearly exact triangle, taking in the *Saltus Camarinæus*. In the extent of coast thus assigned to Kamarina one or two small streams run into the sea between the mouths of Hipparis and Hyrminos. One of these, sung of by a contemporary of Pindar, bears a name, Oanis, which some have thought has been left there by Phœnician occupants<sup>1</sup>. Its source, the fountain of Diana or of Paradise, lies close below the small modern town of Santa Croce, and is still put to the mean uses from which the fountain of Arethousa has been set free. Its waters, according to legend, had a mysterious power of discerning chastity in women<sup>2</sup>. Not far above it lies an

Territory  
of Kam-  
rina.

Stream of  
Oanis.

marked only by Aurelius Victor, *De Vir* III. 39, "ad Camarinam," and by Florus, ii. 2, "circa Camarinensium saltum."

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 30, note.

<sup>2</sup> Solinus (v. 16) describes this among the wonders of Sicily; "Dianam qui ad Camarinam fluit si habitus impudice hauserit, non coibunt in corpus unum latex vineus et latex aquæ." Ptolemy (Perieg. 489) tells the same story in verse;

"Dianæ fons est, Camarina gignitur unda,  
Quem si quis manibus non castis hauserit unquam,  
Latifœcis tristis non misset pocula Baccho."

See Schubring, 520. "Dianæ" and "Oanis" must be the same name;

CHAP. V. ancient burying ground, pointing to occupation many ages older than the foundation of the present town. Hard by Remalais near Santa Croce. is a ruined building, with arches, vaults, and cupola—perhaps a tomb, perhaps a bath, perhaps a place for the test of the power of the sacred water<sup>1</sup>. In any case, as its construction shows, it dates from times when the independence of Kamarina, and Kamarina itself, had passed away<sup>2</sup>.

Relations  
between  
Syracuse  
and Kama-  
rina.

The sites and the histories of Kamarina and of Netum or Noto form a strange contrast. The inland town, so illustrious in later warfare, is unheard of during the first five hundred years of the history of Syracuse. But Kamarina, placed on the sea itself, on a site which might well have been chosen by any company of settlers from old Hellas, was not satisfied to remain, like Akrai and Kasmenai, a mere Syracusan outpost. It supplies the lesson, so rare in Greek history, but the more instructive because so rare, of a settlement at variance with its metropolis. Kamarina was in some sort to Syracuse what Korkyra, less dutiful sister of Syracuse, was to Corinth. In both cases the metropolis claimed over the colony a degree of authority which was quite inconsistent with the ordinary relations of Greek metropolis and Greek colony. Kamarina must have had from the beginning—a town on such a site could not fail to have—something more of separate being than at any time fell to the lot of Akrai or Kasmenai. No founders of those towns are mentioned. Kamarina had recorded founders, Daskôn and Menekôlon by name, no less than Syracuse herself<sup>3</sup>. The exact

but is it clear that Priscian, as Schubring thinks, thought that the fountain was by the lake?

<sup>1</sup> This is suggested by Schubring, p. 529.

<sup>2</sup> Schubring, 527. I have not seen the second example of which he speaks.

<sup>3</sup> Thuc. vi. 5.

relation between Syracuse and Kamarina is not defined; CHAP. V.  
 but some degree of separate being, and at the same time  
 some degree of dependence on the mother-city, is implied  
 in the fact that, about forty-six years after her first Revolt of  
Kamarina.  
553 B. C.  
 plantation Kamarina ventured on a War of Independence.  
 This points to a state of things unusual among Greek  
 cities. Revolt was so unlikely as to be almost impossible  
 in the case of a mere outpost, a mere *klérouchia*, whose  
 settlers kept the citizenship of the mother-city. It was  
 impossible in the very nature of things in the case of a  
 colony of the usual kind, free and independent from its  
 birth. If any unhappy chance led to war between metro-  
 polis and colony, it would be a war between two inde-  
 pendent cities, which could not be spoken of as revolt.  
 But between Syracuse and Kamarina, as between Corinth Kamarina  
& depend-  
ancy.  
 and Korkyra, there clearly was a third relation, the rela-  
 tion so rare in Greece though so familiar in modern times,  
 in which the colony was a separate city with the usual  
 attributes of a separate city, while the metropolis still  
 claimed some authority inconsistent with the perfect inde-  
 pendence of the colony. We have seen that this relation  
 was not unusual on the part of the colonies of Corinth<sup>1</sup>;  
 Syracuse evidently followed the example of the metropolis  
 in asserting some kind of supremacy—we cannot undertake  
 to measure its exact degree—over her own plantation of  
 Kamarina.

The result of this departure from common Hellenic prac- Compari-  
son with  
Korkyra.  
 tice supplies, both in the case of Corinth and in the case  
 of Syracuse, one of the most instructive lessons in all poli-  
 tical history. We have already noticed that, while the  
 relations between Corinth and her independent colony of  
 Syracuse form a touching and beautiful tale of abiding  
 friendship between two independent commonwealths, the

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 340. See on Potidaea, Thuc. i. 56, and the whole argu-  
 ment of the Corinthians in c. 38. See also on Anaktoron, iv. 49.

CHAP. V. relations between Corinth and her dependent colony of Korkyra are the by-word of Greek colonial history. The dependent colony won its independence; but at the cost of bitter and abiding hatred between colony and metropolis.

War between Syracuse and Kamarina. What Korkyra did Kamarina strove to do. She threw off the yoke of Syracuse and declared her independence. But Kamarina was nearer to Syracuse than Korkyra was to Corinth. The circumstances which had called her into being made her accessible both by land and sea. A war between the metropolis and the revolted dependency followed<sup>1</sup>. Neither side lacked allies, Greek or barbarian. Syracuse found help where one would hardly have looked for it, at the hands of her neighbours of Megara. Henna too was on her side; the holy city of the goddesses, already perhaps half-hellenized, was deemed worthy to take a share in a Hellenic struggle<sup>2</sup>. And as France and Spain backed the revolt of the colonies of England, so Greek cities were found to back the revolt of Kamarina.

Allies on each side. We are not told their names; we hear only that Gela, when asked for help, refused to fight against Syracuse. That the Sikels, as a body, took the side of Kamarina, is only what we should have looked for. Syracuse was their special enemy, always advancing at their cost. Inde-

Action of the Sikels.

<sup>1</sup> I assume, with Holm, G. S. I. 201, 412, that this is the war between Syracuse and Kamarina recorded in the precious fragment of Philistos which has been accidentally preserved because Dionysios of Halikarnassos (Ep. de Princ. Hist. 5) wanted to pick holes in his style. I see no other war to which the account can belong. The words are: Συρακούσιοι δὲ καταλάβοντες Μεγαρεῖς καὶ Ἑνναίους Καμαρινούς δὲ Χαλκιδεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους, πλὴν Γελῶν ἀπορίσκειν, Γελῶν δὲ Συρακουσίοις ἐπὶ ἴσους ταλεμῆσαι. Συρακούσιοι δὲ προσεσθόμενοι Καμαρινάους τὸν Ὑρμυόν λαβόντες. Here it unluckily breaks off. The ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι must surely mean Greek allies.

<sup>2</sup> This is the only notice anywhere that seems to give the slightest support to the statement of Stephen of Byzantium (see vol. i p. 174) that Henna was a colony of Syracuse. On the other hand, it is quite possible that that statement is a false inference from the action of Henna now. Stephen does not quote Philistos or anybody else.

pendent Kamarina was indeed likely to do the same; but dependent Kamarina had hardly done it as yet. The forces of the revolted town crossed the Hyrrminos, the modern Ragusa, which was therefore the boundary stream between the metropolis and the dependency. A battle must have followed in which Syracuse had the upper hand; for the rebellious settlement was conquered, and it underwent the sternest results of conquest. So bitter was the wrath of the mother-city that Kamarina was swept from the earth<sup>1</sup>. Its value as an outpost and defence of Syracuse was felt to be less than the danger of its setting itself up as a rival to Syracuse. And if Syracuse and Gela were on such good terms as the story implies, Syracuse may have been pleased that her territory should march directly on that of her independent neighbour, rather than to have a dependency of doubtful faith placed between them.

CHAP V.  
Defeat and  
destruction  
of Kama-  
rina.

Relations  
between  
Syracuse  
and Gela.

We have yet another story of civil strife in Syracuse which seems to bring us nearly to the end of our period. For the new dispute is said to have led to a change in the constitution<sup>2</sup>. By that we can understand nothing short of the driving out of the *Gomoroi* about the beginning of the fifth century. The particular event which incidentally led to this revolution was one eminently characteristic of Greek manners<sup>3</sup>. Two young men of the ruling order,

Civil dis-  
putes in  
Syracuse.  
B.C. c. 500.

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. vi. 5; ἀναστίαν δὲ Καμαρινάων γενομένην πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων δι' ἀπόστασιν. Cf. Scholia ad Pind. Ol. v. 16. So Herodotus, vii. 154; Συρακοσίαν δὲ ἦν Καμάριναν τὸ ἀρχαῖον; Skymnos (294) gives both fact and date;

Συρακοῖσι δὲ τῇ Καμάρινῳ λογομένην  
αὐτοὶ δὲ ταύτην ἔρασαν ἐκ βατρῶν πάλιν,  
πρὸς ἑξ ἄτη καὶ τετραράκοντ' εἰρημένην.

<sup>2</sup> The relation of these inland strifes to the war with Hippokrates (Herod. vii. 154) will come further on.

<sup>3</sup> On the references to this story in Aristotle (Pol. v. 3. 5, v. 4. 1) and Plutarch (Pruo. Reip. Ger. 32) see Appendix II. Plutarch enlarges more

each, it would seem, in the possession of some office, fell out on a private quarrel of a kind which might tempt one to say that the curse of the founder still hung over the city. One of the two, going away on a journey, left his beloved in the care of his friend. The guardian employed the opportunity to win the youth for himself. The wronged lover on his return avenged himself by seducing the offender's wife<sup>1</sup>. This personal quarrel next, in some way not explained, put on a political character. A wise elder forestalled the principle of the ostracism of Athens and of the petalism of Syracuse itself. He counselled the Senate—a smaller Council, doubtless inside the general body of the *Gamoroi*—to banish both the disputants, before their quarrels led the city into yet greater dangers. His advice was not followed; quarrels grew more bitter, and the overthrow of the constitution followed<sup>2</sup>. It is hard to understand this account in any way except by supposing that a democratic party had already arisen in Syracuse, and was threatening the exclusive privileges of the old citizens. In such a case each political party might easily take up the side of one disputant in the personal quarrel, as has often happened in the political controversies of later times<sup>3</sup>. Details are unluckily wanting.

Action  
of the  
Senate.

Existence  
of a demo-  
cratic  
party.

Position of  
the *Demos*.

If this be the right understanding of the tale which comes to us in this isolated shape, this unseemly personal

on the friendship between the two men, Aristotle on their both being in office; ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων.

<sup>1</sup> This is told by both Aristotle and Plutarch. Plutarch adds the detail of the trust put in the offender: ὁ μὲν τὸν ἐρώμενον τοῦ ἐναιρέου λαβὼν φυλάσσειν διέφθεκεν.

<sup>2</sup> The wise counsellor comes in Plutarch only; τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τις ἐκ βουλῆς παρελθὼν. Here we get the Senate, as distinguished from the general assembly of the *Gamoroi* (*comitia curiata*) which heard the case of Agathoklēs.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle, u. s.; ὅθεν προλαμβάνοντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ πολιτεύματι διστασίαν πόδας.

quarrel was the immediate occasion of the revolution which put an end to the ascendancy of the old citizens of Syracuse. The gradually growing body of later settlers, claiming now to be the true people—the *Dēmos*—of Syracuse, rose, in concert with the Sikel villains of the *Gamoroi*, who were in a harder case than themselves, and overthrew the common enemy. The descendants of the settlers under Archias had by this time fully put on the character of an aristocratic and exclusive body. As such, they had to give way to the growing strength of the new political power. Once, we may believe, in fact if not in name, a democratic body, still keeping, we may be sure, much of the equality of a democracy among themselves, they had shrunk up into an oligarchy, while a new and wider democracy arose around them to whose members they refused admission to the full privileges of the commonwealth. No man had lost his rights; but the class to whom rights were denied had grown so large that they felt themselves to be the people, and looked on those who had once been the whole people as men who wrongfully shut them out from what they had a right to claim. It is the common story of oligarchies, whatever their origin; it is perhaps most instructive in the case of those oligarchies whose origin is the same as that of the Syracusan *Gamoroi*.

CHAP. V.

Revolt of  
the *Dēmos*  
in alliance  
with the  
*Kyllig-  
rioi*.

Position  
of the  
oligarchy

The banished party fled to the Syracusan outpost of Kasmenai, and there maintained themselves against those who now bore rule in the city<sup>1</sup>. Of the form of democracy

The  
*Gamoroi*  
at Kas-  
menai.

<sup>1</sup> We now can turn to Herodotus (vii. 135), where this revolution is brought in casually in telling the tale of Gelon; τοὺς γὰρ ἀνδρῶν καλεσμένων τῶν Σερμηνοῖων ἐκπεσόντας ἐνὸς τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν σφετέρων ἰούλων καλεσμένων δὲ Κελλυρίων. Gelon brings the *Gamoroi* back to Syracuse ἐν Κασμένῃ πόλει, in which last word we may possibly (see above, p. 19) discern a reference to the separate being of Kasmenai at that moment. It is impossible to fix an exact date to this revolution. How long had the *Gamoroi* been at Kasmenai in B.C. 485 or in B.C. 491?

CHAP. V. established by this first of the many democratic revolutions of Syracuse we are unluckily told nothing. Above all, we should be well pleased to know what was the reward of the *Kylligrioi* for their services in the struggle. We cannot doubt that they must have received at least full personal freedom, before long the admission of Sikels to political rights in Sikeliot cities will cease to be wonderful. This may well have been the earliest example. But whatever may have been the exact shape of the new constitution, its life was short. The destinies of the *Gamoroï* who had found shelter at Kasmenai, and the destinies of those who had taken their place in Syracuse, alike form part of the story of the way in which the famous dynasty of the Deinomenids marched to power both in Syracuse and in other Sikeliot cities.

The first  
Syracusan  
democracy.

The tem-  
ples in  
Ortygia.

History of  
the temple  
of Athênê.

During all this time the Island, Ortygia, was the city. It was the strong place, the seat of rule, the oldest quarter and the holiest. It was the home of the Syracusan people. Other posts might be fortified, other spots might be dwelled in; but Ortygia was the centre of the commonwealth, the hearth of the special deities of the commonwealth. Of some of the temples of Syracuse we have heard already. We have heard the story of the foundation of the temple of Athênê. Artemis was the special goddess of Ortygia; yet her warrior-sister seems in some sort to have eclipsed her on her own ground. The house of Athênê stood on the highest ground in the Island. The statue of the goddess with her shield stood high above every other object in the Island; when that shield could no longer be seen, the man of Syracuse was no longer in his own home. He who set forth from the Great Harbour to cross the seas watched till his eyes could behold the shield no longer. He then made his offerings to the powers that were to guard him on strange waters and in strange



lands<sup>1</sup>. That temple still abides, though in a strange guise CHAP. V.  
indeed. There are few spots in Christendom that suggest  
deeper thoughts. There is the

"Shrine of all saints and temple of all gods;"

in one sense far more truly so than the later house of which those words were spoken. The Parthenôn of the island has been not less varied in its fates than the Parthenôn of the hill<sup>2</sup>. The house on the akropolis of Athens, the house of the Panagia, taken and retaken over again by Turk from Christian and by Christian from Turk, has been the very centre of the Eternal Strife, the most hardly fought-for prize of its warfare. But never, since it once passed away to become a mosque of the False Prophet, has the church where the Bulgarian-slayer made his offerings again become a temple of Christian worship. But the house of our Lady on the Island of Syracuse, won back for the faith by the sword of Maniakês and by the sword of Roger, still keeps embedded in its walls the mighty columns which not only Hermokratês and Timoleôn, but Æschylus and Pindar had gazed upon. And older still, of yet more The temple of Artemis. primeval Doric guise, stands the home of the other virgin patroness of the Island. The first Lady of Ortygia, if overshadowed by her sister, is not displaced. If the house of Artemis has not lived on to become a holy place of other creeds<sup>3</sup>, yet her shattered columns, with their massive capitals all but joining each other in a single stone,

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix IV.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix IV. But let us quote the good Fazello's rather light-of-nature description (l. 171); "*Altera ibidem aedes Minervæ fuit, at ea ornatisima . . . Porro templum hoc illud esse Syracusanum prædicant quod maximum Syracusæ est hodie et præsulæ sedes. Est namque ex utroque latere tredecim lapideis columnis canaliculis uaque circumcavatis, abacisque, et epistyllis ornatis suffultum. Cujusmodi plura Agrigenti, Selinunte, et Segeste olim a Græcis condita videntur.*"

<sup>3</sup> Yet Artemis has, in the latest changes, risen again in some sort to displace other creeds. There is something odd when we read "*Via Diana* *San Paolo.*"

CHAP. V. carry us back, if not to the days of Archias, at least to days when the plantation of Archias reckoned among the youngest cities of the earth<sup>1</sup>. Between the dashing waves of the outer sea and the smoother waters of the Great Harbour, between the fortress of Dionysios and Charles which guards the approach to the mainland and the fortress of Maniakès and Frederick which guards the outlet to the main sea, the pillars of Artemis and Athênê, with the life of a city of men never ceasing around them, have seen the hill above them begin and cease to be, and again begin to be, a place of human dwelling. The work of Archias has outlived the work of Gelôn and of Dionysios.

Outposts  
command-  
ing the  
chief roads.

At the same time there seems some reason to think that, though the city was still confined to the Island, its immediate neighbourhood contained more than one outlying post, fortified, inhabited, and, in some cases at least, containing ancient and venerated temples. Of one of these, Polichna, with the temple of Olympian Zeus, we have had already to speak when treating of the beginnings of Syracuse<sup>2</sup>. And it would seem that there were at least two other detached outposts, each of them commanding one of the three great roads by which Syracuse could be approached. Polichna commands the Helorine road, the road to the direct south, answering to the modern road and railway to Noto. The great northern road to Megara and Katanê passed right over the hill. Between them the inland road, leading to the inland outpost of Akrai, passed under the southern side of Epipolai. Each of these roads, no less than that leading to Helônon, had a post to defend it as it drew near to the Island. The inland road passed below the great temple of Apollôn on the southern side of the hill, the *temenos* of which in after days gave a name to one of the later divisions of the city.

The  
*temenos* of  
Apollôn.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix IV.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. I. pp. 359-362.

It was a point of special importance, as it commands the ground below the theatre, where the lower terrace of the hill fades away, and the marshy ground comes up to the foot of the upper terrace<sup>1</sup>. Whatever share Apollôn may have had in his sister's house within the Island<sup>2</sup>, the patron god of all Greek settlers in Sicily<sup>3</sup> is likely to have had his own temple from very early times. And it seems quite reasonable to think that his special quarter, the *Temexitéa*, held on this road a position at once as sanctuary and as place of defence, answering to that of Polichna and the Olympieion on the Helorine road<sup>4</sup>.

But far more important than all was the post on the Achradina north road, on the hill itself, which must from quite early times have been much more than an outpost. The region known as Achradina<sup>5</sup>, a name which, at least in later usage, took in both the eastern part of the hill and the low ground between the hill and the Island, was at first no part of the city. But it does not follow that it was either uninhabited or unfortified. Merely as a military post, the upper part of Achradina could not have been long left altogether defenceless. It had in truth a good natural defence, and there can be little doubt that that natural defence was made available for military purposes in a remarkable way. The *Latomiei* or stone-quarries are, as every one knows, one of the most marked features of Syracusan topography, and a mournful interest attaches to them at a later stage of our story. A long line of them runs along the hill-side at its middle height. They have been cut and enlarged at various times; but there are signs that their beginning was very early. Their object seems to have been twofold. Besides the obvious

CHAP. V

Upper  
Achradina  
an outpost.The  
*Latomiei*.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> That he had some rights there appear from the inscription spoken of in Appendix IV.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. i. p. 326.

<sup>4</sup> See vol. i. p. 579.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix V.

CHAP. V. purpose of supplying building-stone, there can be little  
 Their military use. doubt that they had also a military use. They formed a strong line of defence for the upper part of Achradina. This points to this part of the hill as being occupied, inhabited, and defended, within two or three generations after the foundation of Syracuse.

The west wall of Achradina. Thus date of the stone-quarries may make us more inclined to accept the opinion which assigns to this period, the period between Archias and Gelôn, the building, or rather the cutting out, of the western wall of Achradina<sup>1</sup>. This wall may still be traced, and considerable parts are still remaining. It stretches from the upper terrace of Achradina nearly due north to the cliffs of the northern coast. It fills up the space between two points strongly marked by nature. It starts from a small valley which at that point divides Achradina from the later parts of the city to the west. It reaches to that deep inlet of the sea which, under the name of the *Panagia*<sup>2</sup>, keeps a memory of another age, and which opens into a picturesque limestonecombe running some way inland. Here, along the cliffs on the eastern side of the ravine, the wall and its towers, or the preparations for them by cutting away the rock, may be clearly traced. They form one whole with a vast mass of cuttings for other works, some of them evidently for large buildings, in the extreme north of Achradina. But the effect of the wall itself may be better studied at some central points further to the south. The lower part of the wall, which is all that remains, is made by simply cutting away the rock, the usual way of making things in Achradina. At Rome, at Alatrium, at Selinous<sup>3</sup>, in some later works in Syracuse itself, the hill-side was scarped, but the scarped surface had to be protected by a wall of masonry. Here the scarped surface

Cutting of the wall.

<sup>1</sup> See *Topografia*, 177. *Lapus*, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 349.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. i. p. 424.

and the wall are the same thing. Towers were placed in advance; unluckily no gateway is preserved. The earlier date given to this work, and thereby to the occupation and fencing-in of Achradina, is far more likely than that which assigns it to the time of Gelôn. We have to suppose an occupied space apart from the Island, less apart perhaps than it seems now, with the low ground at the foot of the hill lying unfortified between it and the Island.

If we conceive upper Achradina to have once been in this way distinct, we shall better understand some of the present appearances of this part of Syracuse. The *Latomiai* and the other cuttings in the rocks give a singularly wild air to a quarter which was once part of a thickly peopled city. We see the like to this day in more than one Sicilian town<sup>1</sup>. That is to say, the cuttings were made when Achradina was a distinct post; they are in truth part of its defences. Their existence in the seventh century before our æra seems well ascertained<sup>2</sup>. The most exposed side, open to the western side of the hill, was guarded by the scarped wall. The southern face, with its natural wall at two levels, was further protected by the *Latomiai*. To the east there were the cliffs and the sea beneath them; at a later time a wall, partly cut, partly built, was carried along the edge of the cliffs<sup>3</sup>. The ground thus taken in is far larger than Polichna, far larger than the Island itself. It was not a mere outpost; it was something that could easily grow into a second city. But it had not, like Polichna and Temenitês, any specially religious character, nor did it ever put on such a character at any time. Temples have been placed by conjecture within the bounds of Achradina, and so large a

Position  
and appear-  
ance of  
Achradina.

No special  
temples in  
Achradina.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. I. pp. 151, 173 in the accounts of Modica and Castrogiovanni.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix V.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix V.

CHAP. V. space is not likely to have been without temples of some kind. But it is certain that Achradina never boasted of any of the greatest and oldest and most homeward sanctuaries of the commonwealth. Zeus and Apollôn, Athênê and Artemis, Dêmêtêr and the Korê, always dwelled elsewhere.

Present  
state of  
Achradina.

The height of Achradina is now utterly desolate, save a few scattered houses which have arisen in later times.

Signs of  
buildings.

Few things are more striking than to wander over the forsaken site; it needs some effort of faith to carry about us the conviction that it was once a thickly inhabited city of men. Yet we cannot go many steps without lighting on signs of man's former presence. In some parts the cutting of the stone for the foundation of buildings shows that the buildings lay close together. Here and there we can trace an ancient street with the wheel-marks of distant ages still left in the solid stone. Here are the foundations of houses; here are the wider spaces cut away for the foundations of public buildings; here we light on monuments of days before the Greek had made the height his own. A mass of

Sikel tomb.

rock, cut away and hollowed from inside, with steps without and seats within, covered by the living stone hewn into the shape of a flattened barrel-vault, can hardly fail to be a resting-place of the dead<sup>1</sup>. In such a place, within the inhabited city, it can hardly be the tomb of a Greek; is it too wild a flight of fancy to believe that we have stood within the burial-chamber of a Sikel king? From many

View from  
Achradina.

points of the forsaken height, we look down on the lower terrace beneath, or the open sea and the Great Harbour, on Plêmyrion and Ortygia, the Island a marked contrast to all the rest, thick with houses, crowned with churches, fenced in by the vanishing walls of later times which might claim some respect as the representatives of older

<sup>1</sup> See the building, or rather cutting, marked 37 in the plan in the *Topographia*.

defences<sup>1</sup>. And there is the great and wide sea to the east, the inland mountains to the west. When Achradina was first occupied, the history of Syracuse had hardly begun; but in that history the occupation of Achradina was no small stage. CHAP. V.

Before we turn away from the early days of Syracuse, Polichna. we must take one more glance at Polichna. That outpost and its famous sanctuary are the subject of more distinct evidence than either of its fellows. We shall presently come across a historical notice which shows that the temple of Olympian Zeus was in being in the very beginning of the fifth century. Nor is there any need to think that it was new then. It has not wholly perished. Those who have had the luck to write or to read Syracusan history with the Great Harbour beneath their eyes know well the two columns, white in the morning sun, which greet their eyes at every dawn. Clearly they stand out in the western view from Ortygia, the view whence all Syracusan history seems laid out as in a chart before us. Those two shattered columns are all that is left of the great Olympieion, The Olympieion. famous in the tale of Thucydides and in all Syracusan history. On the spot we can trace out part of the basement, and we see that of the two columns one was the second in the front to the east, while the other was one of the range on the north side. The entablature is gone; the capitals are gone; but we can see that the columns are of the true old Doric type; we could tell without book that they not only looked down on the camps of Himilkôn and of Nikias, but that they beheld the march of Gelôn, when he came to make Syracuse the head of Sikeliot cities. They have one feature

<sup>1</sup> At my visit to Syracuse in 1889, the spirit of havoc, which seems to be the very life of Sicilian municipalities, was glutting itself with the destruction of the walls of the Emperor Charles. Now, in 1890, the havoc has spread itself to the gates, and we have lost the lovely impression of the work of the tyrant which was given us by the work of the Emperor on the same site.

CHAP. V. which marks them off from most other columns of their class. Far smaller than the giant pillars of Selinous, far smaller than those of the temples in the Syracusan island, they are not, like them, built out of pieces, drum piled on drum. Each is hewn out of a single stone, like the vast monoliths in which Roman taste delighted in later days.

View from  
Polichna.

There is no better point to take in the greatness of the Syracuse that once was, to trace the advance from the Ortygia of Archias to the fivefold city of the second Hierôn, than either the Olympieion itself or some other points of the hill of Polichna. The castle of Maniakés looks across the mouth of the Great Harbour to the head-land where once stood the forts of N.kias. The lofty front of the great church of Syracuse shows, if it hides, the temple of Athênâ which became in turn the sanctuary of Christ and Mahomet. The fortifications of Charles the Emperor mark the spot where once stood the castle of Dionysios, the law-courts of Timoleôn, the royal house of Hierôn. The eye ranges over the long ridge of Achradina and Epipolai, with the stern bluff of Thymbris rising behind. It dimly lights on the buildings crouching under the shadow of the hill, buildings hardly seen in their distinctness, but among which the rising seats of the theatre of the Greek, till they were shut out by the *scenæ* of the Roman, the arcades on arcades of the Roman's own amphitheatre, must once have stood forth as prominent objects against the hill-side which rose above them. We see the toilsome path by which Démocritus marched to his night attack on the height of Epipolai. We see where Himilkôn pitched his camp in the very home of pestilence. And in that view we would fain believe that we see the worthiest spot of all, the home where Timoleôn dwelled as the father and counsellor of the city that he had saved<sup>1</sup>. One great

<sup>1</sup> I know of no reason to place the estate of Timoleôn at Tremila rather than anywhere else; but let the popular belief stand for the moment.



scene only in the long tale is perhaps well hidden from us. CHAP. V.  
 We can call up the vision of Syracuse, greatest city of Hellas, greatest city of Europe; we cannot see where the soldiers of Marcellus climbed up to change the home of commonwealths, of tyrants, and of kings, into the head of a subject province where Verres was sent to rule in the house of Hierôn.

§ 2. *The First Age of the Tyrants.*

B.C. 608-505

It is but a meagre tale that we have been able to put together of the political history of Syracuse during two hundred and seventy years. Yet it is far fuller than any that we can put together of any of the other Siceliot cities. Of Naxos for instance we have not a word to say. And though in some cities we have fuller accounts of particular events, yet, far as we have been from coming to a consecutive history of Syracuse, we have come nearer to it than we can come in the case of any other city of Sicily. And one thing stands out before all others in our Syracusan notices. A king, as we have seen, is just possible; but we may safely say that in this first age of Hellenic Sicily Syracuse never saw a tyrant. We have seen the strife of the patricians and the commons leading to the momentary victory of the excluded class; we have not seen a single man take advantage of the disputes of the two political parties to make himself absolute master over both. It ought not to be needful again to define the Greek tyranny; yet, when that and so many other technical terms of Greek politics are so commonly turned away from their proper meaning by vague popular use, it may be well to put in a warning for the hundredth time as to the meaning which attached to the word *tyrant* when both name and thing were new.

No tyrants  
as yet at  
Syracuse.

Abuse of  
the name

CHAP. V. The experience of our own times happily helps us.

Modern Our age has seen the growth, the dominion, and the  
experience, fall, of one power in which the Greek tyranny was reproduced to the letter. But when all that is meant is to brand a modern ruler as an oppressor, it is better to call him an oppressor than to misuse the Greek technical term. According to Greek notions, all oppressors

Meaning are not tyrants and all tyrants are not oppressors. The  
of the word tyrant, tyrant, in Greek republican days, was the man who raised himself to kingly or more than kingly power in a state where kingship was not the lawful constitution. So, by a most accurate analogy, in Roman Imperial times the tyrant was the man who raised himself to Empire by revolt against an Emperor lawfully acknowledged<sup>1</sup>. These two uses of the name answer as nearly to each other as the different political conditions to which they severally belong allow. It is a kind of secondary use of the word when the name tyrant is applied to a lawful king who takes to himself powers beyond those which the laws of his state have entrusted to its kings<sup>2</sup>. But in all three uses of the name the leading idea is the same; tyranny is everywhere usurpation. Its essence is the unlawful gaining of power; as to the use of the power when gained, the name is, strictly speaking, colourless. The fact that so many of the Greek tyrants were harsh and even bloody rulers helped, even in old Greek times, to give the word a shade of meaning which did not originally belong to it. Still in Greek use, though the oppressive tyrant was the rule, yet to speak of a just and benevolent tyrant

Tyrants under the Roman Empire.

Change in the meaning of the word.

<sup>1</sup> It should be remembered that the Roman use of the word lingered very long into the middle ages. The definite notion of usurpation, of supplanting a lawful power of some kind, whether kingly or republican, was slow in giving way to the vague use of the word now common.

<sup>2</sup> Arist. Pol. v. 10, 6; *ὅτι θεῖον μὲν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων καὶ ἐν τοῖς πόλεσιν κατέσταναι βασιλείαν τυραννίδα*. So Nabis at Sparta long after. See Livy, xxxiv. 31.

was not a contradiction in terms<sup>1</sup>. In its Roman use CHAP. V.  
the word is absolutely colourless as to the nature of the  
government. Some of the class of so-called tyrants were  
among the best rulers that the Empire ever saw. For  
in their day it was simply a question of final success Difference  
whether a man should be handed down in history as between  
tyrant or as Emperor. It was just as in later days, Greek and  
when it was a question of final success whether a man Roman  
should be handed down as Pope or as Antipope. Such tyranny.  
could not fail to be the case when the question lay between  
two men; it was different where the question lay between  
two forms of government. In old Greek ideas the lawful  
king might be degraded into the tyrant; but no amount  
of success on the part of the tyrant, no amount of military  
glory, no real merit in his civil government, could ever  
change him, as long as the true Greek spirit lasted, into a  
lawful king

Yet kingship and tyranny always stand in a certain Relation  
relation to one another. In Greek ideas tyranny was the between  
corruption, perhaps rather the base imitation, of kingship. kingship  
So oligarchy, the rule of the few, was the base imitation and  
of aristocracy, the rule of the best; so the rule of the mere tyranny.  
multitude, call it *ochlocracy* or what we will, was the base  
imitation of democracy, the rule of the whole people. It  
is hard to say what the formal position of a tyrant was;  
or it might be truer to say that, tyranny being in its  
own nature unlawful, the tyrant had no formal position.  
He got power how he could; he kept it how he could;  
he exercised it as best suited his purpose. The outward The body-  
badge of the tyrant, as distinguished from the republican guard.  
magistrate, is the body-guard, the spearmen. The tyrant's  
first step to dominion is to get such a guard by any  
manner of means, not uncommonly by the vote of a de-

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xiii. 4. 17, of the tyrants of Kibyra.

CHAP. V. luded people<sup>1</sup>. For the tyrant is described as most commonly rising to power by the help of personal influence of some kind. He is a magistrate who abuses his official powers to his own ends; he is a popular leader, who abuses his sway over the minds of the people. Not uncommonly he is the character whose fascination is the strongest of all, the man of noble birth who takes up the cause of the commons against his own order. When, in any of these ways, he has once got armed men at his bidding, his next step is to seize the akropolis or other strong place of the city. That he makes the stronghold of his power. There he surrounds himself with mercenary soldiers, the main stay of a dominion which, having no root in law, has to rest wholly upon force.

Exercise of the tyrant's power. As for the way in which the power thus gained is exercised, that differs according to the circumstances of each case, and specially according to the amount of opposition which the tyrant's government met with. In some cases there may have been from the beginning, or there may have grown up through the unrestrained use of power, a real delight in oppression, a positive pleasure in the infliction of suffering. But there is no reason to think that this was the usual character of a Greek tyranny. The tyrant, as a rule, stuck at no crime which either passion or policy dictated; but there is no reason to think that the tyrant, as a rule, committed crimes for the mere pleasure of committing them. In many cases the tyrant had very little temptation to any monstrous crimes. A tyrant who rose to power as a popular leader against an exclusive class might do acts of wrong towards members of the body which he had overthrown; he might still keep his popularity with those who rejoiced in his success and with

<sup>1</sup> See for instance the well-known story of Peisistratos, l. 59, and Grote's comment (iii. 207) that the *κοινὸν* presently became *ἐκπύρον*.

whom he had every motive to deal gently. It does not appear that the tyrant, as a rule, swept away the laws and constitution of the city in which he reigned. The forms of law might go on; it was enough if magistrates and assemblies practically did their master's bidding. Whenever either silent influence or express command failed to secure obedience, the spearmen were ready to step in.

Here then was a man with the power, or more than the power, of a king, but with no formal kingly position. Our evidence leads us to believe that the early tyrants never took the title, or assumed the state, of kings. But they had a craving after the position which they did not venture to take to themselves. They were well pleased when any one would bestow on them the titles of lawful kingship. On the other hand, among writers in old Greece, to whom the rule of one in any shape was unfamiliar, it is not uncommon to find the name of tyrant applied to lawful kings, either of the past or of the present<sup>1</sup>. And in later times, when the presence and the dominion of the Macedonian princes had made the Greek mind more familiar with the notion of kingship, the distinction between king and tyrant grew fainter. On the one hand, a class of tyrants arose quite distinct from the tyrants of the elder day. The tyrant of the Macedonian times had in many cases not risen to power by any means within the city itself. He often represented no party within the city; he was a mere external oppressor, very often a leader of mercenaries whom the Macedonian king found it to his interest to maintain in power. And in those times also tyrants who had more in common with the elder class, men who had risen to power by some means or other within the city, tried to put themselves as far as they could on a level with the Macedonian princes. They were not only well pleased when any one would speak of them as kings;

CHAP. V

The forms of law go on.

Application of the kingly title to tyrants.

Later form of tyranny.

Later tyrants assume the kingly title.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix L.

CHAP. V. they took the kingly title to themselves. The style which was taken by the generals of Alexander was surely not too lofty for Greek rulers of equal power. Whether Syracuse ever saw King Pollis or not, she certainly saw a good deal of King Agathoklés.

Tyranny  
grows  
worse.

The worst thing about the Greek tyranny was that the rule of the tyrant was almost sure to grow harsher as it grew older. The tyrant always had enemies; even if he was popular with one party, he was hated by another. Hatred led to plots and attempts on his life; such attempts further soured the tyrant's temper; whatever he

Pictures of  
tyranny.

was before, he became suspicious and cruel. The frightful pictures which are set before us of the tyrant, as a solitary being, trusting none, never sure of the faithfulness of friend or kinsman, of wife or child<sup>1</sup>, are most likely exaggerations or paintings from the very worst cases. But there is an element of truth in them. It is not easy to speak the truth even to a lawful king; it must have been

Short-lived  
dynasties  
of tyrants.

yet harder to speak it to a tyrant. The tyrant's career was often cut short by private killing or by public insurrection; it became a proverb that an old tyrant was a rare sight<sup>2</sup>. And, when he succeeded in gratifying the common instinct of mankind, when he contrived to hand on his power to his son, his son commonly proved worse than himself. Brought up in somewhat of the position of a prince, he was not under the restraints of a prince; nor had he the wisdom which a varied experience had often given to his father. The second of a line of tyrants is sometimes less cruel than his father; he is commonly more debauched, more given to wound the family honour of his subjects. The most long-lived tyrannies seldom lasted beyond the third generation. David, Solomon, Rehoboam; the man who founds, the man who enjoys, and the man

<sup>1</sup> This comes out most strongly in the Hieron of Xenophon.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. Sept. Sap. Conv. c. 2.

who loses, are typical characters among Greek tyrants as well as among Eastern kings. CHAP. V.

Of usurped powers of this kind the colonies, and above all the Sikeliot colonies, seem, at a first glance at Grecian history, to be the special home. They certainly are the abiding home. In old Greece there are two periods in which tyranny is common, but there is a long time between them in which tyrants are seldom heard of. A wide gap parts the tyrants who were put down by the Spartans in the sixth century before Christ and the tyrants who were put down by Aratos of Sikyôn in the third. In Sicily there is no gap of any such length. The tyrants begin very soon after the foundation of the cities; they go on at intervals till Sicily passes under the dominion of Rome. Phalaris and Phintias had contemporary tyrants in old Greece; but in the age of Dionysios the tyrant was in old Greece all but unknown. This is one of the many marks of difference between Greece and her colonies. Brilliant as are some periods of the life of Hellas transplanted to other shores, more brilliant at some times than the life of Hellas on its own ancient soil, the freedom of the colonial cities, like their greatness, had not the same firm and abiding root as the freedom of the cities of old Greece. The constant appearance of tyrannies in Sicily is part of that general uncertainty of things, those constant changes of governments and of populations, which were marked in the fifth century before Christ as distinguishing Sicily from old Greece<sup>1</sup>. It is not wonderful that the tyrants of Sicily became proverbial<sup>2</sup>. Sicily was the chosen land of tyrants of the Greek type, even as in after ages Britain was the chosen land of tyrants of the Roman type<sup>3</sup>. In our

Tyrants most common in the colonies. Two periods of tyranny in old Greece.

Tyranny more abiding in Sicily.

All kinds of tyrants in Sicily

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. vi. 17.

<sup>2</sup> It is hardly needful to refer to the mention of "Siculi tyranni" in Horace (Ep. l. 2. 58). They set the standard.

<sup>3</sup> "Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum," says Jerome. See M. H. R. xix.

CHAP. V. Sicilian story we shall come across every class of tyrant; we shall see every kind of means by which men rose to tyranny. Syracuse will, in days to come, supply us with the more part, and the more famous part, of our examples. But as yet Syracuse knows not the rule of the tyrant; it is with other cities and, with one exception, with less famous tyrants, that we have to begin.

Panaïtios  
of Leontinoi first  
recorded  
tyrant.  
B.C. 602.

The first name on the roll of the tyrants of Sicily is certainly not a famous one. Panaïtios of Leontinoi, whose date is fixed to the last years of the seventh century, is said to have been the earliest of the class<sup>1</sup>. He is placed on high authority among those tyrants who rose to power through abuse of their influence as demagogues in opposition to an oligarchy<sup>2</sup>. This implies that there were already at this time serious disputes at Leontinoi between an exclusive and an excluded class. In these classes we may most likely see another case of inhabitants of older and newer settlement. A later account, which gives some details which are at least not impossible, sees in the dispute only a strife between the rich and the poor. And undoubtedly the strife between older and newer citizens, between patricians and plebeians, had a constantly growing tendency to put on that shape. Only we must bear in mind that that was neither its essential nor its earliest shape.

Civil dis-  
cussion of  
Leontinoi.

First re-  
corded war  
between  
Greeks in  
Sicily.

The story of Panaïtios, as we have it, opens a new period in two ways. He is not only the first recorded tyrant in Sicily; he is the first recorded commander in a

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius, *Ol.* 41. 4. p. 314, Boncalli; "Panaetius primus in Sicilia arripuit tyrannidem."

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle twice mentions him in this character, *v.* 10. 6, and more distinctly *v.* 12, 13; *ὡς τυραννίδα μεταβάλλει ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας, ὥστε ἐν Συρακούσῃ σχεδὸν οἱ πλείους τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐν Λεοντίνοις οἱ τῆς Παναητίου τυραννίδος καὶ ἐν Γέλας οἱ τῆς Κλεάνδρου καὶ ἐν Ῥηγίου οἱ τῆς Ἀναξιλάνου καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πολλαῖς πόλεσιν ὁμοίως.*



war between two Greek cities in Sicily. He leads the forces of Chalkidian Leontinoi in a war with the neighbouring Dorians of Megara. The war is not likely to have been the first of its class, but it is the first which we find recorded in our meagre sources. If we see at Naxos the Ebbfleet of Sicily, the war of Leontinoi and Megara will answer to the fight of West-Saxon and Kentishman at Wibbandūn, where Æthelberht gave way to the arms of Ceawlin<sup>1</sup>. The *polemarch* of Leontinoi wins over the poor, as they appear in this version, by pointing out to them how far their exploits in the war have outdone those of the rich. By the rich, in military language, we may doubtless understand the knights or horsemen<sup>2</sup>. He then orders a review of arms and horses outside the gates. It is not said, but it seems implied, that the review concerned the horsemen only; it sounds like a kind of penal examination after real or alleged failures of duty. The arms are to be examined; the men, seemingly slaves, who have the care of the horses, are bidden meanwhile to take them to pasture in a woody place<sup>3</sup>. Panaitios has also at his command six hundred peltasts. We are a little surprised at seeing the Thracian mercenaries of the fifth century before Christ already in Sicily in the seventh. As they seem to be spoken of as men ready for revolution, it may be that the six hundred were light-armed men of the poorer class in Leontinoi itself<sup>4</sup>. The officer in command of

CHAP V.

Megara  
and Leon-  
tinoi.Panaitios  
*polemarch*.Trick by  
which he  
seizes the  
tyranny.

<sup>1</sup> See the English Chronicles under A.D. 568, the first recorded war between Englishman and Englishman.

<sup>2</sup> This story comes from Polyainos, v. 47; Παναίτιος Λεοντίνων Μεγαρεῦσι πολέμοιόντων περὶ γῆς ὅρων πολεμαρχῶν πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς πλούτους καὶ τεζοῦσι τοῖς εὐπόροις καὶ ἰσχυροῖς ἀνείλκουσαν ὥς ἐκείνων πλεονεκτοῦντων ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, αὐτῶν δὲ πολλὰ ἐλάττουμένων.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.; πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἰσοπλίσιν ποιήσας τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἐρῶμαίην καὶ δοκιμάζαν ἐπειράτο, τοὺς δὲ ἰσχυροὺς τοῖς ἡνιώχεσι παραδοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀγεῖν ἐς κομὴν. This mention of the horses looks as if the review was confined to the horsemen.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.; ἑξακοσίους δὲ πελταστὰς ἔχον εὐτρεπέας πρὸς τὴν ἐναντάσασιν.

CHAP. V. them is left to look after the examination of arms, while Panaitios goes into the shade, and persuades the keepers of the horses to set upon their masters<sup>1</sup>. They mount the horses and charge their masters, while the peltasts join in the slaughter. The city is occupied and Panaitios is proclaimed tyrant<sup>2</sup>.

Character  
of anec-  
dotes.

One has grave doubts as to the proclamation of Panaitios or any other man by the formal style of tyrant, it is still less likely if tyranny was then so new a thing in Sicily as we are told that it was. But this is just the kind of point on which we must not look for minute accuracy in writers of the class from which this story comes. The retailers of anecdotes often borrowed the substance of their stories from perfectly trustworthy writers now lost. But they did not always copy them literally. As they sometimes confounded one tyrant with another and one city with another, still less were they likely to notice differences of technical language between an earlier and a later time. In this present story there is doubtless enough of truth to justify us in setting down Panaitios as one who made himself tyrant by the help of the commons against the ruling order, and who did not scruple to abuse his powers as a military commander to cause a massacre of one part of his army. The beginnings of Panaitios were certainly bad; of the nature of his government and of its end we hear nothing.

The city which came into being at the same time as Leontinoi, its Chalkidian sister Katanê, had another experience, and a happier. Our one record of Katanê during the time with which we are now concerned gives us a

<sup>1</sup> There is something picturesque, but not altogether intelligible, in the description of Panaitios at this moment (Polyainos, v. 47); αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ βίβρα σκυῖς δέμενοι ἀνεχώρησε καὶ τοὺς ἡνίοχους ἔκτανεν ἐπιβίβαν τοῖς δεσπόταις.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰβ.; κατελάβοντο τὴν πόλιν καὶ Παναίτιον τύραννον ἀκηγόρευσαν.

glimpse, not indeed of a tyrant, but still of a man clothed with special powers beyond those of an ordinary magistrate. The tyrant rose to power through political disputes among his fellow-citizens. In some happier cases the citizens by common consent chose some man to whom all agreed to look up, and clothed him with powers to heal their differences. The *Aisymnétēs*, a word which it is hard to translate, was a personal ruler who was neither king nor tyrant, but who was, under special circumstances, chosen to wield special powers, whether for life or for a fixed time<sup>1</sup>. It is worth noticing that the Imperial power at Rome arose out of a commission of this kind. The early Emperors, as far as their formal position went, cannot be rightly classed either with kings or with tyrants. They were citizens to whom, in theory at least, the commonwealth had granted certain extraordinary, but still defined, powers. But in all these cases alike, whether we are dealing with the earliest or the latest days of a commonwealth, we are dealing with a state of things in which it was easy and natural for a single man to be set, whether by lawful or unlawful means, above the level of his fellows. And this again suggests the thought that, where the tyrant and the *Aisymnétēs* were both familiar, a return to acknowledged kingship might not be wholly impossible<sup>2</sup>.

Akin to the *Aisymnétēs*, often the same in person and office, was the primitive lawgiver, entrusted by common consent with powers to compose the dissensions of the citizens and to provide against future evils by a formal code of laws. We hear of many such; of the Spartan Lykourgos, the most famous of them all, of the Athenian Drakón and

The  
*Aisym-*  
*nétēs*.

Origin of  
the Impe-  
rial power  
at Rome.

The an-  
cient law  
givers.

<sup>1</sup> On the *Aisymnétēs*, see Plaut, *De Tyrannia*, l. 115. The most noted case is that of Pittakos of Mitylénæ, who however is also spoken of both as *τύραννος* and as *βασιλεύς* (*ἄλει μάλιστ' ἄλει καὶ γὰρ Πιττακὸς ἄλει, μεγάλας Μιτυληνάων βασιλεύων*. Bergk, iii. 673). I do not know that the word *αἰσυνήτης* is ever directly applied to any Sicilian ruler.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 8.

CHAP. V. Solon, and, coming nearer to the land with which we are concerned, of Zaleukos of the Epizephyrian Lokroi. All of these, even Solon, the latest and the most historical, have a certain mythical atmosphere cleaving to them. For in truth the position of a lawgiver of this kind is one which offers special temptations for the growth of legend. A king or magistrate, famous in the history of his people, a Servius or an Ælfred, who is known to have been the author of some laws, is, by a natural process, credited with the authorship of a crowd of enactments and customs, many of them earlier, many of them later, than his real day. But the primitive Greek lawgiver holds a special position in the history of legislation. He is most unlike the Teutonic king, whose legislation commonly comes to little more than causing the existing customs of his people to be set down in a written shape. The Greek lawgiver deemed it his business, while he was legislating, to legislate about everything. His calling was not merely to settle a political constitution, but to regulate the lives of the citizens in all matters, and that by no means according to the tradition of the elders, but according to his own personal notions of what was expedient and becoming. The laws of the primitive lawgiver, in order to be the better remembered, were often clothed in verse. They embody the dry, practical, Hesiodic wisdom of an early age. We may even see a touch of spiteful humour in such an enactment as a law of divorce which allowed the man freely to put away his wife and the woman freely to put away her husband, but which added that in such a case neither must marry a second wife or husband younger than the partner who had been put away<sup>1</sup>. This last is quoted as one of the laws of the wise Charondas, the lawgiver who stands out as the one

Greek and  
Teutonic  
laws.

Wide  
range of  
early Greek  
legislation.  
Its char-  
acter.

<sup>1</sup> Did. xii. 18. As if to catch Cicero beforehand, the rule is extended to both sexes, but the woman's share comes first.

man known at Katanê during our present period, as the tyrant Panaitios stands out as the one man known at Leontinoi. CHAP. V.

Of the laws of Charôndas, genuine or alleged, considerable fragments remain; but of the man himself it is hard to say anything with certainty<sup>1</sup>. There is nothing to fix his exact date, whether in the seventh or the sixth century. His legislation may very well have been older than the tyranny of Panaitios. At all events he belongs to Sicily in the days with which we are now dealing. One thing only is certain; no one can accept the version which carries him and his laws into so very modern a time and place as the Thourioi of the fifth century<sup>2</sup>. That Charôndas legislated for Katanê there seems no reasonable doubt; he is said to have legislated for other cities as well, among which Rhêgion is specially mentioned. That Katanê was his birth-place was the general belief; but there is some force in the suggestion of a modern scholar that the Doric form of his name shows that he was not a native of the Ionian city. He may well have been, like some others among these primitive law-givers, or like the *podestà* or the *senator* of mediæval Italy, sent for from some other city to allay the dissensions of that with which his name has become specially connected<sup>3</sup>. If we could conceive him to have been a native of Sybaris adopted at Katanê, we should have some clue to the wild confusion which carried him to Thourioi. His laws seem to have been in verse, and to have been widely spread. Of their genuine matter we can say but little; they are noticed by a string of writers from Plato onwards, and it is plain that in later times the name of Charôndas was

Charôndas  
of Katanê.

He legis-  
lates for  
other cities.

Nature  
and frag-  
ments of  
his laws.

<sup>1</sup> On Charôndas and his laws see Appendix VI.

<sup>2</sup> See Holm, G. S. I. 401.

<sup>3</sup> According to the strange confusion of Diodôros, xii. 11, which I have examined in Appendix VI.

CHAP. V. one which was freely used, like some other names, as a peg on which to hang edifying precepts which were no part of his legislation. Still there is reason to believe that some parts of the substance, though not the form, of his genuine laws have come down to us.

His alleged  
banish-  
ment. Of the life of Charondas we really know nothing. The statement that he legislated for Rhégion because he was banished from Katanê is most likely a mere hasty inference<sup>1</sup>.

Story of  
his death. The more famous tale of his death is common to him with more than one lawgiver in Sicily and elsewhere, of times both earlier and later than his own.

His laws had forbidden any man to appear armed in the public assembly<sup>2</sup>. This ordinance distinctly points to that change in Greek manners by which the ancient practice of going armed was laid aside, and even came to be looked on as one of the badges which marked off the barbarian

from the Greek<sup>3</sup>. We might conceive that, as in many Teutonic lands, both in earlier and in later times, the sword or spear was borne in the assembly, as a badge of freedom and citizenship, long after it had been laid aside in the common intercourse of daily life. Charondas, so the story goes, had gone into the country to act against robbers; on such an errand he was of course girded with his sword. While he was away, some sudden need called for the gathering of an assembly. The meeting so summoned was fiercely divided between two parties. Cha-

<sup>1</sup> *Ælian*, V. H. iii. 17; *Χαρίωνδας δὲ τὰ ἐν Κανδῶν καὶ τὰ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ [ἐνηνομήσασεν] ὅτε ἐκ Κανδῶντος ἐφύγετο.*

<sup>2</sup> The story is told, of course out of place, by *Diodorus*, xii. 19. He tells exactly the same story of the much later Syracusan lawgiver *Dioklēs* in xiii. 33. He himself remarks that it is told of both. It certainly seems more in character with the earlier than with the later date.

<sup>3</sup> See *Thucydides* i. 6. The text of Charondas' law is abridged in the words of *Diodorus*; *νενομισμένην δ' ἥτις μηδὲν μὲθ' ὅπλων ἐκκλησιάζειν.* The story which he tells of *Gelon* in xi. 26 implies that at Syracuse the armed assembly went on in his day, which we should hardly have looked for.

Charondas, coming back at the moment and forgetting that CHAP. V. he still wore the forbidden weapon, hastened to the place of meeting and tried to calm the angry disputants. His enemies—the tale implies that he had enemies, perhaps only those whom his speech told against—cried out against his breach of his own law. “By Zeus,” he answered, “I will not set aside my law; I will confirm it.” He drew his sword and slew himself<sup>1</sup>. This story, doubtful as to time, place, and person, goes along with the legend of the Pious Brethren to make up the whole of the history of Katane for two hundred and fifty years.

Next in order in our survey of Sicily during these ages, we might be led, both by the antiquity of the city and by the probable date of the events themselves, to put the beginning of the recorded revolutions of Gela. But the dates are so uncertain that chronological order matters little, and the affairs of Gela lead up more directly than those of any other Sikeliot city to the great movements of which we shall have to speak presently. Selinous too had Other tyrannies. tyrants; so had Zanklê, unless indeed she had lawful kings. But the tyrannies at Selinous and Zanklê connect themselves, like those of Gela, with other events. It will be better, before we come to them, to speak of a tyranny which does not in the same way connect itself with later history, but which, as a tyranny, stands out before all others. There Syracuse and Akragas. is a marked contrast indeed between the story of Syracuse, all but the eldest of Sikeliot cities, and the story of Akragas, as far as our present times go, the youngest. While we have to patch up our record of Syracuse from a few scattered notices spread over more than two centuries, Akragas, starting in the world a hundred and fifty years later than Syracuse, becomes the centre of a rich

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xii. 19; “ὅτε ἔχων ἐπίοντος, καταλέλυκας τὸν ἴδιον νόμον, Μὰ Δί’, ἐπεὶν, ἀλλὰ πέρην ποιῆσαι καὶ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφιθον, θαντὸν ἀπέσφαξεν.

CHAP. V. store of what we hardly know whether to speak of as history or as mythology. History it hardly is in any case, for we have no consecutive narrative; but the wealth of anecdotes and references for Akragantine story in the sixth century before Christ is overwhelming. And, if we are not, as at Leontinoi and Katané, confined to the name of a single man, yet all gathers round a single man. Akragas could at least boast, such as the boast is, that in all early Greek history no name was more widely spread than that of her tyrant Phalaris. No man has given rise to more controversies, and to controversies of singularly varied kinds, both in older and in later times. Was Phalaris among the earliest masters of Greek prose composition? Did he put men to a death of torture by means of a brazen bull? All questions about the letters of Phalaris might be looked on as set at rest for ever, were it not that a kindred imposture of far later times still finds believers. Those who still strive to set up the fake Ingulf as a genuine authority for the eleventh century after Christ may haply strive again to set up the false Phalaris as a genuine authority for the sixth century before Christ<sup>1</sup>. The bull supplied matter for controversy long before the letters were written, and it still remains a matter of controversy by no means so easy to settle as the letters. And, letters and bull apart, Phalaris still remains a puzzle. We are drawn towards him as the single figure that stands boldly out in this stage of Sicilian history; but, as we draw near, it is far from easy to fix his birth-place or his exact date, or to make out any one of his acts for certain. Our knowledge of him really comes to hardly more than the bare facts that he was tyrant of Akragas, and that he became tyrant within a remarkably short time after the foundation of the city. We should specially like to know the

Fame of  
Phalaris.

Questions  
about him.

The  
letters.

The brazen  
bull.

Little  
really  
known of  
Phalaris.

<sup>1</sup> On the pretended Letters of Phalaris see Appendix VII.



causes which made Akragas fall under the power of a tyrant during the days of its growth, or even childhood, while at Syracuse tyrants did not arise for nearly two hundred and fifty years, and then did not come from within but from without. This question presents itself equally at whatever date we fix the accession of Phalaris. And in any case it is not wonderful that he should be spoken of as no native of Akragas, perhaps as no native of Sicily. Many who have written about Phalaris seem to have forgotten that, ten years after the foundation of Akragas, all its active citizens must have been born in other places, that, even thirty years after its foundation, such must have been the case with the more part of them. Akragas was a colony of Gela, and it brought its founders from Rhodes. There is therefore nothing wonderful if it should happen that a man from the neighbouring Dorian island of Astypalaia was admitted as one of the first settlers. A statement, resting on the worst possible authority, but not unlikely in itself and not contradicted by any better authority, brings Phalaris from that island<sup>1</sup>. And it is hard to see with what motive such a story, if false, could have been invented.

CHAP. V.

Date of his  
tyranny  
B.C. 570-  
554Phalaris  
not born  
at Akra-  
gas;perhaps at  
Astypa-  
laia.Mention of  
Phalaris by  
Aristotle.

The question how Phalaris rose to despotic power in the new city is more important than the question as to the place of his birth. In one passage of his serious political writings, Aristotle remarks that most of the Siceliot tyrants belonged to that class who were demagogues before they were tyrants<sup>2</sup>. In another place he speaks of Phalaris by name as one of those who rose to power through the possession of some magistracy<sup>3</sup>. In these two statements

<sup>1</sup> He is made in the *Letters*, 35 (p. 144, ed. Schäfer), to describe himself as Φάλαρις, Δεωδάμαντος υἱὸς Ἀστιπυλαίων τὸ γένος, πατρίδος ἀπεστέρη-  
μένος, τύραννος Ἀκραγαντίας.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Politics*, v. 8, where he places Phalaris among the tyrants who rose to power ἐκ τῶν τιμῶν.

CHAP. V. there is nothing contradictory, nothing improbable; but in another part of his writings, where he was less bound to take heed to the facts of history, Aristotle has told us a story which answers itself on the face of it. He brings in the poet Stêsichoros as inventing or repeating the well-known fable of the horse, the stag, and the man, in order to hinder the men, not of Akragas but of Himera, from giving Phalaris the means of seizing absolute dominion. He is already general with full powers, and he has reached that stage of "the despot's progress"<sup>1</sup> in which the budding tyrant asks for a guard<sup>2</sup>. The story would equally suit a great number of cities and a great number of tyrants. The mention of Stêsichoros goes some way to suggest that it may be in its place at Himera; only, if so, the name of Phalaris must have displaced the name of some local tyrant. For Phalaris another version has Gelôn, in fact, for the purposes of the story, one tyrant was as good as another.

Story of  
Phalaris  
and Stêsichoros.

Story of  
the rise of  
Phalaris,  
B. O. 579.

It is quite different with the mention of Phalaris as one who rose to the tyranny through the possession of some office. This goes far to show that there is some ground for a story which in some points recalls one which we have already come across at Syracuse<sup>3</sup>. The young city of Akragas, in the tenth year of its foundation, is still imperfect. The high hill of its akropolis still needs both divine and human defences. It is still without a wall, at least without such a wall of stone as full safety needed. It is also without a house for the protecting god, Zeus of the City<sup>4</sup>. The men of Akragas, in their faith, begin the holy

<sup>1</sup> I borrow this phrase from Grote, iii. 307.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 51. On the story about Stêsichoros and Phalaris in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, II. 20, and the other version which brings in Gelôn, see Appendix VII. The course of things is at least well marked; *ἐλεμίνων στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῶν Ἱμεραίων Φελαριν καὶ μελλόντων Φελακῆν ἀδύναμι τοῦ σώματος*.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> The story comes from Polyainos, i. 1. His *Ζεὺς Πολιεύς* is clearly the

work first of all. Phalaris, like Agathoklês at Syracuse, CHAP. V.  
 was entrusted with the building of the temple on the He is em-  
 height, the temple which has given way to the present ployed to  
 cathedral church, though we cannot, as at Syracuse, say build the  
 that it actually survives in the later building. The work temple of  
 was a great one; for the height was stony and rugged. Zeus.  
 Yet it was not for the honour of the sovereign god  
 to build his house on any site lower than the highest of  
 all<sup>1</sup>. Phalaris, accustomed to such works<sup>2</sup>, engages to His abuse  
 employ the best workmen and to find the best materials. of his  
 Entrusted to that end with a large sum of public money, trust.  
 he not only lays in a store of wood, stones, and iron for the  
 work, but he both buys slaves and hires mercenaries for  
 his own purposes. The work was begun, but only begun;  
 the foundations were still in digging, when Phalaris sent a  
 herald to offer a reward for the discovery of those who had  
 stolen the wood and iron that had been made ready for the  
 building. This increased the trust which the people placed  
 in Phalaris. They agreed to his proposal that—seemingly  
 to guard against such thefts—he should be further en-  
 trusted with the charge of surrounding the akropolis with  
 a wall. The wall is built; the akropolis is ready to be  
 used as a fortress. Phalaris now frees his slaves and arms He seizes  
 both them and the hirings with axes. He takes advantage the  
 of the feast of the Thesmophoria, the feast of Dêmêtêr tyranny.  
 and her Child, the goddesses of Henna, no doubt already  
 the goddesses of all Sicily, which, we are to suppose, as the

same as Zeus 'Αραβίριος. There is no difficulty in the two names. The  
 first settlers called the god 'Αραβίριος after the Rhodian mount, when  
 there was only one temple of Zeus in Akragas. When the Olympian  
 arose down below, the Zeus of the elder city might well be distinguished  
 as Πολίτιος. See vol. i. p. 437.

<sup>1</sup> In the story in Polyainos, Phalaris is τελώνης τῶν πολιτῶν. The temple  
 is to be built at a cost of two hundred talents; ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρας ὡς πετράδου  
 καὶ στερεωτάτης καὶ ἄλλας οὐσίας ὧν ἔχεν ἐν ὑψηλοτάτῃ τὸν θῖον ἰδρύσασθαι.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. ; ἐπίστευον ὁ δῆμος, ὡς διὰ τὸν τελευτικὸν βίον ἐμπειρίαν τῶν τοιούτων  
 ἔχοντι.

CHAP. V. later topography of the city suggests, was held far beyond the circuit of the new wall<sup>1</sup>. Phalaris and his followers set upon the worshippers; the more part of the men are killed; the women and children come under the power of Phalaris, who becomes undisputed tyrant of Akragas<sup>2</sup>.

Local character of the story.

In a tale like this there is beyond doubt an element of legend, and one is further tempted to suspect a certain amount of confusion in the telling of the latter part of the story<sup>3</sup>. But it is not therefore to be wholly cast aside. It is not like an alternative story in which Phalaris proclaims games outside the city as an occasion for seizing the arms of the citizens<sup>4</sup>. This is one of the current stories, fitted in with the names of Phalaris and Akragas, but which would do equally well for any other city and any other tyrant. But the other is clearly a local story; it implies knowledge of the topography of Akragas, and it takes for granted the still youthful and imperfect state of the city at the time of the establishment of the tyranny. We may fairly take it as some evidence both for the early date of the usurpation of Phalaris and for the means by which he rose to power, namely by turning some public trust to his own purposes.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 437, and below p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Polyainos, v. 1; τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποκτείνων γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων κύριος καταστὰς ἐπαύρηται τῆς Ἀκραγασίων πόλεως.

<sup>3</sup> The killing of the men and the seizure of the women and children reads like that kind of story of which the settlement of the Mamertines at Messina is the best known. But this is quite out of place here. Considering the mention of the Thesmophoria, one would think that the real story was that he seized the women outside the walls, and so brought the men to submit. And a general massacre of the men would naturally have been followed by some story of the enfranchisement of slaves or mercenaries or some other device for making up the loss of the slain citizens.

<sup>4</sup> This story immediately follows the other. While the citizens are seeing the show, Phalaris shuts the gates and sends his guards to search the houses for arms. This story is clearly inconsistent with the former. And as this is one of the received stories of the tricks of tyrants, while the former one has a real local colouring, the former, in its general outline, is greatly to be preferred.

Phalaris then was tyrant ; but assuredly not, what some have called him, the first tyrant in the Greek world or even the first among the Greeks of Sicily. He was lord of Akragas ; whether his dominion reached beyond that city and its territory there is really nothing to show. There is distinct evidence that in his day that territory reached as far as the southern Himeras, the hill of Eknomos, the site of the future town of Phintias, was his<sup>1</sup>. This is all that can be said with certainty. Later writers, with Dionysios and Agathoklês before their eyes, have painted the most famous of tyrants as lord of all Sicily, or at least of many of its cities. Sometimes he appears as master of towns which did not come into being till long after his day. It is perfectly possible that Phalaris may have made himself master of some of the Sikeliot cities besides Akragas ; but there is no evidence that he did. The belief that he conquered Leontinoi seems to rest on no evidence beyond a chance explanation of a proverb<sup>2</sup>; the belief that he conquered Himera seems to be an attempt to get some historical truth out of the story told by Aristotle. But his wars with the Sikans rest on quite other grounds. The fact that he is made to war with Sikans and not with Sikels increases our confidence. That is, it makes it more likely that the anecdote-monger was copying some good authority. A lord of Akragas in his age could hardly keep himself from Sikan warfare, and the tales of his doings in that way, whatever we say of the particular tricks by which he is said to have overcome his enemies, have doubtless an historical groundwork. A Sikan town and its prince, otherwise unknown, Vessa and its king Teutos, are not likely to be the invention of sophists<sup>3</sup>. We need not believe that Phalaris

CHAP. V

Extent of the Akragantine territory under Phalaris.

Later exaggerations of his dominion.

His Sikan warfare.

Teutos of Vessa.

<sup>1</sup> Diad. xix. 104.<sup>2</sup> See Appendix VII.<sup>3</sup> See vol. i. p. 118. In this story the names are perhaps the best part; they can hardly be the invention of the compiler; Φάλαρις πρὸς Τεῦτον ἀρχοντα Οὐλοσσης, ἥτις εὐδαιμονοειδέτη καὶ μεγίστη Σικανῶν πόλις ἱεμερὶ τοῖς μετὰ τὸν Φάλαριν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκείνου θυγατέρας.

CHAP V could find no other way of overcoming the Sikan prince than by arranging a marriage with his daughter, and bringing youthful soldiers in the garb of handmaidens to begin the work of slaughter at the wedding-feast<sup>1</sup>. Still we may set down the successful war which Phalaris is said to have waged against Teutos as a real scrap of early Sicilian history.

Real and  
mythical  
elements  
in his  
story.

The truth is that every detail that concerns Phalaris has a mythical element about it. Still something must have marked him out to become the subject of so large a mass of fiction beginning possibly so near his own day. It is easy to argue that he must have been a warrior and conqueror over some large part of Sicily, for that otherwise even exaggeration would not have spoken of him as lord of the whole island. It is no less easy to argue that, when he had once gained a reputation as the most famous of Sicilian tyrants, he was naturally painted as a conqueror like the great Sicilian tyrants of later days. Only then we have to account for the unusual renown, if only in the shape of infamy, which gathered round his name. And for that renown there is certainly enough to account in the traditional character of his internal government. There is no need to attribute to him any greater success in war than might be gained in those conflicts with barbarian neighbours which may be taken for granted in any ener-

<sup>1</sup> This is essentially the same story as the deception of the Persians by the Macedonian Alexander in Herodotus, v. 19, and as the story in Hæraclidés of Pontos, 32, of a Kephallenian tyrant whose name is not given.

Another wild story of the Sikan warfare of Phalaris is told by Polyainos, v. 3, and in a slightly different shape by Frontinus, *Strat.* i. 4. 6. Phalaris pretends to make peace with certain Sikans who had been able to hold out for a long time because they had much corn in store. By the terms of the peace he gives them the corn that he has for his army, and is to take their next crop instead. He bribes the keepers of the corn-stores to let in the rain; so, when he has taken the next year's crop, the Sikans have no corn, and are driven to give in.

getic Sikeliot leader, whether king, tyrant, or republican CHAP. V.  
magistrate.

As to the nature of the rule of Phalaris in his own city, Rule of Phalaris in Akragas.  
we have the fact that he was traditionally handed down as one of the worst of tyrants, that his name became a proverb for cruelty, and was coupled with those of the worst recorded oppressors, mythical and real<sup>1</sup>. On the other Apologies for him.  
hand, there is the very singular fact that in later times he found advocates, that apologies were written for him<sup>2</sup>, and that elaborate letters, painting him in another light than that of a wanton oppressor, were composed in his name. The apologies and letters were without doubt mere rhetorical exercises, examples of the skill with which a view might be maintained which ran counter to that commonly received. Still there must have been some special reason why this particular tyrant of all tyrants should have been picked out as the subject of these ingenious paradoxes. It might point to some current of tradition which represented Phalaris as less hateful than he looked in the tradition which was more commonly received. But Their origin.  
it is just as easy, perhaps more easy, to suppose that the more favourable report, a report confined to quite late times, grew out of a mere spirit of contradiction. A man who was said to have roasted people to death in a brazen bull was naturally much talked about in all ages; he became a traditional bugbear, a traditional common-place of rhetoric. A natural reaction followed among rhetoricians and sophists. It became a trial of ingenuity to get

<sup>1</sup> Thus Lucian, when he is not engaged in making out a case for Phalaris, puts him in the very worst mythical company, with Busiris and Diomedes of Thrace and with the monsters overthrown by Theseus (cf. *Xeripaver* and *Περσώμαρται* and *Βουσίπαις* and *Φαλάρης*). The two passages (*Bis Accusatus*, 8, and *Vera Historia*, ii. 23) are in nearly the same words. So Cicero (*De Officiis*, ii. 7, iii. 7, and again, *Verris*, iv. 33, where he appears as "crudellissimus omnium tyrannorum Phalaris") takes him as the standard of a merciless oppressor.

<sup>2</sup> On the Phalaris of Lucian see Appendix VII.

CHAP. V. up a case on behalf of one who was everywhere spoken against, and what was at first practised merely as a rhetorical exercise came in the end to pass as a serious counter-statement.

Story of  
Chariton  
and Melan-  
ippos.

This on the whole seems the most likely way of explaining the strange phenomenon of the forged letters. At the same time it is only fair to put on record that one of the older stories about Phalaris does really describe him, not indeed as a just ruler, yet as something different from the monster of cruelty which he appears in the other tales. And this story, whatever may be its worth, stands quite apart from the rhetorical exercises in his defence. The writer who tells it brings it in with some surprise, as being unlike the ordinary character of the tyrant. We again come across one of those tales which to the Greek mind had all the charm of sentimental romance<sup>1</sup>. To us it is instructive, because, if authentic, it throws some light on the nature of the power exercised by a tyrant.

Course of  
law under  
a tyranny.

Under the rule of Phalaris there are still magistrates and courts of law in Akragas; but the tyrant steps in to pervert the administration of justice to his private ends. The beautiful youth Melanippos has a suit against a personal friend of the tyrant; Phalaris, under frightful threats, bids him withdraw the indictment. Melanippos persists in appealing to the law; at the bidding of Phalaris the magistrates strike his suit off the list of causes<sup>2</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> The story of Chariton and Melanippos is told at some length by Ælian (Var. Hist. II. 4), and it is referred to in a shorter form by Athenæus, xiii. 78, who quotes a treatise of Herakleides of Pontos of a lighter character than that which we often have to use, called *ὁ περὶ Ἑρωτικῶν*. Melanippos *ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθὸς καὶ τὸ κάλλος διαφέρει*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*; *διεσφαιμένῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς τινὰ τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ τοῦ Φαλάργου προσέταξεν ὁ τύραννος τὴν γραφὴν καταθέσθαι. τοῦ δὲ μὴ πειθομένου ὁ δὲ θπειλῶσι τὰ ἔσχατα δρᾶσεν αὐτὸν μὴ ὑπακούσαντα. καὶ ἐκείνους μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἡμὴν ἐκράτησε τοῦ ἀνάγκη προστάξαντος τοῦ Φαλάργου. οἱ δὲ ἐρχοντες τὴν γραφὴν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἠφάνισαν.* This picture of the course of law under a tyranny, wherever Ælian found it, is worth notice.



youth tells his tale to his lover Charitôn, and prays him to join in an attack on the tyrant. Charitôn, it seems, had been already planning such an act out of purely patriotic motives, and he is further stirred up to it by the wrong done to his beloved. All Akragas was so bowed down by the fear of Phalaris that no help was to be looked for from any quarter<sup>1</sup>. Charitôn prevails on Melanippos to keep quiet; he will take all the risk on himself. He watches his opportunity, he tries to slay Phalaris with a dagger; he is seized by the tyrant's body-guard; he is put to the torture, but he endures his sufferings without making any confession. Then Melanippos goes to the tyrant, and tells him that he is the real author of the attempt on his life, and that it was done in vengeance for the wrong done to him in the matter of the lawsuit. Phalaris, admiring the mutual self-sacrifice of the pair, spares their lives and leaves them their goods, but bids them leave Akragas and all Sicily<sup>2</sup>.

Action of  
Phalaris.

Tales like these, which are preserved only by late writers, but which have nothing in them inconsistent with the state of things at the time and place to which they are assigned, must be taken at what they are worth. There is no means either of confirming or of confuting them. But they are at least witnesses to current belief; they are often, as we have seen<sup>3</sup>, much more.

Value of  
tales of this  
kind.

<sup>1</sup> Ælian, *π. η.*; γινώσκων ὅτι τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς συλλήφεται διὰ τῇ ἐκ τοῦ τυράντου.

<sup>2</sup> This is the version in Ælian, which has much more the air of being the genuine story than that in Athenaios. According to this last, both Charitôn and Melanippos are tortured, and Phalaris is moved by their physical sufferings (βασανιζόμενοι ἀναγκαζόμεναί τε λέγειν τοὺς συνειδόμενους, οὐ μόνον οὐ κατεῖπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Φάλαρα αὐτὸν εἰς ἔλαον τῶν βασάνων ἤγαγον, ὡς ἀπολύσαι αὐτοὺς πολλὰ ἐκινήσαντα). The terms on which they are spared, as given by Ælian, should be noticed, προτάξας αὐθημερὸν ἀπελευθέρειν μὴ μόνον τῆς Ἀκραγαντίνου πόλεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Σικελίας· συνεχώρησε δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἴδια δίκαια καρποῦσθαι.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 58.

CHAP. V. Such a story as this counts at least for more than the report that Phalaris was in the habit of eating sucking children as a special delicacy<sup>1</sup>, a charge which has been brought against more than one potentate of the present century. The tale of Charitôn and Melanippos sets Phalaris before us as a tyrant, after the usual type of a tyrant. He is capable of milder feelings, but he does not let those milder feelings carry him into any act that might jeopard his own safety. He admires Charitôn and Melanippos, and his admiration saves their lives and goods. But, as they are clearly dangerous to his power, they are, like an Athenian under ostracism, bidden to withdraw to some place where they can do him no harm<sup>2</sup>. Phalaris, after all, puts his own safety first. Even in his milder mood he is painted as less open to sentimental feelings than Dionysios appears in the better known story of Damôn and Pythias.

Phalaris  
and  
Dionysios.

The brazen  
bull.

Questions  
as to the  
bull.

And now comes the main question in the whole story of Phalaris. If Charitôn and Melanippos had not awakened these gentler feelings in his heart, would they have been roasted to death in a brazen bull? It is before all things the brazen bull which has given to the name of Phalaris the kind of immortality which attaches to it. The brazen bull has made his name a household word at least from the days of Pindar, and it made his deeds a matter of controversy at least as early as the time of Timaios. Two questions have to be kept apart. First, Was there any brazen bull at all? Secondly, If there was, how came there to be one? If there was one, if Phalaris really practised a form of cruelty so essentially barbarian, so unlike the usual doings of even the worst of Greeks, we

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix VII.

<sup>2</sup> Contrast this with the law ascribed to Polykrates and other tyrants by Athenaios in the same chapter.

may, with a near approach to certainty, attribute the fact to Phœnician influence in some shape or other. But it is not at all likely that the story is a mere misconception of late times, that it is a mere explanatory legend which grew round some Canaanite idol which had nothing to do with Phalaris or his tyranny<sup>1</sup>. The tale is either a fact, or it is a very early slander. Either Phalaris was really guilty of this outlandish form of cruelty, or his enemies saddled his memory with it while his memory was still fresh.

As the story is told, the bull was the work of an artist named Perillos or Perilaos; it was only under the influence of very late ideas that he was said to be an Athenian<sup>2</sup>. The bull was hollow, with a door in the shoulder, through which the victim was pushed within. The brass was then heated, and by some ingenious device the cries of the sufferer were made to imitate the roaring of the bull. Phalaris first put the artist himself into the bull<sup>3</sup>, and afterwards employed it as a means of punishment for others. Now the evidence for the general truth of this story is exceedingly strong. Phalaris and his bull are taken as the received types of a cruel dominion in a famous ode of Pindar which was written within a hundred years after the time<sup>4</sup>. The general Greek belief was that the story was authentic, that the bull itself remained at Akragas, or within the Akragantine territory, till the city was sacked by the Carthaginians. It was then taken to Carthage; it was brought from Carthage by the younger Scipio and given back by him to the Agrigentines of his own day. It is clear that this last stage of

CHAP. V.  
Probable  
Phœnician  
influence;  
its form.

Evidence  
of Pindar.

Story of  
the bull at  
Carthage.

<sup>1</sup> See Duncker, ii. 48.

<sup>2</sup> It does not appear that Perilaos is anywhere spoken of as an Athenian except in the forged letters. But such a notion might have grown up much earlier, when Athens had once come to be looked on as the general seat of art.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix VII.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix VII.

CHAP. V. the story is at once the least important and the most doubtful. Such a story might easily arise at Carthage; it might easily be invented for the satisfaction of Greek and Roman visitors, though the bull that was shown as the bull of Phalaris was of native and later Carthaginian workmanship. But it is not easy to see how the story, if false, could have so soon obtained such a currency that Pindar, who knew something of Sicilian and of Akragantine affairs, could have been led to accept it as a fact to be taken for granted. The one writer, the Tauromenitan Timaios, who is quoted as throwing doubt on the story, seems, on closer examination, not to have denied the truth of the story, but only to have denied the genuineness of a bull which was shown at Akragas in his time as the bull of Phalaris. According to him, the real bull of Phalaris was thrown into the sea by the people of Akragas when the tyranny of Phalaris was overthrown<sup>1</sup>.

Evidence  
of Timaios.

Torture  
barbarian.

Here then is a far stronger amount of evidence for the reality of this famous bull than could have been looked for on behalf of a story which at first sight seems so unlikely. The Greek, even the worst of Greeks, in his fiercest wrath, seldom, at this stage at least, goes beyond the infliction of simple death. Death by prolonged means of suffering, death accompanied by elaborate mockery, are both essentially barbarian and not Greek. Instances of the kind in Greek history are strikingly few, and they may almost always be attributed to barbarian influence<sup>2</sup>. If Phalaris had a brazen bull, and used it as the story describes, he assuredly did it in imitation of some Phœnician model or at the instigation of some Phœnician adviser. A bull might in itself be a

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix VII.

<sup>2</sup> See the remarks of Grote (v. 271) on the punishment of Artayktés. In that case the Greeks, enraged at a special wrong done by a barbarian, dealt with him in barbarian fashion.

harmless symbol of one of the river-gods of the land; but CHAP. V  
a bull used as an instrument of torture is the symbol, not  
of the stream of Hypsas or Akragas, but of the Moloch or  
Baal of the Canaanite. Phœnician models, Phœnician ad-  
visers, were easily to be had in the Sicily of the sixth cen-  
tury before Christ. The Phœnicians of Sicily were not far  
off, and the prosperity of Akragas came largely of its trade  
with the Phœnicians of Africa. Later tyrants of Sicily Barbarian  
influence  
in later  
times.  
come nearer to the nature of barbarians; they are more  
given to the following of barbarian fashions than the  
worst recorded men of the elder Greece. If Phalaris did  
burn men to death in a brazen bull, he did very little  
more than forestall some of the doings of Dionysios and  
Agathoklēs.

The tyranny of Phalaris lasted about sixteen years<sup>1</sup>.  
It did not come to an end without warnings. The tyrant  
one day saw a single hawk chasing a flight of doves. He  
turned to his companions and pointed out to them the  
cowardice of the many who allowed themselves thus to fly  
before one whom, if they had the heart, they might turn  
round and overcome<sup>2</sup>. The story is told as if the fall of The fall of  
Phalaris.  
B. C. 554.  
Phalaris in some way followed. Perhaps those who heard  
him took the hint, and no longer followed the pattern  
of the doves. His power was overthrown by a popular  
movement. Later legends brought in the names of  
various philosophers, specially that of Pythagoras, a name  
inevitable in any story of Sicily or Southern Italy. But Telamon-  
chos;  
the more trustworthy tradition gives the leader of the

<sup>1</sup> The sixteen years come from Jerome's correction of Eusebius (Rousselli, i. 324): "Ol. kl. 3. Phalaris tyrannidem exercuit ann. xvi."

<sup>2</sup> This is from a fragment of Diodoros, ix. 28; ὁ Φάλαρις ἰδὼν περισσεῶν  
πληθος ἐφ' ἑνὸς ἱέρακος διακόμενον ἔφη, ὁρᾶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοσούτο πληθος ἐφ'  
ἑνὸς διακόμενον διὰ βελτίαν; ἐπεὶ τοι γὰρ εἰ τολμήσειεν ἐπιστρέφαι, βαδίας τοῦ  
διώκοντος ἂν περιγέγοντο. καὶ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ λόγου ἀπέβαλε τὴν τυραντείαν,  
ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῇ περὶ διαδοχῆς βασιλείων.

CHAP V. movement the name of Télémachos, and assigns to him  
his descent a pedigree which went up, through the mythical kings of  
Thebes, to Kadmos himself<sup>1</sup>. Later forefathers were said  
to have been among the first Rhodian settlers at Gela; this  
points to the family as having been among the original  
settlers at Akragas<sup>2</sup>. The genealogy the other way seems  
Fore- clear enough; Télémachos was, through three descents,  
father of Thêrôn, the famous tyrant of Akragas  
Thêrôn.  
Death of Phalaris, at a later stage<sup>3</sup>. Phalaris was put to death; one legend,  
which reached a Latin poet of the Augustan age, told how  
he was himself made to perish in his own bull. Others  
spoke of that and other tortures dealt out to his mother  
and to his friends, while, according to a version at which  
we have already glanced, the bull itself was hurled into  
the sea<sup>4</sup>. More curious than all is the tradition that a  
law of liberated Akragas forbade the wearing of blue  
clothes, because that had been the colour of the dress worn  
by the tyrant's body-guard<sup>5</sup>. But it is perhaps rash to  
speak of liberated Akragas. It is by no means clear what  
the effect of the revolution was, whether it did not simply

Doubtful position of Télémachos.

<sup>1</sup> The pedigree of the Emmenids forms a main subject of the second Olympic ode of Pindar, addressed, as well as the one following it, to Thêrôn. See specially the scholia on il. 82, iii. 68.

<sup>2</sup> This must be the meaning of the fragment of Pindar [84] addressed to Thêrôn;

Ἐν δὲ Τόδῳ κένευσθεν  
ἐνθέντ' ἀφορμασθέντες ἐψηλὸν πόλιν ἀμφιέμενται,  
πλείστα μὲν δ' αὖρ' ἀθανάτοις ἀνέχοντες,  
ἔσπετο δ' ἀνέμου πλοῦτος εἶφος

<sup>3</sup> See the pedigree in the scholia on Pindar, Ol. il. 82, iii. 68, and Siefert, Akragas, 54. One hardly sees the meaning of the imperfect passage in the former scholion; δ μὲν Κλέριος ἔμεινεν ἐν Θήρῳ τῇ πόλει, δ δὲ Τηλέμαχος παρώκῃ ἐν χάρῃ ἔθεν συλλέξας δύναμιν ἔρχεται εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ κρατεῖ τῶν πόλεων. But it can hardly fail to be a dark way of saying that Télémachos took a part in the settlement of Gela.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix VII.

<sup>5</sup> Plut. Rom. Ger. Piseo. 28; Ἀκραγαντῖνοι ἀπαλλαγίντες Φαλάριος, ἐψηφίσαντο μηδὲν φορεῖν ἱμῆτιον γλαυκόν· οἱ γὰρ ἐπηρεῖται τοῦ τυράντου γλαυκῖνοι ἐχρῶντο περιζήματα.

give the city a new master, a master doubtless less CHAP V.  
 harsh than the one who was overthrown. Télemachos  
 is himself spoken of as tyrant, and even, though most  
 likely only by the carelessness of a late writer, as king<sup>1</sup>.  
 And he is said to have had two successors in the rule His suc-  
cessors.  
 of Akragas, Alkamenês and Alkandros. Of these a good  
 character is given; but we are not told whether they  
 were republican magistrates, perhaps with extraordinary  
 powers, or whether they belonged to the class, rare but  
 not unknown, of tyrants who were not oppressors<sup>2</sup>. It  
 seems clear that within less than seventy years after the B. C. 544-  
488  
 fall of Phalaris there was again a commonwealth of  
 Akragas to be overthrown. The next name in Akra-  
 gantine history to which we can attach any definite  
 facts is that of the renowned tyrant Thérôn, the great-  
 grandson of Télemachos.

Setting aside the bull and most other things true and Local im-  
portance of  
the story of  
Phalaris.  
 false recorded of Phalaris, his story is in itself of very high  
 local interest. The growth of a tyranny so soon after the  
 foundation of a city is in itself remarkable, and the tale  
 of the way in which the tyrant rose to power, though  
 coming only from a late source, has every internal mark of  
 being trustworthy. We see Akragas, when it was still Early  
picture of  
Akragas.  
 only the upper city, the akropolis, the present Girgenti,  
 just as our early tales of Syracuse show us that city  
 when it was still shut up in the Island of Ortygia. The The temple  
of Zeus  
Polieus.  
 rise of the tyrant is connected with the building of the

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Pind. Ol. iii. 68; Τηλέμαχος γάρ τις καταλύσας τὴν Φαλάριδος τυραν-  
 νίδα ἐν Ἀκράγαντι, τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκτήσατο. In Herodotus or Aristotle one  
 would see some meaning in this seeming opposition between βασιλεία and  
 τυραννίς; in a scholiast it is hardly safe to do so.

<sup>2</sup> This comes from Hērakleidēs, 37. He leaves out Télemachos, and after  
 the fall of Phalaris goes on; μεθ' ὃν Ἀλκαμένης παρέλαβε τὰ πράγματα, καὶ  
 μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀλκανδρος προέστη, ἀνὴρ ἐπιεικής. "Sie waren gewiss weniger  
 Tyrannen als Asymmeten" says Siefert. So Plass, Die Tyrannis, i. 506.

CHAP. V. temple of Zeus Polieus or Atabyrios. This, as we have seen, stood on the highest point of the akropolis, the highest point of the modern town, where the present church of Saint Gerlandus occupies the site of the ancient temple. Some small traces of its foundations are still to be seen, but of foundations only. The church is built on the site of the temple; the temple is not, as at Syracuse, itself

Temple of  
Démêtér.

made into the church. But, besides the temple of Zeus, the story speaks also of a temple of Démêtér. The goddesses of Heena were no doubt by this time fast becoming the goddesses of all Sicily. The powers of the Sikel creed, adopted by the Hellenic settlers, had put on a thoroughly Hellenic shape, and the Thesmophoria of Démêtér were kept at Akragas as well as at Athens. The place chosen for the solemnity was far beyond the walls of the elder city, it is barely within the walls of the enlarged city.

Chapel of  
Saint  
Blaise.

The foundations and part of the walls of a small temple *in antis* near the eastern wall of the city, close to some of the wildest rocks that overhang the valley of the Akragas, have been wrought into a chapel of Saint Blaise, who has given the stream its newer name. These have been taken to be the remains of an early temple of Démêtér and the Korè. Others have held that so small a house was an unworthy offering to the goddesses from a city which boasted itself of being a special seat of Persephonè. They have inferred the same connexion between river and temple which has come about in later times. As the church of Saint Blaise looks down on the stream of Saint Blaise, so did the temple of the river-god Akragas look down on his stream below<sup>1</sup>. Yet the story points to the temple of Démêtér as without the city; so does the like case of the temple of the goddesses of Syracuse. A worship borrowed from the earlier inhabitants of the land and gradually worked

<sup>1</sup> See Schubring, *Akragas*, 44; Cavallari, *Citta Greche*, 95; Holm, *l.* 302.



into an Hellenic shape would most naturally in the first instance grow up outside the walls. And the rule might be continued even in a city founded after their worship was fully established. I know of no distinct evidence to prove that the chapel of Saint Blaise really is the temple of Dêmêtêr; but the received name does in this case fit in well with the story. The goddesses of the land are propitiated by a small sanctuary outside the walls, even before the great temple of Zeus is begun within them.

CHAP. V.

The casual mention of the renowned Thêrôn of Akragas, though as yet a little out of place, suggests a tyrant of the same name, but of less renown, who must have been contemporary with Phalaris himself<sup>1</sup>. We noticed some time back<sup>2</sup> that we get no account of what happened at Selinous after the joint defeat of Pentathlos and the Selinuntines by the Segestans and their Phœnician allies. There is a story in a late writer which seems to belong to this time. It is one of the usual stories of the rise of tyrants, stories which we must always take at what they may be worth. But in this case the tale, though it comes to no intelligible end, seems to fit in with the state of things after the death of Pentathlos. The Selinuntines have just been defeated by the Carthaginians—so their enemies are called in the story—with great loss, and are so hard pressed by the enemy that they do not dare to bury their dead<sup>3</sup>. In this state of distress, Thêrôn son of Miltiadês, a person not otherwise known, offers to the Selinuntines, if they will give him three hundred slaves who can cut

Selinous  
after the  
death of  
Pentathlos.  
c. 579 B.C.

Phœnician  
war.

Thêrôn  
son of  
Miltiadês  
seizes the  
tyranny

<sup>1</sup> I do not see why Place (ii. 301) removes this story to the time of Hermokratês.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. pp. 444, 591, and Appendix VIII.

<sup>3</sup> Polyainos, i. 28: *Σελινόωντιοι Καρχηδονίους παρατάξαναι πολλὰν πεσόντων ἀτάφον κεκμένων, καὶ τῶν πελεμίων ἐκκεκμένων θάψαι τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐ θαροῦντες, οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἀτάφους τετιμωρῆν ὑπαιμένοντες, ἐβουλεύοντο τί χρὴ πρῶτον.*

CHAP. V. wood, to go with them and burn the bodies and pile up their monument<sup>1</sup>. If the enemy should get the better of them, they will at the outside lose one citizen and three hundred slaves. The people agree. Thérôn is bidden to choose for himself among the slaves. He picks out the strongest, and they go forth with axes and reaping-hooks to cut wood for the burning of so many dead bodies. Once out of the city, Thérôn persuades the slaves to set upon their masters; he comes in at evening; the guards, knowing him and his party, let them in without difficulty. They first kill the guards, and then the more part of the citizens in their sleep, and Thérôn becomes tyrant of Selinous<sup>2</sup>.

Stories of  
the rise of  
tyrants.

All these stories of the rise of tyrants are suspicious. There are so many of them; they all practise tricks, differing in detail, but essentially of the same kind. And, as we have seen, nothing is easier than to put the name of one city and one tyrant for another. In this particular story we are not told what became of the Selinuntine dead, still less what was the end of the war.

Mention of  
Carthage.

We cannot be certain whether the warfare meant was really a warfare with Carthage, or whether the name of Carthage may not be vaguely used for Phœnicians of Motya or Panormos before these cities became subject to their African sister. According to the most likely date for the establishment of Carthaginian power in Sicily<sup>3</sup>, a Punic war immediately following the enterprise of Pentathlos would have been waged against independent Phœnicians. But a late collector of stories was likely enough to bring in the Carthaginian name too soon. On the whole, we are tempted to think, though without at all confidently

B.C. 540.

<sup>1</sup> It is only in the heading that he is called Θέρων Μελιναίτης, to distinguish him from the famous Thérôn of Akragas, of whom a story is told just before. He promises τὰ σήματα καῖσαι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀντὶν ἔγχεαι, doubtless a barrow or tump.

<sup>2</sup> συνέλαβε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τύραννος ἐγένετο Σελωννίου.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. I, p. 297.

affirming, that the joint defeat of Pentathlos and the Selinuntines was followed by the establishment of a tyranny at Selinous, a tyranny which must have gone on alongside of that of Phalaris. CHAP. V

In any case our next mention of Selinous, towards the end of the same century, sets that city before us as again under the rule of a tyrant. But this glimpse of Selinuntine tyranny meets us quite casually in a story of far more importance than any that touches Selinous only. It comes as part of a story of a new attempt at Greek colonization on Sicilian ground, the last attempt in Sicily at colonization strictly so called on the part of any city of old Greece. In the later years of the sixth century before Christ the tale of Pentathlos of Knidos seems to come over again in the tale of Dórieus of Sparta. And the tale of Dórieus does not stand isolated like the tale of Pentathlos. It is directly connected, both in the way of analogy and in that of cause and effect, with later events both in Sicily and beyond the bounds of Sicily. The strife between Greek and Phœnician which is now waged is the immediate forerunner of the great strife between Greek and Phœnician, between Greek and barbarian all over the world, which begins to form the main subject of European history only a few years later. It is in fact the first stage of that long warfare which the Greeks of Sicily and their helpers from old Greece waged as the share of Sicily in the Eternal Question for ever debated between Europe and her barbarian enemies. It is moreover the first piece of Sicilian history for which we have, not indeed a contemporary narrative, but an intelligible and trustworthy narrative from the pen of one of the great masters of history. It comes too from one who looked at the strife between Greek and barbarian with an eye that was keen indeed. Instead of scraps and doubtful tales patched up from a hundred careless compilers, we are now admitted

Story of  
Dórieus,  
c. 510 B.C.

Its rela-  
tion to the  
great Car-  
thaginian  
war.

Narrative  
of Hero-  
dotus.

CHAP. V. to follow a striking event in Sicilian story under the guidance of Herodotus himself.

Relation of  
the story of  
Dôrieus to  
that of  
Pentathlos.

In this tale of the last attempt at fresh Greek settlement in Sicily, of the beginning of abiding strife with the barbarian in Sicily, we see the story of Pentathlos repeated. We again see a Herakleid coming to found a settlement in that corner of Sicily which was held to be the special inheritance of the sons of Hêrâklês, but which had now become the special preserve of barbarians. And this time the leading motive of winning back the lands of Hêrâklês, of founding a new Hêrâkleia, is put forth far more prominently than it was in the former case. It is now put forth by a Herakleid of far loftier position than the Knidian Pentathlos. The son of Hêrâklês who now steps forward is a Spartan of kingly birth, who seems almost to forestall the series of princes from Sparta and elsewhere who, a hundred and fifty years later, came to seek their fortunes in Sicily and Italy. But they, from Archidamos onwards, came avowedly to defend the Greeks against the attacks of barbarians who were too strong for them. As yet such help to imperilled countrymen is not called for. It is still deemed possible to found new Greek cities on the Sicilian coast at the cost of barbarian owners<sup>1</sup>.

Marriages  
and sons of  
King Anaxandridas.

The leader of the enterprise to the story of which we have now come is Dôrieus, the son of that King Anaxandridas of Sparta the story of whose double marriage is one of the most familiar in Herodotus<sup>2</sup>.

Kleomenês  
king of  
Sparta.  
B. C. 510-  
491

Kleomenês, the eldest born of Anaxandridas, but the son of his second wife, succeeds his father in the kingship of Sparta, while the sons of the first wife, born after him, Dôrieus, Kleombrotos, and the more renowned Leônidas, were left in a private station. Dôrieus, high in the esteem of all men at Sparta, and believing himself to be far fitter for

<sup>1</sup> On the account in Justin, xix. 1. 9, see Appendix VIII.

<sup>2</sup> v. 39 et seqq.

the kingly office than the frantic Kleomenês, had cherished hopes that he would have been acknowledged—in the strict hereditary succession of Sparta we cannot say chosen—rather than his elder brother<sup>1</sup>. The question of legitimacy on the part of Kleomenês does not seem to have been raised; the eldest by birth succeeded according to Spartan law<sup>2</sup>. Dorieus, grievously disappointed, unwilling to live in a city where Kleomenês was king<sup>3</sup>, determined to seek a home elsewhere. He gathered a company of Spartans, and set forth to plant a colony. But he went through none of the accustomed rites prescribed by Greek usage for the planting of colonies. Spartan as he was, he did not even go to ask the will of Apollôn at Delphoi<sup>4</sup> as to the land which he should choose for his settlement. His first scheme was a settlement in Libya; thither he was guided by men from the Spartan colony of Thêra, metropolis of greater Kyrênê. They led him to the mouth of the river Kinyps<sup>5</sup>, at a point between the two Syrtes, a little to the east of the greater Leptis. The site, one of remarkable beauty and richness, was occupied at the cost of the Libyan possessors. It was held for three years; in the third year the native tribes and their Phœnician neighbours or masters joined to drive out the intruders. Dorieus had now his first experience of the enmity of Carthage towards Hellas. He went back to Peloponnêsos—it is not

CHAP. V

Disaffection of Dorieus.

He neglects to consult the oracle.

His settlement in Libya. c. 513 B.C.

He is driven out by Carthaginians and Libyans.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. 7. 41; ὁ Δαρμίδης ἦν τῶν ἡλικίων πάντων πρῶτος· εὖ τε ἐπίστατο κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην αὐτὸς σχῆσαι τὴν βασιλείην.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.; οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χρεώμενοι τῷ νόμῳ, ἐστήσαντο βασιλεία τὸν πρεσβύτατον Κλεομένηα. Pausanias (iii. 3. 10) looks more deeply into the Spartan mind; τὸν μὲν ἀπώσαντο δευτεροεταίροι, Κλεομένην δὲ διδόντων ἐκ τῶν νόμων πρεσβυτάτην ἀρχήν.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.; δεινὸν τε ποιούμενος καὶ οὐκ ἀξίων ἐπὶ Κλεομένηος βασιλεύεσθαι. Cf. the somewhat similar case of Demaratos, vi. 67. So Pausanias, iii. 4. 1, οὐ γὰρ ἡτείχετο ὑπακούειν Κλεομένην μόνον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.; οὐτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἥντινα γῆν ἐτίσων ἢ οὐτε ποιήσας εὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων.

<sup>5</sup> Ib.; ἀπαιόμενος ἐς Κίρυνα, εὗρετο χώρον κάλλιστον τῶν Λιβύων παρὰ ποταμόν.

CHAP. V. said that he went back to Sparta—and there fell in with an adviser who suggested an undertaking in quite another region, but one where it was the fate of Dôrieus to fall in with the same enemies.

Pro-  
phesies.

Collections of alleged prophecies attributed to seers of mythical date are a marked feature in this age of Greek history<sup>1</sup>. In the present story we come across the prophecies of Iainos of Thebes, the king who perished by the hand of his son. Out of these prophecies a certain Anticharês of Eleôn in Boiôtia culled passages on the strength of which he exhorted Dôrieus, eager as he doubtless was for a second enterprise, to try his luck in Sicily.

Dôrieus  
bidden to  
found  
Hêrakleia  
in Sicily;

He was to try it in that special region of Sicily in which Pentathlos had tried and had failed. He was to found a Sikeliot Hêrakleia. He was to found it in that corner of the island which was the natural heritage of his house. Pentathlos had tried his luck at Lilybaion; Dôrieus was to make his attempt yet nearer to the rightful home of a Hêrakleid. Eryx, the special scene of the exploits of the wandering hero, had been chosen by him as his own possession, and a right to it which could not be gainsayed had passed on from him to his children. There Dôrieus is to found a colony which shall bear the name of Hêrakleia after his deified forefather<sup>2</sup>.

Eryx to be  
the site.

Bearing of  
the oracle  
on the  
legend of  
Hêrakles;

When we read this oracle said to have been addressed to Dôrieus, we regret that we hear nothing of any oracles which may have been addressed to Pentathlos when he

<sup>1</sup> We meet them constantly throughout Herodotus (cf. Aristoph. Knights, *passim*). Take for example the story of Onomakritos, who was banished by the Peisistratids for interpolating the prophecies of Mousaios; Herod. vii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. v. 43; Ἀντιχάρης ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλίουσις, συνιθούσας ἐκ τῶν Αἰσίου χρησμάτων. Ἡρακλῆτον τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πρὶν, φάς τῃ Ἐρυκοι χάριν εἶναι Ἡρακλεΐδιαν, αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέος κτησάμενον. The words of Pausanias, ii. 16. 4, are a good commentary; ἐπιδόλῃσαν δὲ τὴν Ἐρμίου χύραν νομίζοντες τὴν ἀπογόνου τῶν Ἡρακλέων εἶναι καὶ οὐ βαρβάρων τῶν ἐχόντων. He goes on with the story of Hêrakleia at Eryx.

was about to undertake the same enterprise. That is, we CHAP. V.  
 wish to know the stages by which the legend of the  
 exploit of Hēraklēs at Eryx had grown up. Was it in  
 being before Pentathlos? Was it devised in the interest  
 of Pentathlos? Was Pentathlos as distinctly sent by  
 Apollōn as Dōrieus was, and was Dōrieus sent to retrieve  
 the failure of Pentathlos? Or was the enterprise of and on the  
enterprise  
of Pent-  
athlos.  
 Dōrieus simply suggested, as an enterprise, by that of  
 Pentathlos, but honoured by a divine sanction which  
 that of Pentathlos had not received? In this last case  
 one would be tempted to think that the whole legend of  
 Hēraklēs at Eryx may have grown up at this time, so  
 conveniently for the purposes of Dōrieus. At all events The lease  
of Eryx.  
 the singular point of law which made the possessors of  
 Eryx tenants-at-will of Hēraklēs and his heirs, bound to  
 withdraw whenever a Hērakleid should come to claim  
 his heritage, is likely to have now been heard of for the  
 first time <sup>1</sup>.

However this may be, Dōrieus, in setting out on his Dōrieus  
consults  
the oracle.  
 second enterprise, did not forget to begin his work with  
 every becoming formality. He made his way to Delphoi,  
 and asked the mind of Apollōn. Would he win the land  
 against which he was going? The priestess, to judge  
 from a very short report of her answer, bade him go and  
 prosper; Apollōn would deliver the heritage of Hēraklēs  
 into the hand of his descendant. But we may suspect  
 that, if we had the answer of the god at greater length,  
 we should find it so worded that the prophetic credit of the  
 oracle should not be lessened by what actually followed <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. I. pp. 209-211.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus (v. 43) says only: *ἡ Δελφοὺς εἶχεν χρησόμενος τῇ χρη-*  
*σμηρίῳ, εἰ αἰρεῖται ἐν ἧν στέλλεται χώραν· ἢ δὲ Πυθίῃ οἱ χρᾶ αἰρήσειν.* This  
 cannot be the answer in full; Apollōn must have kept some loophole for  
 himself. Could the oracle have been so worded as to be fulfilled either by  
 Dōrieus' alleged exploits at Sybaris or by the foundation of another  
 Hērakleia by his follower Euryleōn?

CHAP. V. As founder of an intended Lacedæmonian colony, Dôrieus took with him other leading Spartans as joint-founders. We know the names of Thessalos, Paraibatês, Keleôn, and Euryteôn<sup>1</sup>. And he had a comrade, not of Spartan or Lacedæmonian birth, whose story awakens a keener interest than those of his Spartan colleagues. Philippos of Krotôn, city of wrestlers and physicians, was a wealthy man and an Olympic victor. Renowned through the Hellenic world as the model of manly beauty, he had been promised the daughter of that mysterious Têlys of Sybaris who appears in different versions as demagogue, tyrant, and king<sup>2</sup>. This connexion with the rival city gave offence to his own citizens, and led to his flight or banishment from Krotôn. He seemingly went to Sybaris to claim his bride. But the banished man was no longer welcome to the ruler, and Philippos found another place of exile in distant Kyrênê<sup>3</sup>. Once in Libya, he threw in his lot with the settlers by the Kinyps, and he now joined in the Sicilian expedition of Dôrieus. Even in banishment, Philippos must have kept no small wealth; he sailed in a trireme of his own, manned by a crew kept at his own cost<sup>4</sup>. The fleet of Dôrieus set forth. The usual course

Joint-founders of Hérakleia.

Philippos of Krotôn.

His relations to Têlys of Sybaris.

His banishment.

He shares in the Libyan settlement of Dôrieus.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. v. 43. The name Thessalos is one of that class, common in Greece, of which our own Northman or Norman is a rare example in England. But what is to be made of the mutilated passage in Pausanias, iii. 16. 4? It stands thus in the new text; *ἴσονται δὲ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν* [at Sparta] *ἀπὸ τοῦ Κιτῶνος Χαλκιδῆος ἵστατο ἄρῃον τοῖς σοφοῖς νομισσόμενον, καὶ Ἀθηναίων . . . ὅτι τῶν ἀποῦ ἀπῆλθον τῇ Ἀναξανδρίδου στρατιᾷ ἐς Σικελίαν*. This has been commonly understood of a Spartan Athenaios, fellow to Thessalos. It is a little hard to fancy the Athenians building a *φρῆνον* at Sparta to some Athenian comrade of Dôrieus whose name is imperfect; but the words look like it.

<sup>2</sup> On Têlys see Appendix I. Just now Herodotus (v. 47) is quite neutral; *φιλικῶς . . . ἀρμυράμενος Τήλειος τοῦ Συβαρίτηος θυγατέρα, ἔφηνε ἐκ Κρότωνος*.

<sup>3</sup> *ἰθ.*; *φρουρεῖς τοῦ γάμου, εἴχετο πλεον ἐκ Κερήνης*.

<sup>4</sup> *ἰθ.*, *ἐκ ταύτης ἐρμυράμενος συνέλαστο αἰκλὴν τε τρεῖσι καὶ αἰκλὴν ἀνέμων δαπάνη*.



of navigation led him by the shores of the Greater Greece, into the neighbourhood of both the cities from which Philippos had been turned away. He came at the moment when Krotôn and Sybaris were standing face to face in their last deadly struggle. The countrymen of Philippos were marching to that great battle by the stream of Krathis which was followed by the sweeping from the earth of the greatest and wealthiest of Hellenic cities<sup>1</sup>. Did Dôrieus, coming at such a moment, having in his company a man who had his grudge alike against the men of Krotôn and the men of Sybaris, but himself charged with a divine commission for warfare of quite another kind, turn aside to be the helper of either city, or did he forbear?

Alleged claim of Dôrieus in the war of Sybaris and Krotôn. B. C. 510.

The answers which seventy years later were given to these questions on the spots most nearly concerned furnish a strange example of the way in which utterly contradictory stories may be fervently believed on opposite sides, if only a point of local honour is touched. To the vanished Sybarites, keeping on a feeble being in a few corners of their old territory<sup>2</sup>, it was some slight comfort to believe that it was not wholly beneath the arms of their hated neighbours that they had fallen. It was a less shameful fate to be overthrown by a prince of Sparta, a son of Héraklêa. The version believed among the scattered Sybarites, and doubtless handed on to the settlers at Thourioi, told how Dôrieus and his followers fought on the side of the men of Krotôn, and made their way along with them into conquered

Different statements at Sybaris and at Krotôn.

Sybarite version.

Share of Dôrieus in the overthrow of Sybaris.

<sup>1</sup> On the fall of Sybaris see Diod. xii. 9, 10; Strabo, vi. 1. 13, 14; Grote, iv. 553 et seqq. I am not concerned with the details; but the stories about Mîlôn and the Pythagoreans have a mythical sound. The tale which Athénaios (xii. 21) quotes from Hérakleïdês of Pontos, about the overthrow of the tyranny of Télyas, hardly agrees with the stories either in Herodotus or in Diodôros. There was a frightful slaughter of his followers, accompanied by many signs from the gods.

<sup>2</sup> They were then, according to Herodotus (vi. 21), living at Iaeo and Skidris, seemingly in the old Sybarite territory. Their fate somewhat later is told by Diodôros, xii. 10.

CHAP. V.

His pre-  
denied at  
Krotôn.  
prophet  
Kallias.

Arguments  
on both  
sides.

Sybaris<sup>1</sup>. At Krotôn it was no less a point of honour to believe that so great a victory was won wholly by Krotoniat valour. The presence of Dôrieus was denied; the tale which asserted it was confuted by convincing arguments. No stranger had any share in the work save only Kallias the prophet. He indeed, an Eleian of the divine stock of Iamos<sup>2</sup>, had once attached himself to the cause of the tyrant Têlys. But when his skill told him that the good will of the gods had passed away from Sybaris and her lord, he had betaken himself to the help of happier Krotôn<sup>3</sup>. Besides Kallias, no man of any city but their own had stood in their ranks by Krathis<sup>4</sup>. Sybaris, to be sure, or Thourioi speaking in her name, had her arguments also, and one which was either conclusive beyond answer or else the most daring of falsehoods. By the dry bed where Krathis had flowed on the day of battle—victorious Krotôn in after days turned his waters so as to run over the site of Sybaris—there stood a temple of Athênê which Dôrieus had reared to the goddess in memory of his share in the battle and the victorious entry<sup>5</sup>. We are not

<sup>1</sup> Herod. v. 44, *συστρατεύεσθαι τε ἐπὶ Σύβαρις ἀμείβει καὶ συναλεῖν τὴν Σύβαριν*.

<sup>2</sup> It is almost needless to refer to the sixth Olympian ode of Pindar, and to the train of adventures (120)

*ἐξ οὗ πολέεσσι καὶ Ἑλλάνας γίνουσι Ἰαμίδων.*

Truly καὶ Ἑλλάνας; the ode witnesses to Iamids at Syracuse, and here we have them in Elia. Kallias may well have been, like Amphiaraios,

*ἀμφοτέρων μάντις γ' ἀγαθὸς καὶ δοῦναι μάχασθαι.*

If so, as an Iamid, he would have been thoroughly in place as a comrade of the Hērakleid.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. ii. 2.; *παρὰ Τήλους τοῦ Συβαρινέως τυράννου ἀποδράντα ἀπυλίσθαι παρὰ σφέας, ἐνὶ τε αἰ τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῶν προχαιρεῖ χρηστὰ θυμέσιν ἐνὶ Κρότωνα*. See Appendix I.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.; *Κροτωνήται οὐδένα σφίσι φασὶ ξείνων προσελαβέσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Συβαρίτας πολέμου, εἰ μὴ Καλλίην τῶν Ἰαμίδων μάντιν Ἠλείων μόνον*. Καλλίην τῶν Ἰαμίδων is the same idiom as "Lorenzo de'" = dei—"Medici."

<sup>5</sup> On the ξηρὸς Κράθης see the note of Grote, iv. 553. This agrees with the statement of Strabo (vi. i 13, where there is much about the river

told the Krotoniat answer to this appeal to an existing monument. When Krotôn argued that Dôrieus could not have helped her, because she honoured Kallias and his descendants and paid no honours to Dôrieus<sup>1</sup>, the Sybarite rejoinder would not have been hard. To a distant and unconcerned critic it seems more likely that the Krotoniats should, from whatever motive, have denied a true story than that the Sybarites should have invented a tale which had no grounds of fact at all. The religious mind of Sybaria held it for the strongest proof of all that Dôrieus failed in his Sicilian enterprise. He, a son of Héraklēs, sent by Apollôn to win back the heritage of Héraklēs, could never have failed in so holy a work, unless he had brought down divine vengeance on him by some sin against the gods and their oracles. And Dôrieus had so sinned; he had sinned as the men of the Fourth Crusade sinned when they turned away to attack Zara and Constantinople. He turned away from the errand on which the gods had sent him, to fight against a Greek city which had done him no wrong<sup>2</sup>. Nor was Nemesis weaker then than she was seventeen centuries later; Dôrieus, traitor to his faith, founded no Hérakleia on Eryx or at its foot. Baldwin, traitor to his faith, never saw Antioch or Jerusalem. And, if he did reign in Constantinople, small joy had he and his successors of the phantom empire which they set up.

Cause of  
the failure  
of Dôrieus.

Analogy of  
the Fourth  
Crusade.

Whatever they did in Italy, Dôrieus, Philippos, and their comrades, sailed on to do the work for which they

Dôrieus  
sails to  
western  
Sicily.

Krathis) as to the turning of the stream, which Diodôros (xii. 10) does not mention, but which Herodotus here supplies.

<sup>1</sup> The words (Herod. v. 45) are emphatic; καίτοι εἰ συνελάβετό γε τοῦ Συβαρτικοῦ πολέμου Δωριεὺς, δοθῆναι ἂν οἱ πολλαπλάσια ἢ Καλλίῳ.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. : αὐτοῦ Δωριεὺς τὸν θάνατον μαρτυρίαν μέγιστον ποιῶνται ὅτι παρὰ τὰ μωμαντευμένα ποιεῖν διεφθάρη. εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ παρέπρηξε μηδὲν, ἐπ' ᾧ δὲ ἐστάλη ἐποίησε, εἴλε ἂν τὴν Ἑρμείην χώραν καὶ ἐλὼν κατέσχε, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ διεφθάρη.

- CHAP. V. were sent to Sicily, to win for the Herakleid and his companions the special domain of Hēraklēs. That means that they went to win for Hellas that corner of Sicily from which the life of Hellas had thus far been altogether shut out. The western side of the island, the western part of its northern side, was still as thoroughly barbarian as when Pentathlos, with the men of Rhodes and Knidos, had striven in vain to found a Hellenic settlement in that stubborn stronghold of Canaan<sup>1</sup>. The attempt of Dōrieus was not made in exactly the same quarter as that of Pentathlos. The Knidian Herakleid had tried to settle on ground which was actually in Phœnician occupation on Lilybaion, over against the island stronghold of Motya. The object of the Spartan was Eryx itself, the site of his forefather's great exploit. And the enterprise of Dōrieus, bringing us yet nearer than that of Pentathlos to the holy hill and to the land and water at its foot, makes us long the more keenly for some knowledge of the exact state of Eryx and of the parts of Sicily therabouts at the time of Dōrieus' coming. But we are simply told that he was withstood by the same enemies who had withstood Pentathlos, the Phœnicians and the men of Segesta<sup>2</sup>. The men of Segesta were the enemies of Pentathlos, not only because he was striving to plant a Greek colony on Lilybaion, but because he had taken part with their enemies of Selinous in warfare against themselves. Otherwise the enterprise of Dōrieus touched Segesta more nearly than the enterprise of Pentathlos. A Greek colony on Lilybaion would have threatened Elymian as well as Phœnician interests; but the colony of Dōrieus was to be actually planted on Elymian ground. We cannot say whether Eryx was at this time a direct possession of Segesta or a separate Elymian com-
- State of Western Sicily.
- Position of Eryx.
- Action of Segesta.
- Relation of the Elymian towns to Carthage.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. I. pp. 442, 588.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. v. 46; *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐστάλη ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ἀνίστασθαι μὲν τοὺς ἑσθιότες ἐκ τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ Ἐγχεσίων.*

monwealth. We see that the relations of Segesta towards CHAP. V. Carthage and her Sicilian dependencies—we may so speak of them now with all certainty—were still, as in the days of Pentathlos, friendly. As to any Carthaginian supremacy over the Elymian towns in general, as to any special Phœnician influence in Eryx as distinguished from Segesta, we can as yet say nothing. The interests of all, Phœnician and Elymian, were alike threatened by the schemes of Dôrieus. Phœnicians and Elymians alike threatened by Dôrieus. Whatever were the actual relations at that moment between Eryx and Carthage, the head of Phœnician cities could no more allow a Greek city at Eryx than at Lilybaion. The Phœnicians, whether of Sicily or of Africa, could afford to leave the Elymian occupants of Eryx and Segesta to themselves, even though they lay between the two Phœnician strongholds of Motya and Panormos. Such neighbours in no way threatened the supremacy of Carthage or the well-being of her dependencies. A Greek settlement in any part of the barbarian corner would be quite another matter. An Hellenic Eryx must have passed its whole life at daggers drawn with the Phœnician towns on each side of it. Whether the men of Eryx and Segesta were to Carthage simply neighbours or allies or dependents, nay had they even been at that moment enemies, Carthage could not allow any settlement of Greeks to be made at their expense.

We are told nothing as to the exact site of the settle- Site of the included settlement. ment which Dôrieus now proposed to plant. Elymian Eryx was the city on the mountain top, with the great temple, by this time doubtless of Phœnician Ashtoreth, crowning all. We are not directly told whether the Drepana haven of Eryx. westernmost of the two sickles, the peninsula of Drepana, had yet become the haven of the hill city<sup>1</sup>. What an Elymian city might have done for itself we can only guess; but under any measure of Phœnician ascendancy or even

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 207.

CHAP. V. Phœnician influence, such a site could never have been neglected. We may feel sure that Drepana at this time was already the haven of Eryx, a haven which, if not actually in the hands of Phœnician masters, must assuredly have been thronged by Phœnician merchants. To this day an inviting site for this purpose, it must have been much more so then. We shall see from the description of Drepana as it was nearly sixteen hundred years later <sup>1</sup> that the peninsula was larger than it is now, that the town occupies its isthmus, and that there were then fertile meadows where the sea now dashes over rocks and small islands. Such a site was yet more tempting than the island of Syracuse or the peninsula of Naxos. It was more independent of the mainland. There, where now is Trapani, but on a wider expanse of ground than Trapani now covers, we may be sure that Dôrieus designed to plant this new Greek city. Such a city would have been a thorn indeed in the side of Phœnician Motya, it would have been even more threatening to Elymian Segesta. The mountain city and its temple would abide, but they would abide to new ends. The hill of Eryx would be the akropolis of the new Hérakleia. The city to be founded would look to the strong and holy place as the Corinth of the days of Dôrieus already looked up to the Akrokorinthos of an earlier day.

Changes in the coast.  
Hérakleia to be on the site of Trapani.  
Failure of the plans of Dôrieus.  
The barbarian corner

But this was not to be. The barbarian corner of Sicily was never to be a land of free Greek commonwealths. Like Panormos itself, Eryx was for a moment to obey a Greek king, when the eagle of Molottis soared to his fitting eyrie<sup>2</sup>. Otherwise the barbarian corner was to remain barbarian till Europe first won it abidingly by the

<sup>1</sup> See the description of Trapani at the time of the Norman conquest in Geoffrey Malaterra, iii. 11, to which I trust to come again in due course.

<sup>2</sup> See the Fragment of Hêdôros (Bk. xxii) which records the taking of Eryx by Pyrrhos.

arms of Rome. It was to become again specially the barbarian corner under the second Semitic lords of Sicily, till Roger came to do for ever what Dôrieus failed to do at all and what Pyrrhos did only for a moment. The forces of Segesta and her Phœnician neighbours gathered, doubtless under a Carthaginian leader, to drive back the dangerous intruders. A battle was fought, doubtless somewhere by the foot of Eryx, and the descendant of Hêraklêus was overthrown and slain on the wrestling-ground of his deified forefather. With Dôrieus fell three of his fellow-founders of the city which was never to be founded. And with them fell Philippos, shall we say of Krotôn or of Kyrênê? To him were given honours which fell to the lot of no other among his comrades. It shows the deep impression which manly beauty made on the minds of barbarians as well as Greeks that the men of Segesta—it must have been when they came to strip the slain—were overcome by the majestic form, noble even in death, of the victor of Olympia, most beautiful of all the Greeks. How the other bodies fared, how the slain Hêrakleid fared, we know not; but for Philippos the men of Segesta reared a tomb, and over his tomb they built a chapel as for a hero. There they strove with sacrifices to turn away the wrath that might fall on those who had handed over such a form as his to the common lot of men<sup>1</sup>.

CHAP. V.

remains  
barbarian.Defeat and  
death of  
Dôrieus.Death of  
Philippos.Honours  
paid to  
him.

Of the four men who were to be the joint founders of Hêrakleia, three, Thessalos, Parabatês, and Kleôn, died with Dôrieus and Philippos. The fourth, Euryleôn, like the sons of the slain Pentathlos, gathered together the remnant of

<sup>1</sup> Herod. v. 47: διὰ δὲ τὸ ταυτοῦ κάλλος ἐνεύετο παρὰ Ἑγισταίων τὰ οὐδαίᾳ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἡρώιον ἱερυσάμενοι, θυσίῃσι αὐτὸν λαύουσιν. One is reminded of the effect of the personal appearance of another Dôrieus, him of Rhodes, on the Athenian people (Xen. Hell. i. 5. 19, Grote, vii. 218); but the tribute here is higher, as paid to a dead man, and it is more distinctly a tribute to beauty as such.

CHAP. V. the host. As in the earlier case, something was to come  
 Enterprise of Eury- of the expedition after all. And Euryleôn seems to have  
 leôn. been more fully minded that something should come of it  
 than the sons of Pentathlos had been. These last had  
 begun to sail homewards, and they lighted on a home at  
 Lipara only by accident. Euryleôn took the opposite  
 course to theirs. Unwilling that nothing should come of  
 the enterprise, that no Hêrakteia at all should come into  
 being, he sailed southwards from Eryx, along the western  
 or barbarian face of the island, to seek his luck among the  
 Greek cities on its southern side. Selinous was then  
 Peitha- under the rule of a tyrant named Peithagoras, against  
 goras whom the citizens were striving in arms. Euryleôn joined  
 tyrant of his forces with theirs, and it must have been with some  
 Selinous. view to this campaign against the tyrant that he occupied  
 Euryleôn the Selinuntine outpost of Minôa, at the extreme eastern  
 at Minôa. point of the Selinuntine territory, at the mouth of the  
 river Halykos. The old landing-place of Minôs and his  
 Cretans, the burial-place of the ancient master of the  
 seas<sup>1</sup>, now makes its appearance in authentic history.  
 By the joint efforts of the men of Selinous and of the  
 new settlers at Minôa Peithagoras was overthrown. But  
 it would seem that he was not overthrown without hard  
 fighting. In after days men read a sepulchral legend  
 which told of the men who quenched the flame of tyranny,  
 whom brazen Arês did to death before the gates of Seli-  
 nous<sup>2</sup>. The tyrant was more easily got rid of than the  
 Overthrow of Peitha- tyranny. Euryleôn is said to have freed or helped to free  
 goras.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 112, 497

<sup>2</sup> Herod. v. 46 συλλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸς τῆς στρατιῆς τοὺς περγενομένους, ἔσχε Μινίην τὴν Σελινουσίαν ἀνοικίην καὶ συνελκευτέρου Σελινουσίου τοῦ μονάρχου Πειθαγόρου. There seems to be no further account of this Peithagoras. This is most likely the Selinuntine tyranny referred to by Plutarch, Apophth. Lac. Ἀργέας, 2. A tomb at Selinous bore this inscription;

Σθεννίητος ποτὲ τοῦδε τυραννίδα χάλκιος Ἄρης  
 εἶλε Σελινούντος δ' ἔμφι πύλαις ἔθρονον.



the people of Selinous from the yoke of Peithagoras. But presently, by what means we are not told, he was able to seize the tyranny for himself. His rule was but for a short time; but it must have been specially oppressive. We know what Spartan harmosts were a hundred years or so later; a Spartan tyrant now might well prove worse than a native. The people rose against Euryleôn. He sought shelter in the temple of Zeus of the *Agora*, within the bounds of the earlier city on the hill above the sea<sup>1</sup> But the holy place availed him not, and he was slain before the altar<sup>2</sup>.

With this our story ends, one more incidental glimpse of the early history of Selinous. It is perhaps less important in what it tells us of Selinous itself than in what it tells us of the Selinuntine outpost of Minŏa. Dôrieus had failed in his enterprise of founding a Hêrakteia at the foot of Eryx. Euryleôn had failed in his baser enterprise of keeping an enslaved Selinous in his own hands. And yet in some sort neither wholly failed. Euryleôn did, in a feebler way, fulfil the mission of Dôrieus. The promised Hêrakteia did come into being, though not on the promised site. It must have been at the time of its occupation by Euryleôn that Minŏa took the name by which it is otherwise known, and to which its elder name became attached as a kind of surname. Its history is for a long time fragmentary. In after days it passed into Carthaginian hands, and Hêrakteia became famous as the Headland of Melkart. At the time when it was thus cut off from Hellas, it appears as part of the territory of Akragas, and not, as now, of that of Selinous<sup>3</sup>. But it had not to wait for

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 420, 428.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. u. s., of γὰρ μὲν Σελινοῦσις ἱεραστάσιντι ἀπέκτεινον, καταφράσσιντι ἐπὶ Διὸς Ἀγοραίου βωμῶν.

<sup>3</sup> See the treaty between Dionysios and Carthage in Diod. xv. 17, where he cedes to Carthage τὴν τῶν Σελινυντίων πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν καὶ τῆς Ἀκραγας-

CHAP. V. those distant days before it again saw the presence of the race who had most likely first called it into being <sup>1</sup>. For the present all that we hear of the Hêrakleia of Euryleôn is that, at some unfixed time but seemingly not very long after the time which we have reached, the special enmity of Carthage fell on it, and that it was for a season swept away from the earth <sup>2</sup>.

First over-  
throw of  
Hêrakleia.  
B.C. 510-  
480.

Relations  
of Selinous  
to Car-  
thage.

It becomes  
a Cartha-  
ginian de-  
pendency.

War be-  
tween Car-  
thage and  
the Eastern  
Sikeliots.  
B.C. 510-  
480.

This undated overthrow of Hêrakleia seems to connect itself with other events of which our accounts are no less dark. In all likelihood it happened very soon after the occupation of the place by Euryleôn. It is to be noticed that we hear nothing directly of Selinous till about thirty years after the expedition of Dôrieus. But its relations to Carthage must have changed in some way during that time. At the later date Selinous appears as an ally of Carthage against the other Hellenic cities of Sicily. It plays, or is expected to play, the part which Servia played against Christendom on the day of Nikopolis. Such a relation between Greek and barbarian surely implies some victorious advance on the part of Carthage, which had brought the western bulwark of Hellenic Sicily into some measure of dependence on the Phœnician. We hear too, vaguely enough it is true, of warfare waged specially to avenge the death of Dôrieus, warfare by which the Sikeliot cities in general were saved from dangers on the side of Carthage, dangers which could be said to have threatened their very being <sup>3</sup>. We have no means of exactly fixing a single date or detail; but something took place between Carthage and the Greek power which was now rising to

*τίλης μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλέσου.* That is to say, a district which Herodotus counts for Selinuntine must then have been Akragantine.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 113, 415, 496, 562.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix VIII.

<sup>3</sup> See Herod. vii. 158, and Appendix VIII.

ascendency in Sicily, something which could be looked on CHAP. V.  
 as touching the interests of Hellenic life in all its seats.  
 For it led to embassies from Sicily to the cities of old  
 Greece, asking for help against the common enemy of all  
 Greeks everywhere. No help came from old Greece. Sparta Refusal of  
help by  
Sparta.  
 cared not to avenge the blood of Dôrieus on the barbarians ;  
 she cared not to save Sikeliot cities from falling under the  
 barbarian yoke. The Phœnician advance was checked by  
 Sikeliot valour only. Such is the story which we are to d,  
 certainly in a most vague and allusive shape, but by an  
 authority which cannot be lightly cast aside. It is hard to  
 escape the conclusion that some warfare between Carthage  
 and the Greeks of Sicily went on after the death of Dô-  
 rieur, warfare which helps to connect his enterprise as the  
 first act in our long tale, our tale of

*"Grecia barbaris lento collisâ duello,"*

with the later and greater act of the same drama which  
 forms a main epoch in our story. It was surely in this War to  
avenge  
Dorieus.  
 war, the war in which the defenders of Greek Sicily pro-  
 claimed vengeance for Dôrieus as their watchword, that  
 Selinus became a dependency of Carthage and that the  
 newly named Hêrakleia was destroyed. This must be the Clashes of  
Gelon.  
 warfare in which the famous Gelon lord of Syracuse, is  
 made to claim the first place for himself, and which must  
 in any case have been carried on by a power in whose  
 doings Gelon had a share. This war with Carthage, ob-  
 scurely recorded, but clearly of no small moment, bridges  
 over, as far as strife with the barbarian is concerned, the  
 space between the enterprise of Dôrieus, followed by victory  
 on the part of Carthage, and the enterprise of Hamilkar,  
 followed by victory on the part of Hellas.

The power which we can thus duly see in the character Origin of  
the Hellenic  
power.  
 of Hellenic and European champion, the power which,  
 when it was wielded by Gelon and had its seat at Syra-  
 cuse, became a mighty power indeed, had its beginnings

CHAP. V. under other lords and in another spot. It was a power which gradually made its way to the first place in Sicily, a power which came to rule over so large a part of Sicily that its masters could, with some exaggeration, be spoken of as lords of the whole island<sup>1</sup>. Towards the end of the sixth century before Christ, most of the Sikeliot cities were ruled by tyrants or by single rulers of some kind. Of Selinous just at this moment we cannot speak, and the question of her internal government is of less interest than the question when and how she entered into her peculiar relation to Carthage. Syracuse, busy with her political disputes, did not in this age produce a tyrant of her own stock. But we hear of tyrants at Gela, at Akragas, at Himera, at Leontinoi, and of a lord of Zanklê who perhaps was not a tyrant<sup>2</sup>. And we shall presently see a sight in those days more unexpected, but which is but the first example of a large class, that of an Italian ruler bringing Sicilian soil under his dominion<sup>3</sup>. Anaxilas of Rhêgion is a memorable name in Sicilian history; Thêrôn of Akragas is more memorable still; but the earliest in date and the greatest in extent of the Sikelot powers of the beginning of the fifth century before Christ had its first rise at Gela. Translated to Syracuse, that power was to have no small share in the great strife of West and East. Whatever may have been the exact course of events immediately after the death of Dôrieus, it is certain that a lord of Gela and Syracuse presently was called to be the victorious champion of Hellas against the Semitic invader.

Tyrants in various cities.

Rise of tyrants at Gela, B.C. 505.

<sup>1</sup> Gêlon is *ἀρχὴν Σικελίας* in Herod. vii. 157.

<sup>2</sup> See Herod. vi. 23 and Appendix I.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. i. p. 24.

§ 3. *The Beginnings of the Deinomenid Dynasty.*

B.C. 505-480.

The dynasty of which we have now to speak is that of <sup>The Deinomenids</sup> which Syracuse was the seat in the first time of Syracusan splendour. It is that which is made famous by the renowned names of Gelôn and Hierôn, by the laureate odes of Pindar, and by the purer glory of the great salvation of Hellas at Himera. But, as the first foundations of this power were not laid at Syracuse, so neither were those who laid them forefathers of the men who made Syracuse for the first time the head of Sicily. The beginning of the dynasty of which the greatest name is Gelôn, was not the work of Gelôn or his house, and the place of its beginning was not Syracuse but Gela. Of the <sup>Internal</sup> history of that city between its foundation and the time <sup>strife at</sup> which we have now reached we know but little. One event only has been recorded in an incidental way which shows us that Gela, like other cities, had its internal struggles. In one of these, at the date of which we can only <sup>Secession</sup> guess, the defeated party were driven from the city, and <sup>to Maktô-</sup> established themselves at Maktôrion, on the hills above <sup>tion.</sup> Gela<sup>1</sup>. Were these, like the men who fled from Syracuse to Kasmenai, the few yielding to the numbers of the many? Or were they the many yielding to the wealth and military practice of the few? Did they, like the Roman *plebs*, secede of their own accord to become themselves the old citizens of a new commonwealth? Or was it merely a case of a banished *gens*, like the Syracusan Milytids<sup>2</sup>? Whoever the seceders were, those who were left in the city wished for them back again. This, according to our Roman precedent, might be taken as a sign that it was a

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 153; ἐν Μακτόριον πάλιν τὴν ἐπὶ Γέλης οὐκ ἐμμένον ἐφυγεν ἄνδρες Γελάων, ἰσχυρότεροι στρασι. On Maktôrion see vol. i. p. 409.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 24, and vol. i. p. 411.

CHAP. V. secession of the commons. But as to the going forth of the seceders to Maktôrion we may guess for ever; it is the story of their coming back to Gela which concerns us on more sides than one.

The means by which the men who had left Gela were brought back, vaguely as they are described, are instructive as an illustration of Greek religion. The malecontents yielded neither to force of arms nor yet to eloquence or strength of argument; they were brought back by an appeal to their devotional feelings which for us needs a hierophant indeed. There was in Gela a citizen named

Têlinês of Gela;

his descent;

his possession of sacred things.

Têlinês, who traced his descent from one of the first settlers at Gela. His forefather came, not from Rhodes or Crete, but from the small island of Têlos in the Karpathan sea, near the Triopian promontory<sup>1</sup>. We are told by Herodotus, who clearly writes with bated breath on so awful a subject, that Têlinês was possessed of certain mysterious visible symbols of the powers beneath the earth which were deemed to be of wonder-working power. Of their nature he tells us nothing, and he distinctly disclaims all knowledge of the way in which Têlinês became possessed of them<sup>2</sup>. Modern scholars have seen in these powers below the earth no other than the patron goddesses of Sicily, Dêmêtêr and Persephonê themselves. They have connected them with the dark hints which we have about the sanctuary on the Triopian headland, and have supposed that they were brought thence by the original settlers from whom Têlinês was descended<sup>3</sup>. But nothing fresh seems

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 153; Γέλανοι πρόγονοι, ἀσκήτωρ ἔξω Γέλας [sc. ἡ ἐν Γέλας], ἣν ἀετῆσιν Τήλων τῆς ἐν Γεωσίᾳ περὶ μέντης Γέλας ἐπὶ Διονύσιον τε τῶν ἐν Ῥόδῳ καὶ Ἀντιφῶν, οὗτοι ἐλαίφθη. Some special meaning would seem to lurk in these last words. The whole story is most remarkable, both for what Herodotus tells us and for what he does not tell us.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.; ὅθεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβεν ὁ αὐτὸς ἠεὶ τῶν τοῦτο οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν.

<sup>3</sup> So Boeckh's note on the Scholiast on Pindar, Pyth. II. 27; Δακρυμένους [a mistake for Têlinês] γὰρ οἱ αὐτοὶ εἰσὶν οἱ καὶ τὸν ἱεῖρα τοῦ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ Τριόπιον τῇ Κερίας ἐν Σικελίᾳ κομίσαντες. On the temple there, see

to have been brought to light as to the nature of the objects themselves or as to the way in which they exercised their strange influence. Télinés himself is described as a man hardly designed by nature for any great exploit, not famous for valour or enterprise, but weak, it would seem, in body and feeble in spirit<sup>1</sup>. But he had a weapon above all weapons in the mystic objects which he held at his command. Of the manner of using them we hear nothing; but such was the trust placed in them by Télinés and his fellow-citizens that he was sent alone, without the help of any military force, to win back, by these ghostly arms only, the men who had seceded to Maktôrion<sup>2</sup>. He undertook the task on condition that he and his descendants should be acknowledged by the commonwealth as the public and hereditary hierophants of the powers of whom he was already the personal servant. He went, and he succeeded on his errand. We long to hear the details of his mission; but we know only that his ministry charmed the seceders back again. The schism in the body politic of Gela was healed, and Télinés and his descendants continued to enjoy the honours and profits of their hereditary priesthood<sup>3</sup>. After how many years we know not, we come, in the last decade of the sixth century before Christ, to our first ascertained date in Gelôan history. Whatever was the cause or nature of the secession to Maktôrion, the

CHAP. V.

The mission of Télinés.

Return of the seceders.

Priesthood of Télinés.

Herod. i. 144, but Télinés is not mentioned in connexion with it. Mr. Lloyd (*Hist. of Sicily*, 291 et seqq.) goes deeper into many matters than I can follow him. Grote has what to me is a more instructive note at vol. v. p. 279. If these objects were sacred things of Déméter brought from Greek Asia, in what relation did they stand to the worship of Henna?

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 153; τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἔργα οὐ πρὸς τοῦ ἀναστος ἀνδρὸς νομόμια γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχῆς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ σώμης ἀνδρείης ὃ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίας τῶν εὐσητόρων τὰ ὑπέρτατα τούτων πεφυκέναι θηλυδότης τε καὶ μαλακώτεροι ἀνὴρ.

<sup>2</sup> *Ih.*; τούτους [the seceders to Maktôrion] ὁ Τηλίνης πατήγαγε ἐν Γέλῳ, ἔχον οὐδεμίαν ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ἰσὺς τούτων [τῶν χθονίων] θεῶν.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. ii. 2.

CHAP. V. Gela an oligarchy.	aristocratic party in Gela, the party most likely of the old citizens, either kept or won back their power. But the earliest event in the story of the city which can be assigned to a given year marks the year of their fall.
B.C. 505. Kleandros tyrant of Gela. B.C. 55. His death.	We now hear of Gela under a ruler named Kleandros, son of Pantarês, who is reckoned among those tyrants who rose to power by the earliest of many paths, the overthrow of the oligarchy <sup>1</sup> . After a reign of seven years, he was slain by a man of Gela named Sabyllus; but the stroke that was thus dealt destroyed only the tyrant and not the tyranny.
Hippo- kratês succeeds. B.C. 498.	The power which Kleandros had held passed, perhaps after some opposition <sup>2</sup> , to his brother Hippokratês, of whom we have a more distinct picture <sup>3</sup> . Lord of Gela, never lord of Syracuse, he was the first of that long line of Sikeliot tyrants of whom Syracuse became the special home. These were
Hippo- kratês and his suc- cessors.	rulers who aimed at something more than despotic power over their own cities. They clearly sought to set up a great dominion, over all Sicily, if it so might be, but at least over as large a part of it as they could bring under their power.
His aims.	Such an ambition, aiming at a dominion over Greeks and barbarians alike, might do something to raise the tyrant nearer to the level of a king. We here see one marked
Difference between Sicily and old Greece.	difference between old Greece and the Greek settlements elsewhere. No man, not Kleomenês himself, could have even dreamed of spreading his power as king or tyrant over all Greece or over all Peloponnêsoa. In Sicily such an ambition might seem not wholly unreasonable; and though it never was actually carried out, ruler after ruler was able

<sup>1</sup> For the date and the death of Kleandros see Herod. vii. 154. He appears in Aristotle (Pol. v. 11) along with Peraitios, among the overthrowers of oligarchies. His father Pantarês, an Olympic victor, seems to be commemorated in the wonderful inscription in Baul, *Inscriptiones Antiquissimæ*, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *Ἀναλαμβάνει τῆς μοναρχίας Ἰπποκράτης*, says Herodotus. His rule directly after is *τυραννίς*.



to take not a few steps towards it. The ambition of Hippokratês was of the same kind as that of Agathoklês, of Dionysios, of his own immediate successor Gelôn. Though Hippokratês never was lord of Syracuse, it is with him that the line of the lords of Syracuse begins.

The schemes of Hippokratês were wide, and it may be that, like his successors, he was able to cover them with pretexts, and more than pretexts, worthier than could be made use of by any tyrant of old Greece. The dim hints which are all that we have of the warfare which Greek Sicily waged to avenge the death of Dônêus and to drive back Phœnician advance may suggest that in that strife Hippokratês was the leader<sup>1</sup>. Of his rule within the walls of Gela we hear nothing; we cannot say whether he belonged to the worse or to the better class of tyrants. We only know, what does not prove much, that the men of Gela had no wish that his power should become hereditary. Hippokratês sought in all quarters for means to carry out his designs. He was ably served by Greek officers, not always natives of Gela. Among them was an Amêsidas, possibly of the great house of the Emmenids of Akragas, but who, if so, was not ashamed to serve the tyrant of his metropolis. Our slight mention of him casually shows us that service about the person of the tyrant, the place of spearman in his immediate body-guard, might be, like service under Teutonic kings, a path to high promotion<sup>2</sup>.

Probable  
Punic wars  
of Hippo-  
kratês.

His officers  
and mer-  
cenaries.

Personal  
service.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 98, and Appendix VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. vii. 154; *Αἰνέσιδης τοῦ Παταλίου ὁ τῆς Συρακούσας Ἰπποκράτης*. It seems to be taken for granted that this Aînêsidamos is the same as the father of Thêrôn (Herod. vii. 163). But, according to the Scholiast on Pindar (Ol. ii. 82), that Aînêsidamos was the son of Emmenidês, and one might fancy that this one was marked as the son of Patalkos to be distinguished from him. But he must have been a man of some importance to be mentioned at all and to be coupled, as he is, with Gelôn.

CHAP. V. Hippokratês also hired Sikel mercenaries<sup>1</sup>, and with his mixed force, Greek and barbarian, he went forth to make conquests at the cost of both Greeks and barbarians. He brought many Greek cities under his power; he warred against Sikel towns with Sikels in his army; if he did proclaim himself the champion of Hellas against the barbarian he sought for help from old Greece in so holy a crusade, but sought in vain<sup>2</sup>. At all events, he established for himself a great dominion among the Greek cities of eastern Sicily. Naxos, eldest of Sikeliot cities, came under his power; so did her colony Kallipolis<sup>3</sup>. Of the circumstances of these conquests and of the political state of these towns before the conquest we know nothing; nor do we know in what relation they were made to stand to the ruling power at Gela. But in some cases, where Hippokratês found power in the hands of a single man, he seems to have found that it best suited his purpose to admit the existing ruler to the relation of vassalage or dependent alliance. Such was most likely the case with Leontinoi, then ruled by a tyrant named Ainesidêmos, a different person, we may suppose, from the officer of that name in his own service<sup>4</sup>. Such was certainly the case with Zanklê, where Hippokratês appears very distinctly as the overlord. But the story of Zanklê at this time is of such interest in itself, and it brings so many parts of the world into our view at once, that we must halt a while in the list of the victories of Hippokratês to take in more clearly the state of the two cities which

Conquests  
of Hippo-  
kratês.

Naxos and  
Kallipolis.

His  
vassals;

at Leontinoi;

at Zanklê.

<sup>1</sup> See the story in Polyainos, v. 6, to which we shall come again.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix VIII.

<sup>3</sup> Herod., ii. 2. On Kallipolis, see vol. I. p. 379.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias (v. 22. 7) describes an offering at Olympia set up by certain Leontines, one of whom was named Ainesidêmos, and adds, *ὁ δὲ ἄλλος τις Αἰνείδῃμον δοκῶ καὶ τὸν τυραννίσαντα εἶναι Λεοντίνων*. Was this the father of Thérôn? Was either the son of Pataikos or the son of Emmenidês set up as tyrant of Leontinoi by Hippokratês? The name is spelled differently, at least in our texts, by Herodotus and by Pausanias.

watch the two sides of the strait which parts Sicily from Italy. CHAP. V.

Our Sicilian story has thus far had little to do with the affairs of the neighbouring peninsula. We have seen the laws of the Katanaian Charôndas adopted by some of the Italiot cities<sup>1</sup>, and we have seen the Krotoniat Philippos come into Sicily to die below Eryx<sup>2</sup>. But we have not as yet seen any active interference in the affairs of either land on the part of the commonwealths or rulers of the other. But in the early years of the fifth century before Christ, the years of the ascendancy of Gela under Hippokratés and for a good while longer, we find a close relation in war and peace between Rhégion on the one side of the strait and Zanklé on the other. The connexion was of old standing; Zanklé was held to have had some hand in the settlement of Rhégion<sup>3</sup>. This relation at last grew into the subjection of both cities to one ruler, and him a man of Rhégion and not of Zanklé. Anaxilas now ruled in Rhégion. He was, we are told, one of a privileged order of Messenian descent which held the chief place in Rhégion<sup>4</sup>. But he had taken up, like Panaitios and Kleandros, the part of a popular leader, and he had in that character put his own single power as tyrant in the place of the oligarchy among whom he was but one among many. Ambitious and unscrupulous, he had, early in his reign, cast his eye across the narrow sea to the city at the foot of the hills, with her sickle-like peninsula guarding her landlocked haven. Anaxilas was at war with Skythés lord of Zanklé, the only Sikeliot ruler of these times on whom the name of king is bestowed by a historian who does not use words at random<sup>5</sup>. We do not know the ground of this quarrel,

Connexion  
between  
Zanklé and  
Rhégion.

Anaxilas of  
Rhégion.

War  
between  
Anaxilas  
and  
Skythés of  
Zanklé.  
B. C. 493.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 586.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix IX.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix I.

CHAP. V but it presently becomes connected with greater events in the history of Sicily and of the world.

<p>Persian advances in Asia.</p> <p>Fall of Miletos. B.C. 494.</p> <p>Samos under Aiakés.</p> <p>Proposed migration to Sardinia. B.C. 545.</p> <p>Dionysios of Phôkaia.</p>	<p>For the days which we have now reached are the days of barbarian advance alike in the older and the newer Hellenic world. We shall presently see the barbarian powers of East and West strive by one united effort to crush the life of Hellas alike in Sicily and in old Greece. We are all but on the eve of Marathôn; we are almost within sight of Salamis and Himera. The Persian, lord of the recovered Greek cities of Asia, is spreading his rule over the islands of the Ægean and planting his dependent tyrannies among them. In the very year in which Anaxilas rose to power in Rhêgion, Milêtos, greatest city of Hellas on Asiatic ground, fell before the barbarian arms, and its captive citizens were planted as settlers far away by the banks of Tigris<sup>1</sup>. Samos was handed over to its native tyrant Aiakés; but its chief citizens would not be slaves to him and to the Medes<sup>2</sup>. They sought homes in some other land, and that land could not fail to be a Western one. Long before, when the troubles of the Asiatic Ionians were only beginning, it had been suggested to them to move in a body to Sardinia<sup>3</sup>. We may doubt whether such a plantation would have raised Hellenic Sardinia to the level of Hellenic Sicily; but the experiment of a Hellenic Sardinia was never tried. This time Sicily itself was opened to them. Dionysios of Phôkaia, the corsair of Panhellenic sympathies, taking with him the</p>
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<sup>1</sup> Herod. v. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Th. vi. 14. 23; *Σαμίω τούτοις τι ἔχονσι τὸ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Μήδων ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν σφετέρων ποιηθὲν οὐδαμῶς ἤρεσκε*. Here Herodotus speaks, according to the fashion of his day, of "Medes," where his own practice was to say "Persians." In the words which presently follow, *ἐκ δυνάμιν Ἀσπλίων μὴτὲ μίγνεται Μήδωνί τε καὶ Αἰώνι δουλεύειν*, one seems to hear the words of a formal resolution. So Thucydides, who commonly speaks of "Medes," uses the word "Persian" in l. 16, for an obvious reason. Modern translators of both authors carefully get rid of these careful distinctions.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. i. 170.

last remnant of the fleet of free Ionia, had sailed from lost Asia to free Sicily. There he had made some unnamed Sicilian haven the centre of adventurous voyages, in which he freely made a prey of Phœnicians and Tyrrhenians, but did no harm to any brother Greek<sup>1</sup>. His presence may well have suggested the thought, it may well have been actually his own proposal<sup>2</sup>, that the whole body of the Ionians of Asia should establish themselves in Sicily.

CHAP. V

Proposed migration of the Ionians to Sicily.

It was the king of Zanklê by whom this thought was put into a definite shape<sup>3</sup>. Skythês sent envoys to Asia inviting the Ionian body to come and form one settlement, one great Ionian city, on that northern coast of Sicily where Hellas had as yet made so few settlements. Between Himera and the Zanklaian outpost of Mylai were many sites on which a new Greek city might well arise. One specially fitting spot, then in Sikol possession, the modern *Marina di Caronia* between Cefalù and Patti, bore the inviting name of the Fair Shore<sup>4</sup>. *Kalê Aktê*, *Kalê Aktê*.

Invitation of Skythês.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vi. 17; Διονέσιος δ' ὅσπερ εἰς . . . ἔπλεε ἐν Σικελίῃν ὁρμώμενος δὲ ἐνθεύτεον, ληϊστέρι ποτεσθήκει, Ἑλλήνων μὲν εὐδαίμονες, Καρχηδονίων δὲ καὶ Τυρσηνῶν.

<sup>2</sup> See Holm, G. B. i. 198.

<sup>3</sup> It is plain that, unless Herodotus strangely forgot in one place what he had said in another, this Skythês, king or tyrant of Zanklê, cannot be the same person as Skythês, father of Kadmos of Kôs spoken of in vii. 163. Nor does it really prove anything that Skythês of Zanklê in one place (vi. 24) and Kadmos in the other are both praised for the same virtue of *δυναϊσύνῃ*. Yet there is something, perhaps the oddness of the name Skythês, which puts the two together in one's mind. And the fact that Skythês of Zanklê, when set free from prison in Sicily, at once flees to Asia (vi. 24), dimly suggests some connexion with Eastern parts. See Banbury, *Dict. Biog.* art. *Soythes*.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. vi. 22; Ζαγκλαίων οἱ ἀπὸ Σικελίης τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον νέμονται ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίῃ ἀγγέλουσι, ἐπικαλέοντο τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐν Καλῇ Ἀκτῇ, βουλόμενοι αὐτοῖσι πόλιν κτίσαι Ἰώνων ἥ δὲ Καλὴ αὕτη Ἀκτὴ καλεσμένη, ἐστὶ μὲν Σικελῶν, πρὸς δὲ Τυρσηνίῃν τετραμμένη τῇ Σικελίῃ. Mark how Herodotus, doubtless after the settlement by Ducetius, speaks of *Kalê Aktê* as Sikel. It is a little perverse to translate "in the country of the Sicilians," but one joins none the less in the translator's wonder at the commentator who confounded *Kalê Aktê* and Zanklê.

CHAP. V. Calacta, came to have a history, a specially Sikel history, in later times; it is as yet memorable only as the spot where the great Ionian settlement in Sicily was not planted. There Skythês invited the whole Ionian body to fix themselves; but the more part of them chose bondage in their native land rather than freedom so far away. Only the discontented of Samos and a small remnant of Milesian exiles who had escaped Persian transplantation set forth on the enterprise<sup>1</sup>. And with them went a single man from another Greek island whose name and story make us wish to hear more of him. Kadmos son of Skythês had been tyrant of Kôs. He had not raised himself to power; he had inherited the lordship of the island, a flourishing and undisputed dominion, from his father. No revolt at home, no invasion from abroad, had threatened his power; but, like Lydadas in days to come, he felt that tyranny was an evil thing. Of his own sense of right, he laid down his power; he gave back freedom to his people, and—we are not told why—sought a home for himself elsewhere<sup>2</sup>. Such is the portrait of Kadmos, the one Dorian, as far as we can see, who took part in the enterprise. If that enterprise had been carried out on the scale which Skythês of Zanklê had proposed, it must have seriously affected the relations of the Ionian and Dorian cities in the later course of Sicilian history.

Samos  
and Milesian  
exiles.

Kadmos  
of Kôs;

he re-  
signs his  
tyranny.

Never was a man more disappointed in a well-meant scheme, never did a man more thoroughly receive hatred for his good will, than the king or tyrant of Zanklê. The

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vi. 22; τούτων οὖν ἐπικαλιόμενον, οἱ Σάμοι μόνον τῶν Ἴωνων ἰσχυροῦσαν, οὖν δὲ οὐκ Μιλησίων οἱ ἐπιφευγόντες.

<sup>2</sup> This story of Kadmos (Κάδμος ὁ Σκυθήων, ἀπὸ Κῶς) is told incidentally by Herodotus in another place (vii. 164), where he has to say something more of him personally; ὁ δὲ Κάδμος οὗτος, πρότερον τοῦτον παραδεξάμενος παρὰ πατρός τὴν τυραννίδα Κῶν ἐν Βεβηκίαν, ἔχων τε εἶναι καὶ θανούσι πιστεύει οὐδέναι, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ διαιουσύνης, ἐς μέσον Κῶν καταβῆναι τὴν ἀρχήν, αἴχρην δὲ Σικελίῃ.

men to whom he offered a Sicilian home were indeed to find one; but they were not to find it at Kalê Aktê, they were not to find it at the cost of barbarians. The Samians and Milesians and the ex-tyrant of Kôs had gone as far in their voyage as the Italian Lokroi. There a message came to them from the lord of Rhêgion. Skythês, with the whole force of Zanklê, was at that moment besieging a Sikel town, surely with some view to the proposed Greek settlement<sup>1</sup>. Anaxilas seized on the coming of the Samians as a chance for striking a blow at the Zanklaians and their prince, and that by the hands of others. He told the newcomers to think no more of their settlement at Kalê Aktê, where they would have to found a new city. There was a ready made city waiting for them, of which they had only to take possession. Through the absence of Skythês and his army most likely in the service of the Samians themselves—the town of Zanklê was undefended; they had nothing to do but to march in<sup>2</sup>. They took the hint; they were guilty of the first of those treacherous occupations of cities which are so common in Sicilian history, and to which both the town which now was Zanklê and Rhêgion itself seem to have been specially exposed. Worse than Campanians or Mamertines, these Greeks fleeing from barbarian bondage felt no scruple at a deed from which barbarians might have shrunk. The men whom Skythês had invited in all friendship, in all Panhellenic good will, were not ashamed to seize upon his city in his absence. We know not what protests were uttered by the righteous man from Kôs; at any rate he did not refuse to take his share in the settlement which

CHAP. V.

Skythês  
absent on a  
Sikel war.

ANAXILAS  
suggests  
to the  
Samians  
to seize  
Zanklê.

They seize  
Zanklê.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vi. 23; Σίμιοι κομίζόμενοι ἐς Ζακλίην, ἐγίνοντο ἐν Λοκροῖσι τοῖσι Ἐπιζεφύραιοι, καὶ Ζαγυλαίοι, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν τῷ ὀνόματι ἦν Ἰππόδη, περιεκατέτατο πόλιν τῶν Σικελῶν, ἐκλεῖν βουλούμενοι.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.; συμμίστας τοῖσι Σαμίοις, ἀνατίθει ὅτι χρεὸν εἶη Καλὴν μὲν Ἀκτὴν εἶναι ἢ ἐπλεον εἶναι χαίρην, τὴν δὲ Ζάγκλην σχεῖν, τοῦσαν ἐρήμων ἀνδρῶν.

CHAP. V.  
Skythês  
calls on  
Hippo-  
kratês.

was now made<sup>1</sup>. Zanklê was seized and occupied<sup>2</sup>. The news reached Skythês and his army while engaged in their Sikel warfare; they marched back to recover their homes, and Skythês called on his powerful ally the lord of Gela to come to his help<sup>3</sup>.

Action of  
Hippo-  
kratês as  
overlord

Hippokratês came at the head of an army, and found Skythês and the Zanklaïans in their own territory, but shut out of their own city. He acts distinctly as overlord, but as an overlord whose sense of duty towards his dependents was not very strict<sup>4</sup>. In his eyes Skythês was an officer who had failed in his charge; he had lost a city in which Hippokratês had an interest. For such neglect he must pay the penalty. He and his brother Pythogenês were accordingly sent as prisoners to Inykon<sup>5</sup>, ancient city of Kôkalos. It was a distant prison, far nearer to Akragas than to Zanklê, nearer most likely than to Gela. It is not likely to have been part of the immediate dominion of Hippokratês; but the thought is suggested that he may have had the same kind of influence

Skythês  
imprisoned  
at Inykon.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 164; *μετὰ Χαμίαν ἔσχε τε καὶ μετασχεσε πόλιν Ζάγκλην*.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. vi. 23; *πυθομένην δὲ τῶν Χαμίαν, καὶ σχόντων τὴν Ζάγκλην*. So Thucydides, vi. 4; *ἐπὶ Χαμίαν καὶ ἑλλαν Ἴωνας ἐπεστυχεῖν, οἱ Μήδους φεύγοντες προσέβαλον Σικελίᾳ*. Aristotle (Pol. v. 2. 11) has a somewhat different story; *Ζαγκλαῖοι δὲ Χαμίους ἐνδοξέμενοι ἰξέπεσαν καὶ αὐτοί*. Grote (v. 282) truly says; "his brief notice is not to be set against the perspicuous narrative of Herodotus." It is just the difference which is likely to be between one who is directly telling the story and one who simply catches at it as an illustration.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. vi. 23; *ἐπεκαλέοντο Ἴωνας ἄνδρες, τὸν Γίλην τύραννον ὃν γὰρ δὴ σφε οὗτος σύμμαχος*.

<sup>4</sup> The word *σύμμαχος* naturally takes in both parties to an unequal alliance. But the relation of superior and dependent is, as Grote (v. 283) truly says, marked in Hippokratês' treatment of Skythês.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. v. 2. 3; *Συθῆν μὲν τὸν μονάρχην τῶν Ζαγκλαίων, ἐπεβαλόντα τὴν πόλιν, ὃ Ἴωνας ἐπέσχε, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Πυθογένεα, ἐν Ἴωνας πόλιν ἀπέπεμψε*. It illustrates the carelessness of the later writers that Ælian (Var. Hist. viii. 17), telling the story of Skythês almost in the words of Herodotus, calls him *Συθῆς* ὃ Ἴωνας ὃ τῶν Ζαγκλαίων *μονάρχης*. He saw the word Ἴωνας in his book, and that was enough. On Inykon, see vol. i. pp. 113, 495, 496.



with those who then held the rule of Akragas which his successors had some years later. If so, a spot so far away from his own city may have been thought a safer prison-house for the deposed lord of Zanklè.

Having thus got rid of Skythês, Hippokratês had no thought of supporting or avenging the rest of the Zanklaians against the men who had done them so great and so treacherous a wrong. Hippokratês deemed that his interests lay the other way, in making terms with the Samian intruders. A treaty was made, and confirmed by oath on both sides<sup>1</sup>. The Samians were to keep the city; but they were to give up to Hippokratês half the moveable property, goods and slaves, within the walls. Under the head of slaves we must doubtless understand both the slaves whom the Samians had found in the city, and such of the unwarlike population of Zanklè as they had made slaves of for themselves<sup>2</sup>. Outside the walls all that could be taken away was to be the spoil of Hippokratês, his wages or bribe for the favour which he had shown to the actual possessors of Zanklè<sup>3</sup>. Among this booty was the Zanklaian army who had come back with Skythês. We hear nothing of any resistance on the part of men who, one would have thought, would have fought to the death against the fate which was actually in store for them. The mass of the Zanklaians were made slaves; three hundred of the chief among them

DEAP. V

Hippo-  
kratês'  
treaty  
with the  
Samians.The Zan-  
klaian  
army made  
slaves by  
Hippo-  
kratês.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 8.; τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς Ζαγκλαίους, κοινολογησάμενος τοῖσι Σαμίαισι, καὶ ὅρκους δοὺς καὶ δεξιόμενος προέβηκε. Elsewhere (vii. 154) Herodotus speaks of Hippokratês as *besieging* Zanklè among other towns πολιορκήσας Ἰπποκράτους Καλλιπλίτας τε καὶ Ναφίους καὶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ Λεοντίους. In the story of his present dealings with Zanklè we fail to see any siege. But Herodotus may have written laxly, or it may have been by a siege that Hippokratês first gained the overlordship over Skythês which he seems here to exercise.

<sup>2</sup> Who these were would depend a good deal on the question whether the new-comers had brought women with them. The Samians were not unlikely to have done so, but hardly the Milesians.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. ii. 8.; μετὰ δὲ αἱ εἰρημένοι οὕτω ἐπὶ τῶν Σαμίων.

CHAP. V. were given up by Hippokratēs to the Samians to be put to death. He could hardly have had any personal spite against them. The slaughter must have been designed on some ground of policy. It may have been because the leading men, who might be able to find friends to ransom them, might some day disturb the state of things agreed on between Hippokratēs and the Samians<sup>1</sup>. The Samians, though not over-scrupulous, were not ready to go this length. They had turned the men of Zanklê out of their city; but they did not feel called on to murder them as well<sup>2</sup>. The lives of the three hundred were spared; but we do not hear what became of them. Skythês, by some means or other, escaped from his prison at Inykon. He made his way to Himera, where he took ship for Asia, and went straight to the court of the Great King. Darins was used to such visitors; but he pronounced Skythês to be the most righteous of all the Greeks who had ever come up to him. For, unlike Dêmokêdês of Krotôn, when Skythês had by the King's leave gone once more to Sicily on some errand, he came back again to Persia<sup>3</sup>. There he lived to a great age, and died in all honour<sup>4</sup>.

The  
Samians  
refuse to  
slaughter  
the three  
hundred  
Zan-  
klaiana.

Skythês  
escapes to  
Darius.

THE SAMIANS who had seized on Zanklê thus refused to sink to the yet lower depth of baseness which Hippokratēs had proposed to them. We are not told whether they thereby drew on themselves the wrath and vengeance of the lord of Gela. It is certain that they did by some

<sup>1</sup> This is Grote's probable suggestion, v. 284.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. vii. 154; τοὺς δὲ κορυβαίους αὐτῶν τριηκοσίους ἴδους τοῖσι Σαμίαισι κατασφάζειν· οὐ μὲν τοι αἱ γε Σάμιοι ἐποίησαν ταῦτα.

<sup>3</sup> The contrast with Dêmokêdês—the part of his story that concerns us comes in Herod. iii. 126 γ—not made by Herodotus here, is made by Ælian, Var. Hist. viii. 17 Δαρίους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ [Δημοκῆδους] φιλαίρας ἔλεγεν, ἀνατίνα λέγων καὶ ἄνθρωπον κάμειστον. Of Skythês Herodotus says; καὶ μὴ νόμιζε Δαρίους πάντων ἀνδρῶν δικαιότατον εἶναι ὅσων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παρ' ἐαυτὸν ἐνέβησαν. Mark that Ἑλλάς here takes in Sicily, which in the seventh book it does not. One would like to know on what errand he went into Sicily.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. ii. 2; γῆραι μέγα δόλιος τὸν ἐνελύτῃσι ἐν Πέρσῃσι.

means or other draw on themselves the ill will of the lord of Rhégion, the man who had stirred them up to their first wrong-doing. At some unfixed time during the next seventeen years, Anaxilas found that it suited his purposes to drive the Samian population out of the city which he might in some sort be said to have given them. He planted Zanklé afresh with a mixed multitude of inhabitants, of whom we are not even told whether all were Greek. But he kept the dominion of the town in his own hands, and reigned in his later years as tyrant both of Rhégion and of Zanklé. For the first time but not the last, a lord of the Italian mainland ruled on Sicilian ground<sup>1</sup>. According to one statement, of the highest authority and yet perhaps not absolutely decisive, he changed the name of the town from Zanklé to Messana. The motive assigned is a singular one. Anaxilas gave to the city the name of the land of his remote forefathers in Peloponnêsos. It is perhaps more likely that the name really belongs to a later time, when it might have been bestowed on the city by settlers direct from the Peloponnesian Messênê<sup>2</sup>. In either case the name goes along with that of the Sicilian Euboia<sup>3</sup> as the name of a land transferred to a town. The Sicilian Messana, it must be remembered, was the oldest city of the name. It was not till the next century that a city so called arose in Peloponnêsos. It is hard to find a parallel in modern colonial nomenclature. More than one town in the United States bears the name, not of an English town, but of an English shire or other district. Cleveland in Ohio is so far a parallel to the Sicilian Euboia and Messana. But to make the parallel with Messana exact, a new town of Cleveland ought to arise in the Northumbrian district of that name.

CHAP. V.

The Samians turned out by Anaxilas.

B.C. 493-476.

He settles Zanklé afresh and keeps it.

Change of name to Messana.

Question of its date.

Use of the name Messênê.

The action of Hippokratês towards Zanklé had brought

<sup>1</sup> See vol. I. p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix IX.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. I. p. 380.

CHAP. V. him in a plentiful booty at the expense of humanity and good faith. The sale of his captives and of the rest of his spoils went doubtless to fill the hoard whence came the pay of the tyrant's mercenaries. At their head he went on conquering. The great object of his ambition was to win Syracuse. It is hard to say what was the exact state of that city at this moment. Not long after we see the banished *Gamoroi* at Kasmenai<sup>1</sup>; but it is not clear whether the war waged by Hippokratês against Syracuse was waged against them in the last days of their power or against the democracy which stepped into their place. In the former case the result of the war may have been among the occasions of their fall. The Syracusans were defeated in a battle by the river Helôros. So much we read in plain prose<sup>2</sup>. In the songs which told the praises of victors in the Sikyonian games, a youthful warrior, Chromios son of Agêsídamos, fighting in the Geloan ranks, was said to have won, by the steep and rocky banks of the stream, by the ford of Arês, fame no meaner than Hektôr had won by the banks of Skamandros<sup>3</sup>. The site of this battle of the Helôros can hardly be where the Helorine Tempê, too wide to be so called, are crossed by the bridges, old and new, of the Helorine way<sup>4</sup>. We must look further inland, and a spot which better answers the poet's description may be found where the stream is crossed by the road leading westward between the modern towns of Noto and Rossolino. Here, most likely, Hippokratês, with Gelôn and Chromios in his army, overthrew the forces of the city where Gelôn was presently to reign with Chromios as his chosen friend and kins-

Design of Hippokratês on Syracuse.

Was his war with the *Gamoroi* or with the democracy?

Battle of the Helôros.  
B. C. 491.  
Exploits of Chromios.

Scene of the battle.

■■■■■

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. vii. 154; *Ἱπποκράτους μάχην ἐσπρωθέντας ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ἑλὼρῳ*.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix X.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 18.

The victor of the Helôres now made his way into the CHAP. V. road which took its name from the river which was the Victory of Hippokratês. scene of his victory. That road led him straight to the Polichna, the outpost of Syracuse on the west side of the harbour, where the columns of Olympian Zeus still look down upon the hollow way. First of a crowd of invaders Hippokratês by the Olympians. whose coming those hoary columns have outlived, Hippokratês pitched his camp in or near the holy place<sup>1</sup>. But he carefully abstained from any damage to the temple or its ornaments. We are at this point privileged to see the inner workings of the mind of a tyrant. By keeping his hands clean from sacrilege, the lord of Gela hoped to make the best of both worlds. Engaged in so great a warfare, he would avoid drawing on himself the wrath of the gods, and he would fain win for himself a good reputation among men. Above all, he would fain win a good reputation within the walls of Syracuse, and so lead the people to look more favourably on him than on their actual rulers<sup>2</sup>. If we can trust such an isolated story as this, Were the Gamoroi in possession? we might think that this war was waged while the *Gamoroi* were still in possession, but when their power was already threatened by discontents on the part of the excluded people. And Hippokratês did something more than himself abstain from sacrilege; he proclaimed himself

<sup>1</sup> This comes from a fragment of the tenth book of Diodôros: 'Ἰπποκράτης δὲ Γελσίον τοὺς Συρακούσιους νενικηκὼς κατεστρατοπέδευσεν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερόν.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*; αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἀπέσχετο, φιλοδοξῆσαι θέλων καὶ νομίζων θεῖν τὸν τηλικαῦτον ἐπικαιρούμενον πόλεμον μὴδὲν ἱεραρτάνειν εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἅμα δὲ νομίζων διαβάλλειν τοὺς προεστῶτας τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις πραγμάτων πρὸς τὰ πλήθη, διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτοῖς πλεονεκτικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐ δημοτικῶς αὐτῷ ἴσως ἄρχειν. If one could be quite sure that this curious setting forth of motives came from Antiochos or even from Philistos, we might safely say that the driving out of the *Gamoroi* came later than this war. But would not either of them have spoken more distinctly of the *Gamoroi*, and not vaguely of οἱ προεστῶται τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις πραγμάτων? Hippokratês may have tried to raise a feeling against the magistrates of the new democracy.

CHAP. V. as the avenger of that crime, on those above all in whom that crime was most sinful. The story goes that the invader found several Syracusans, and among them the priest of the temple, engaged in carrying off the golden offerings, above all the robe of Zeus himself, thickly wrought with gold<sup>1</sup>. The pious wrath of Hippokratês was kindled; but we only hear that he threatened the robbers of the holy things and bade them go back into the city<sup>2</sup>. What became of their spoil is not recorded. One would like to hear the other side of this story from the mouth of the priest of Zeus. One is a little reminded of the orders that went forth from Henry the Eighth and the first Lord Russell to try—and hang—Abbot Whiting for robbing the plate of Glastonbury.

Syracuse in after days outlived the encampment of several enemies on or near the Olympieion. But the first appearance of an enemy so close at her gates seems to have brought her very near to overthrow or bondage. She was saved by the stepping in of mediators whose unselfish work illustrates the brightest side of Greek political life. Syracuse had a metropolis to which she did not stand in the same relation in which Kamarina stood to herself, a metropolis which, not claiming to be a mistress, was all the more truly a mother. She had a sister who could forget bitter enmities with the head of the household to join in stretching out her hand to save its threatened member. The daughter-city was saved by the help of her mother and her sister. This is the first act in a long tale of kindly intercourse between Syracuse and her mother Corinth. It is also one of the much rarer cases of the like

Mediation  
of Corinth  
and Kor-  
kyn.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. x. ; παρέλαβε δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ἱερεῖα καὶ τῶν Συρακουσίων τινες καθαρὰν χρυσῶν ἀναθήματα χρυσῶ καὶ μάλιστα ἱμάτιον τοῦ Διὸς περιβαλλόμενον ἐκ πολλοῦ κατασκευασμένον χρυσοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. ; τούτοις μὲν ἐπιβλήσας ὡς ἱεροσύλοις, ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

good will being shown to her by her twin-sister Korkyra. CHAP. V  
 Only once again did Corinth and Korkyra step in together to bring about any end on Sicilian soil<sup>1</sup>. It is not easy to see why Hippokratês, victor at the Helôros, eager for the conquest of Syracuse, holding his camp by one of her most venerated sanctuaries, did not make the most of his victory. It seems strange that he did not push on to the coveted city, but allowed time for negotiations with distant powers. But, as the tale is told to us, Syracuse was delivered from her danger by a treaty concluded under the joint mediation of Corinth and Korkyra<sup>2</sup>. Syracuse was spared by Hippokratês, and the captives taken at the Helôros were restored. But it was only on condition of the cession of a valuable piece of Syracusan territory. The site of the rebellious Kamarina, swept from the earth by wrathful Syracuse as the punishment of her rebellion<sup>3</sup>, was ceded to the lord of Gela<sup>4</sup>. With it, we may suppose, passed the whole territory of Kamarina as far as the boundary stream of Hyrminos<sup>5</sup>. By this loss of territory Syracuse was not wholly cut off from that southern sea for a hold on which she had so long striven, but her hold on it was made far weaker. Kamarina, once her outpost against Gela, now became an outpost of Gela against her. In the hands of Hippokratês the site of Kamarina no longer remained desolate. It became again an inhabited town, no doubt a

Peace  
between  
Syracuse  
and Hip-  
pokratês.

Cession of  
Kamarina.

Kamarina  
refounded  
by Hippo-  
kratês.

<sup>1</sup> Plut. Tim. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. vii. 154; Συρηκουσίους δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Κερκυραῖοι ἐπύσαντο. Never did one more hopelessly wish for details.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. ii. 5; ἐπύσαντο δὲ αὐτοὶ, ἐπὶ τοῖσδε καταλλάξαντες, ἐν' ᾧτε Ἰπποκράτει Καμαρίαν Συρηκουσίους παραδόναι, Συρηκουσίων δὲ ἦν Καμαρίνα τὸ ἀρχαῖον. Thucydides (vi. 5) mentions the cession of Kamarina and adds the release of the prisoners; but he says nothing about the mediation; χρόνῳ Ἰπποκράτης υἱότερον Γέλας τύραννος, λύτρα ἀνδρῶν Συρακοσίων αἰχμαλώτων λαβὼν τὴν γῆν Καμαρναίων.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 37.

CHAP. V. dependency of Gela and her master<sup>1</sup>. The renewed city had many ups and downs in store for her. Kamarina was before long to perish again and to rise again; but in all the changes of Sicilian history she never again became an outpost or a dependency of a Syracusan commonwealth.

Sikel wars  
of Hippo-  
kratês.

The last years of Hippokratês were spent in enlarging his dominions at the expense of the Sikels. At some time after the restoration of Kamarina, he is said to have planned an enterprise against the inland Sikel town of Ergetium. This place lay among the hills somewhat east of the modern Aidone, nearly west from Catania and south-west from Castrogiovanni, by the river known as *Fiume delle Gabelle*. But Hippokratês had some difficulty in carrying out his plan, inasmuch as among his Sikel mercenaries were many from Ergetium itself. Still a tyrant was never lacking in resources and was seldom troubled by scruples. Hippokratês showed the greatest favour to the mercenaries from Ergetium; he honoured them as his best soldiers, and gave them higher pay and a greater share of plunder than the rest<sup>2</sup>. His service became popular in Ergetium; all the military population flocked to his banners and left Ergetium itself defenceless. By a trick on his march he contrived to isolate his Ergetine troops at a disadvantage<sup>3</sup>. He then sent horsemen to occupy the town; he next by a herald declared war against Ergetium, a ceremony which he seems to have thought justified him in any dealings towards the men of that town. At a given signal the men of Gela and of

His deal-  
ings with  
the men of  
Ergetium.

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. vi. 5; οὕτως εὐκλειστὴς γενόμενος κατέκτισε Καμάριναν.

<sup>2</sup> Polyainos, v. 6; ὅσους Ἐργετινοὺς εἶχε μισθοφόρους, τοῖς τοὺς ἄλλους διὰ τῆς λαίας τὸ πλεῖον μέρος καὶ μισθὸν δὲ μείζονα, υπερεισπρατὼν αὐτοὺς διὰ προθυμίας καὶ μάλιστα χαρίζομενος.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.; ἐπεὶ δὲ διεφράχθησαν πρὸς τοὺς βαχίας τῶν κυμάτων οἱ Ἐργετινοί. This sounds as if it came from some minute local account, which would have said whereabouts on the coast this happened, which Polyainos refuses to tell us.



restored Kamarina—the latter doubtless eager to do the bidding of their founder—fell upon the Ergetine soldiers and slaughtered them all<sup>1</sup>. CHAP. V.

This tale, though coming from a late writer, can hardly be sheer invention, and it curiously illustrates the way in which a purely formal religion found means to excuse any baseness. Hippokratés' solemn declaration of war against his own soldiers is of a piece with the oath of the founders of Lokroi, the oath that was to be kept as long as they stood on this earth and had heads on their shoulders<sup>2</sup>. And we know from better authority that Hippokratés was waging war against Sikels in nearly the same quarter of Sicily up to the last moment of his life. He died while he was engaged in a campaign against Hybla, that is the Least Hybla, the Heraian Hybla, the town at the meeting of the rocky combes, the Lower Ragusa of modern days<sup>3</sup>. His deeds show us to what a depth of cruel treachery a Greek tyrant could sink. Even without bringing in this last story of the Ergetine mercenaries, it would be hard to find a blacker piece of wickedness than the treatment of the king and people of Zanklê by the tyrant of Gela. Hippokratés was doubtless honoured at Kamarina; his victories may have won him some measure of good will at Gela; but the men of his own city seemingly grew weary of his rule. When his vigorous hand was taken away by death, they would have no more of his house. A tyrant always made his power hereditary if he

Illustra-  
tion of  
Greek  
religion.

Hippo-  
kratés  
siege of the  
Heraian  
Hybla.  
His death.  
B. C. 491.

Gela  
refuses to  
acknow-  
ledge his  
son.

<sup>1</sup> Polybios, v. 6; καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς προσεῖν ἐκέλευσε καὶ σύνθημα Γελῶν καὶ Καμαριναίων ἔδωκε κτείνειν ἀδελῶν Ἐργετινῶν πάντας. The special mention of Kamarinaians looks as if the anecdote-monger had got the story from some trustworthy source, perhaps Antiochos.

The declaration of war sounds like the Spartan declaration of war against the Helots.

<sup>2</sup> Polybios, v. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. vii. 155; ἐν δὲ καὶ Ἰπποκράτης, τυραννεύσας τὰ ἴσα ἴσα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Κλεάνδρῳ, κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς πόλιν ὀλίγην, στρατευόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς Σικελούς. On Hybla, see vol. i. pp. 162, § 17.

CHAP V could, and the sons of Hippokratês, Eukleidês and Kleandros, looked on the lordship of Gela as their right. They were seemingly young or feeble, not able to act without a protector. The Gelôans would have none of them; for a moment Gela was again a free commonwealth<sup>1</sup>. The oligarchy which the elder Kleandros had swept away could hardly have been set up again. Gela doubtless became a democracy, but a democracy which was very soon to yield to the renewed rule of one.

Historic  
position of  
GELÔN.

His mixed  
character.

III  
descent  
from  
Télinaês.

The place of Hippokratês is now taken by a far more memorable man, Gelôn the son of Deinomenês. He is the first man in Sicilian history of whom we can get a distinct personal idea. Tyrant, perhaps king, lord of many cities, coming nearer to being lord of Sicily than any man before him, destroyer here, founder there, founder above all of that enlarged Syracuse which so far outstripped the ancient city on the Island, but before all things, champion of Hellas and Europe against Canaan and Africa, Gelôn did great things both for good and for evil, but he left behind him a memory in which the good thrust the evil out of sight. He came of a stock honourable, and even holy, among the citizens of Gela. He was the descendant, we are not told by how many generations, of that Télinaês who had won over the seceders at Maktôrion by the mysterious rites of the powers beneath the earth<sup>2</sup>. He was himself doubtless clothed with the same ghostly office as his forefather; but in Greek ideas the ministry of the gods did not shut a man out from the fullest share in the toils and honours of government and warfare. Gelôn was one of four brothers, sons of Deinomenês. The story went that his father consulted the Pythian oracle as to the fates of

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 155; τοῖσι Ἰπποκράτεσι πρὸς Εὐκλείῃ τε καὶ Κλεάνδρῳ οὐ βουλομένῳ τῶν πολιτῶν συστάσαν ἐκ εἶναι.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 154. See above, p. 102.

his children. He got for answer that three of them, Gelôn, Hierôn, and Thrasyboulos, should all in their turn be tyrants. In what city they were to rule does not come into the story, nor do we hear whether anything was foretold as to the lot of the fourth brother Polyzêlos. When the sons of Deinomenês were young at Gela, their father certainly did not picture them to himself as lords of Syracuse. But to the loyal citizen of a Greek commonwealth the prospect of his sons being tyrants anywhere was not pleasing; Deinomenês expostulated with Apollôn on the doom to which he had sentenced his house<sup>1</sup>. Whether he kept the prophecy hidden from those who were concerned we are not told.

CHAP. V  
Oracle to  
his father  
Deinomenês.

Our first distinct mention of Gelôn sets him before us, along with a comrade called Ainêsidamos son of Pataikos, one of the tyrant's body-guard, as a soldier winning eminent distinction in the wars of the earlier tyrants. We cherish a hope that he may have borne a part in warfare against the Phœnician<sup>2</sup>. It is more certain that, on the death of Kleandros, something happened, something in which both Gelôn and Ainêsidamos took a part, which commended Gelôn to the special favour of the Geloan people. Presently the valiant deeds of Gelôn, combined with the popular good will, raised him to the chief command of the cavalry of Hippokratês<sup>3</sup>. In that character he was foremost in every struggle against Greeks and Sikels. As leader of the Geloan horse, he played no small part in the battle which Hippokratês waged against Syracuse by the banks of Helôros. In that fight he most likely noticed the valour of the young Chromios, whom we find attached to his fortunes, and to whom he gave his sister in marriage<sup>4</sup>. With his

He commands the  
cavalry.

<sup>1</sup> The story is told by Plutarch, *Pyth. Or.* 19.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 98, and Appendix VIII.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix XI.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix X.

CHAP. V. comrade Aínēsídamos he seems to have been on friendly terms; but Gelón had the start of him in an enterprise which was framed in the minds of both. Each of these favoured officers of Hippokratēs sought to succeed to the dominion of their master; but what Aínēsídamos simply dreamed of Gelón won by an unscrupulous use of both craft and force<sup>1</sup>. When Gela refused to receive the sons of Hippokratēs as her lords, Gelón, commander of the late ruler's cavalry, put on the character of a Mayor of the Palace. He proclaimed himself the guardian and defender of Eukleidēs and Kleandros, and made war on the revolted city in their name. At the head, we may suppose, of the mercenary forces of the late tyrant, helped perhaps by banished partisans of the tyranny, Gelón overcame the citizens in battle, and, once in possession of the city, he put aside the sons of Hippokratēs and openly seized the supreme power for himself<sup>2</sup>.

Gelón and Aínēsídamos.

Gelón undertakes the cause of the sons of Hippokratēs.

He seizes the tyranny at Gela. B. C. 491.

Estimate of the act.

A modern reader, on hearing such a story as this, is tempted to think first of the seeming wrong done to Eukleidēs and Kleandros. He is tempted to look upon them as lawful princes, deprived of their rights by a dis-

<sup>1</sup> This seems implied in the story told by Aristotle (*Rhet.* i. 12); *ἄνευ λόγου Αἰνεσίδημος Γέλωνι σύμψαι κοινάβεια ἀδελφεοῦσιν*. . . *ἐν ἱφθαλίαις, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς μάλα*. Some name has clearly dropped out after *ἀδελφεοῦσιν*. One can hardly fail to supply Γέλων. Perhaps *ἀδελφεοῦσιν* is hardly the word to express Gelón's occupation of Gela; but it is hard to conceive in what later exploit of Gelón's Aínēsídamos could have thought of forestalling him, while the scheme of succeeding Hippokratēs might easily suggest itself to two of his officers.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. vii. 155; *ὁ Γέλων, τῷ λόγῳ τιμωρὶς τοῖς Ἰωνοπέραις ναῖσι*. . . *τῷ ἔργῳ, δὲ ἐκὼν αἰγὴς μάχῃ τῶν Γελαίων, ἤρχε αὐτὸς, ἀποσπέρων τοὺς Ἰωνοπέραις ναῖσι*. The date is fixed by Dionysios, vii. 1, and Pausanias, vi. 9. 4. It is clear that, as Clinton and Grote (v. 386) say, Pausanias got hold of the date of Gelón's occupation of Gela and transferred it to his occupation of Syracuse.

It is singular, as Grote points out, that Dionysios of Halikarnassos (vii. 1), while blaming those who confounded Gelón and Dionysios, himself fell into the blunder of mistaking Gelón for a brother of Hippokratēs.

graceful trick of their own officer. And no doubt the conduct of Gelôn, seen from the point of view of the sons of Hippokratês, was base enough. But we should remember that his real crime was done, not against the sons of Hippokratês, but against the people of Gela. The sons of Hippokratês, sons of a tyrant, had no hereditary right to dominion in Gela, and the people of Gela had refused to receive them. Then their own citizen Gelôn wages a civil war against them, under pretence of establishing others in an unlawful power, but really with the object of winning the unlawful power for himself. The splendour of Gelôn's position in the history of the world must not blind us to the means by which he rose to power at Gela and elsewhere. Those means were certainly not worse than those commonly employed by Greek tyrants, but they were in no way better, except that we nowhere hear of any actual massacre of his doing. We must remember further that Gelôn, a born Geloan, not only overthrew the freedom which his native city had just won back, but sadly lessened the position of Gela in Sicily and in the world. He found her the first of Sikeliot cities; he took that position from her and gave it to another.

CHAP. V.

Gelôn's  
treason  
against the  
common-  
wealth.

With the dominion of Hippokratês in Gela, Gelôn seems to have inherited his external dominion over so many towns, Greek and barbarian, in short over nearly all eastern Sicily except the territory of Syracuse. As lord of Gela he reigned for six years, and, while still described as a man of Gela, he dedicated his offering of a chariot to Zeus of Olympia<sup>1</sup>. If we are to infer from this that

Gelôn  
tyrant of  
Gela.  
B.C. 491-  
485.

His  
Olympic  
offering

<sup>1</sup> The evidence for this is very curious. It comes from the passage of Pausanias just referred to. The offering was made in the seventy-third Olympiad (B.C. 488-485); *ἐνέηραμα μὲν δὴ ἔστιν ἐντὶ Γέλας Δεινομένης ἀναθεῖναι Γελαίων*. Pausanias argues that this must have been some other Gelôn, son of some other Deinomenês, for that Gelôn, in the seventy-third Olympiad, would have called himself a Syracusan. That is, Pausanias has made the mistake in the date mentioned in the last note.

CHAP. V. Gelôn forestalled the Olympic victories of Hierôn, he found no Simônîdês or Pindar to sing his praises. Presently a greater prize than Gela and than all the dominions of Hippokratês offered itself to him. Syracuse was the one city which Hippokratês had striven to seize, and had failed in his striving. What Hippokratês had not done was to be the work of Gelôn. However we arrange the dates of the internal and external events of Syracusan history, whatever party we take to have been in power at the time of the war with Hippokratês, by this time at least Syracuse was a democracy. The *Gamoroi* were in their exile at Kasmenai. There they seem to have established a commonwealth in opposition to that of Syracuse; or rather, in their eyes, the true Syracusan commonwealth was now at Kasmenai. They were like the Athenian democrats at Samos when the city had revolted from them<sup>1</sup>, or like the Athenian oligarchs when Eleusis became a separate commonwealth in the hands of the partisans of the Thirty<sup>2</sup>. Of the condition of things within the walls of Syracuse we have no certain account. A single vague allusion of Aristotle seems to speak of the new democracy, the first democracy, by that name, in Syracuse, as unruly and disorderly<sup>3</sup>; but that is the common way of speaking of all democracies among those who stand aloof from practical politics. Yet it is easy to believe that an excluded class who had suddenly sprung to power, strengthened by emancipated villains or bondmen who were not even Greeks, would not at once learn to conduct the affairs of

State of  
things at  
Syracuse.

The *Ga-  
moroi* at  
Kasmenai.

The first  
Syracusan  
democracy.

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. viii. 76; *ὅς δ' αὖ ἀνελὼν ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἀφίστηται.*

<sup>2</sup> Xen. Pol. ii. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Arist. Pol. v. 2 6; *ἐν ταῖς δημοκρασίαις αἱ εὐποροὶ καταφρονήσαντες τῆς ἀταξίας καὶ ἀναρχίας, αἶσαν καὶ ἐν Θήβαις μετὰ τὴν ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις μάχην τοσῶς πολιτευομένων ἡ δημοκρατία κεφαλῶρη καὶ ἡ Μεγαρίων δι' ἀταξίας καὶ ἀναρχίας ἡττηθῆναι, καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις πρὸ τῆς Γέλωνος τυραννίδος.* This is clearly a hasty reference, not thought out with much care. Still I cannot follow Grote's note in vol. v. p. 286. I cannot think that Aristotle has confounded Gelôn and Dionysios.

the new commonwealth with quite such regard to rule CHAP. V.  
and order as the democracy of Athens under Periklēs or  
that of Achaia under Aratos. It is hard in all ages to  
persuade those who are not themselves put to the trial that  
the virtues of freemen can be gained only by the practice  
of freedom.

What followed is told us only in the fewest words. The the  
banished *Gamoroí* craved help from Gelón; he engaged to <sup>ask help</sup>  
lead them back from Kasmenai to Syracuse. When he <sup>of Gelón</sup>  
crew near to the city, the new democracy at once sub- <sup>his action</sup>  
mitted, and Gelón became lord of Syracuse<sup>1</sup>. Whatever <sup>of any a-</sup>  
were the details of the process, with whatever objects or <sup>cause</sup>  
motives any other person or party acted, we may be sure  
that to become lord of Syracuse by any means that came  
in his way was the one object in the mind of Gelón. The  
banished oligarchs would catch at any chance of restoration  
to home and power, and Gelón would be glad to support  
oligarchs against democrats or democrats against oligarchs,  
if by either course he was brought nearer to obtaining  
a dominion over both. Neither oligarchs nor democrats <sup>Motives of</sup>  
could really wish to submit to the tyrant of another city, <sup>the Syra-</sup>  
but either party might hold such submission to be a less <sup>cusan</sup>  
evil than submission to the rule of the other party. In <sup>parties</sup>  
this state of things it is not very wonderful if Gelón  
undertook the restoration of the *Gamoroí*, and if the people  
of Syracuse submitted to him without resistance. That  
they submitted thus easily implies that Gelón came against  
Syracuse with an overwhelming force, the force of all the  
cities under his rule, his mercenaries Greek and barbarian,  
all strengthened by the Syracusan oligarchs and any force  
that was at their disposal. Against such a power resist-  
ance on the part of a single city might seem hopeless. But

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 155; τοὺς γαμόρους . . . Γέλων παραγαγὼν τοὺς ἐκ Κασ-  
μένης πόλεως ἐς τὴν Συρηκουσίαν, ἔσχε καὶ ταύτας, ὁ γὰρ ὄμιλος ὁ τῶν  
Συρηκουσίων ἐπὶ τῷ Γέλωνι παραδίδωσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ λαόν.

CHAP. V. the democracy might further hope that somewhat better terms might be gained by submission to Gelôn personally than if the *Gamoroi* came back by force and without conditions. On the whole the new commonwealth was not disappointed. We are not directly told whether any terms were made or whether Gelôn bound himself by any promises. But he certainly treated the popular party in Syracuse far more favourably than we shall presently find that he treated the popular party in other conquered cities. And this may be held to point to some kind of compact between him and them. The restored oligarchs were perhaps the more disappointed of the two, when Gelôn, instead of setting up again the ascendancy of either party over the other, simply made himself master of all.

His treatment of the Syracusans.

Gelôn lord of Syracuse.  
B. C. 465-473.

Effects of the possession of Syracuse.

Syracuse and Gela.

The establishment of Gelôn at Syracuse is one of the foremost events in the whole history of Sicily. A power was now founded such as the island had never seen before. Hippokratês had gathered together a dominion which was far more than the lordship of a single city. Gelôn had inherited that dominion, and he had enlarged it by the addition of that one city after whose possession Hippokratês had striven in vain. But the acquisition of Syracuse was something more than the acquisition of another city, however valuable. The body which had been growing up found a head. Since the career of Hippokratês had begun, Gela had held the first place among Sikeliot cities; but the place came to her by a kind of accident; to Syracuse it came by a kind of natural selection. Hippokratês may have all along marked this course of things; Gelôn assuredly did. His native city was in no way suited to be the head of such a dominion as had grown up there under Hippokratês. Still less was it suited to become the head of a dominion which took in Syracuse as



one of its members. Gela, on the south coast, with its face turned towards Africa, could not compare in its geographical position with Syracuse on the east coast, looking towards Italy, Greece, Asia, and the civilized world in general. Nor could Gela in any way compare with Syracuse, its harbours, its island city, with the hill beside it inviting almost boundless expansion, everything in short that was needed for the growth of a mighty capital. For we may fairly apply that name to Syracuse under her tyrants. She became the head of a great dominion ruled by a single man, a man who had his dwelling-place, who, we may almost say, kept his court, within her walls. This dominion was something quite different from that of any earlier tyrant. Gelôn rose far above the position of a mere local lord like Phalaris or Perthagoras. He came far nearer than any one before him to the position of a king of Sicily. As such, he had his viceroys or satraps. To the lord of Syracuse Gela seemed but of small account. It became a secondary city, the rule of which he entrusted to his brother Hierôn<sup>1</sup>. Syracuse became the home of Gelôn's power; and under his rule the city entered on a time of growth in extent and population which a hundred years later made it the greatest city of Hellas and of Europe.

CHAP V.

Position of  
Gelôn and  
Syracuse.Hierôn at  
Gela.

In carrying out his object of making Syracuse great, Gelôn was not greatly troubled with scruples as to the rights of men out of Syracuse. In Syracuse itself we hear nothing of any changes with regard to the existing population, beyond the return of the banished oligarchs. We must therefore suppose that *Gamoroi*, *Démos*, and emancipated *Kyllyrioi* all kept the citizenship of Syracuse,

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 155; ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε παρέλαβε τὰς Συρηκούσας, Γέλης μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγον ἐλάσσειν ἐποιεῖτο, ἐπιτρέψας αὐτῷ Ἰέρωνι ἀδελφεῷ ἑαυτοῦ· ὁ δὲ τὰς Συρηκούσας ἐκράτουν καὶ ἦσαν ἑκαστὰ οἱ Συρηκόνουσαι.

CHAP. V. such as citizenship was under Gelôn's rule. But Gelôn  
 Gelôn's  
trans-  
plantations  
of men  
 aspired to be lord of a city far greater than any of which  
 these should be the only inhabitants. To carry out this  
 end, many settlers were brought to Syracuse against their  
 will, and many came of their own free will. Gelôn seems  
 to have been the first Sicilian ruler to begin those great  
 transplantations of men from one city or land to another  
 which had long been familiar among Eastern kings, and  
 which became common in Sicily, both among later tyrants  
 and among Norman princes<sup>1</sup>. The affairs of the newly  
 restored Kamarina gave him an excuse for action of this  
 kind. The story goes that on the death of Hippokratês  
 Gelôn entrusted Kamarina in some shape or other to the  
 care of the famous wrestler Glaukos of Karystos. The  
 men of Kamarina, either wishing for freedom or attached  
 to the house of their second founder, instead of submitting  
 quietly to Gelôn's lieutenant, sentenced him to death<sup>2</sup>. It  
 is characteristic of this class of rulers, with whom neither  
 mercy nor vengeance counts for anything when weighed  
 against policy, that it was the stones of Kamarina, and  
 not the men, that had to pay the penalty of this resistance  
 to Gelôn's authority<sup>3</sup>. In the revolt of Kamarina Gelôn  
 saw chiefly an excuse and an opportunity for an enlargement  
 of the population of Syracuse. The newly rebuilt town  
 was a second time swept with the besom of destruction;  
 but the men of the commonwealth which had put Glaukos  
 to death were carried in a body to Syracuse and there  
 admitted to citizenship<sup>4</sup>.

More remarkable still were the dealings of Gelôn with

<sup>1</sup> This is the remark of Grote, v. 307. Both Anaxilas and Hippokratês had done something of the kind but Gelôn, and after him Hierôn, did it on a much greater scale.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XII.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. on the other hand the remarks in Ihac's History of Rome, vol. II. p. 343.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix XII.

his own city. Gela was the place of his birth, the place where his family held so honourable and sacred a post, the city which had been the first in which he had exercised lordship, and where his brother exercised a deputed lordship still. In the teeth of all these ties, the greatness and prosperity of Gela were deliberately sacrificed to the greatness and prosperity of the new capital. More than half the citizens of Gela, his brother-in-law Chromios among them, willingly or unwillingly removed to Syracuse and received Syracusan citizenship<sup>1</sup>. The Lindian akropolis and the holy place of Apollôn must have looked down on a city sadly shrunk up within walls perhaps of no great age.

CHAP. V.  
His dealings with Gela; half the citizens moved to Syracuse.

At Kamarina we are distinctly told that all the inhabitants were transplanted; the removal must have been made without distinction of rich or poor. On what principle the emigrants from Gela to Syracuse were chosen we are not told. But in two other cases of transplantation Gelôn is recorded to have acted on a very clear, though somewhat unexpected, principle. Two years after his establishment at Syracuse, he had to wage a war with Megara, a town within easy sight of the Syracusan hill. The government of Megara was oligarchic, and it would seem that the ruling class had provoked the war against the will, or at any rate without the consent, of the commons. Gelôn marched against Megara and besieged the city, which presently surrendered. The oligarchs, authors of the war, trembled for their lives. The commons, conscious of no wrong towards Gelôn, feared no harm; they may even have looked on him as a deliverer. But the treatment of the men of Megara at the hands of the conqueror was fixed by some other rule than that of their merits or demerits towards himself. The oligarchs were surprised at the mildness of their

War with Megara.  
B.C. 483.

Surrender of Megara

treatment of the oligarchs and the commons.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 155; Γελόνος ἀπεργασίας τῶν ἀστῶν τὰντὸ τοῖσι Καμαριναίοις ἐποιήσε.

CHAP. V. doom, when they were led to Syracuse and there admitted as citizens. The commons were no less surprised at the harshness of theirs, when they too were taken to Syracuse, not to be received as citizens or as inhabitants of any class, but to be sold in the slave-market, with the further condition that they were to be taken out of Sicily<sup>1</sup>. Megara from this time sinks out of the list of Sikeliot commonwealths; its territory was merged in that of Syracuse, and, when we next hear of it, it is not named as a city. Some part of it, doubtless its akropolis, served as a military out-post of the Syracusan territory. In after times it was an out-post towards Leontinoi<sup>2</sup>. Just now, while Leontinoi was part of the dominions which Gelôn had inherited from Hippokratês, it was hardly needed in that character; the conquest of Megara must have filled up a gap in Gelôn's dominion on the east coast. But the Leontine colony of Eubœia, most likely north of Naxos<sup>3</sup>, must have kept its independence longer than its metropolis. It remained to be subdued by Gelôn after he had become lord of Syracuse. He dealt with it<sup>4</sup> exactly as he had dealt with Megara; he drew the same distinction between the two classes of its inhabitants, and in the like sort he destroyed the town so thoroughly that it is never again spoken of in history.

Megara an  
outpost of  
Syracuse.

Destruction  
of  
Eubœia;  
fate of its  
inhabitants.

Gelôn's  
grants of  
citizenship.

Three cities of Hellenic Sicily had thus utterly perished, and a fourth had been seriously maimed, in order to swell the greatness of Syracuse and her master. But Gelôn had other ways of enlarging the population of his capital. Either now or at some later stage, he granted Syracusan citizenship to ten thousand of his mercenary soldiers, many of whom were likely to have been Sikels rather than

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XII.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XII.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. i. p. 180.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. vii. 156; *καὶ τὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Εὐβοίας τοὺς ἐν Ταυλίῳ ἐστίνους διακρίνας*.

Greeks<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, he drew from Old Greece CHAP. V.  
 itself men who served him in war and peace, men who  
 grew rich in his service, but who must have been of a  
 higher stamp than the ordinary mercenary. Where we  
 hear of three such by name, there must have been many  
 others. We have already seen Glaukos of Karystos ruling Settlers  
from Old  
Greece.  
 in Gelôn's name over restored Kamarina. The Arkadian  
 land too, whence Alpheios sprang to make his way to  
 Ortygia, now sent its tribute of men to find homes by  
 the fountain of Arethousa. Goodly gifts at Olympia Phormis of  
Mainalos.  
 and at Delphoi, statues of men and horses, a statue  
 of Phormis himself as a warrior in battle, preserved the  
 name of Phormis and of his friend the Syracusan Ly-  
 kortas. And they preserved it with the addition that  
 Phormis had once been an Arkadian of Mainalos, but  
 that he now dedicated his gifts to the gods as a man  
 of Syracuse<sup>2</sup>. Phormis came across the sea in the  
 time of Gelôn; he did many acts in war under Gelôn  
 and his successor Hierôn—let us picture him doing his  
 part on the day of Himera and on the day of Kymê—  
 and in their service he doubtless won the wealth which  
 enabled him so richly to adorn the holy places of the  
 mother-land<sup>3</sup>. Another settler came of a sacred stock Agélas of  
Stymphala.  
 like Gelôn himself, sprung by his mother's side at least,  
 of that Iamid race of whose prophetic gifts we have

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 72; Γέλανος πλείονας τῶν μυρίων πολιορκησάμενος ξένους  
 μισθοφόρους.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias (v. 27. 1) describes the gifts of Phormis, one of which bore  
 the inscription,

Φόρμις ἀνέθηκεν

Ἀρκάδι Μαινάλοι, ὃν δὲ Συρακούσιος.

He adds the names of the artists, Dionysios of Argos and Simôn of Aigina.  
 He tells a most wonderful story about one of the horses. The statue of  
 Phormis set up by Lykortas comes in v. 27. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.; ἐκ Μαινάλου βαβὺς ἐκ Σικελίας παρὰ Γέλανα τὸν Δεινομένους, καὶ  
 ἐκείνῳ τε αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰέρωνι ὑστερον ἀδελφῷ τοῦ Γέλανος ἐκ τὰς στρατείας  
 ἀποδεδειγμένοι λαμπρὰ ἔργα, ἐκ τούτου προήλθεν εὐχαιμονίας ὡς ἀναθεῖναι μὲν  
 ταῦτα ἐκ Ὀλυμπίαν, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ τῇ Ἀπόλλωνι ἄλλα ἐκ Δελφῶν.

CHAP. V already heard<sup>1</sup>. This was that Agésias whose memory is preserved to us by an Olympic victory commemorated in one of Pindar's most striking odes<sup>2</sup>. When the mules of Agésias won the prize, Hierôn reigned in Syracuse and Agésias was his subject. But we seem to see in the dark words of the poet that their master had come to Syracuse from his native Stymphalos, and that he had some special share in that enlargement of the city which caused Gelôn to be looked on as a second founder. The poet dwells specially on his two homes with the sea between them. Agésias had not so completely severed himself from Stymphalos as Phormis had from Mainalos. It was not till the time of Hierôn that Syracuse became a great intellectual centre, the chosen resort of poets and philosophers from the whole Greek world. But these examples, types no doubt of a class, show how anxious Gelôn was at once to enlarge the bounds and the population of his capital, and to draw thither men of mark who might serve him in various ways.

Gelôn's reason for his dealings with the commons of the conquered cities.

Of the distinction drawn by Gelôn between the two classes of citizens in Megara and Eubœia, of his gentleness to his enemies, his harshness to those who, if not his friends, were at least not his enemies, we have his own explanation. He gave as a reason that he looked on the commons as a most unthankful neighbour<sup>3</sup>. It is creditable to the spirit of the commons of Megara and Eubœia that the man who thus thought of them should deal with them as he did. He must have held that his safety called, not only for their bondage, but for their bondage in some part of the world where they were not likely to disturb his dominion. But the words thus put into the mouth of Gelôn are worthy of the closest attention. They must

Aspect of his saying about the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XIV

<sup>3</sup> Herod. vii. 156; *ἰστέον δὲ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀπερρέουσιν, πολλὰς δὲ μὴ εἶναι σωτῆρας ἀναστρέφειν*. One is reminded of the language of Walter Map about villains. See Norman Conquest, v. 288.

surely be a bit of genuine tradition; no one could have thought of inventing such a saying at any later time. And, as a genuine setting forth of Gelôn's feelings, they are most remarkable. They are words which we should expect to hear from the mouth of a member of an oligarchy in bitter dispute with the local commons. They are hardly words which we should look for from the mouth of a tyrant in full possession of power over both oligarchs and commons. The tyrant often rose to dominion by the help of the commons; he often, even as tyrant, kept a certain measure of their good will as the man who had given them one master instead of many. Gelôn owed no such obligations as this to the commons anywhere; but there is no sign that the commons anywhere were his special enemies; they assuredly were not so at Megara or Eubœia. Yet these recorded words of his breathe the full spirit of that fearful oath which bound the oligarchs of some Greek cities to be evil-minded to the commons<sup>1</sup>. They would have a more natural sound in the mouth of a mediæval lord than in the mouth of a Greek tyrant. As such, they fall in with one side of the kind of princely position which the lord, not only of Syracuse but of so large a part of Sicily, was silently taking.

Whether Gelôn ever took or received the kingly title is a question which we shall have presently to look to. It is plain that, in any case, he felt rather as a king of Sicily than as a mere tyrant of Syracuse. Himself sprung of a house ancient, famous, and even sacred, he would have his court around him, a court of nobles, *Gamoroi*, *Eupatridai*, all that reached the highest standard of the nobility of the time<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Arist. Pol. v. 9. 10; *οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἐρίαις ὀλιγαρχίας ὁρῶμεν· καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πάντοτε ἴσους καὶ βουλεύειν δεῖ ἐν ἔχῃ πάντων*. Cf. Theognis, 245

<sup>2</sup> What the oligarchs thought of and called themselves we see in every page of Theognis. They are *καλόφρονες*, *ἀγαθοί*, *πῖστοι*, anything else. All perhaps is summed up in the *καλὸς ἀγαθός*, the perfect gentleman.

CHAP. V. The restored *Gamoroi* of Syracuse, owing their restoration to him, formed the kernel of such a class. He would welcome men of the same class from Megara, from Eubœia, from any other conquered or allied city of Sicily. He would welcome also men from more distant parts of the Greek world, men like Phormis and Agêsias, men devoted to himself personally, who, in Sicily at least, owed everything to him, and whose best hopes were in his favour. All these he could afford to receive, to promote, and to enrich. So he could afford to promote—for to such men the citizenship of Syracuse was promotion—adventurers of a lower class, the mixed multitude of mercenaries, Greek and barbarian, who had served in his wars and those of Hippokratês. But an independent commons would not suit his purpose. And it is again to be noticed that the treatment of the commons of Megara and Eubœia and the reason for it assigned by Gelôn himself clearly point to some compact between Gelôn and that Syracusan people who had admitted him so easily. He was surely bound to them by some tie which he shrank from breaking. He would not enslave them as he did their fellows from other cities. But he would not strengthen them by admitting other citizens of their own class, while he did all that he could to strengthen the other classes as a balance against them. In this way the slavery and banishment of the commons of Megara and Eubœia was in some sort the price of the toleration granted to the commons of Syracuse.

His guest-courts.

His relation to the commons of Syracuse.

Character of his government.

On the whole then we see in Gelôn a man not much troubled with scruples as to the means by which he compassed his ends, but one who did shrink from the breach of a solemn compact, and who was certainly not inclined to any oppression or harshness beyond what was needed to compass his ends. Every notice of him sets him before us as a tyrant of the better kind. Even as lord of



Syracuse, without looking to his higher character as CHAP. V Hellenic and European champion, Gelôn was popular in His life and was honoured in death by all classes of the po- general popularity. pulation of Syracuse. For all, the *Gamoroi* of Syracuse whom he brought back, the *Gamoroi* of other cities whom he brought in, the mercenaries whom he led to victory and its rewards, even the commons of Syracuse who compared their lot with that of the commons of Megara, all alike owed him much. As to his formal position among and above them all, it is as hard to say what it was as in the case of any other tyrant. No man, we may be sure, ever called himself tyrant in any formal act, and, at this stage at least, Gelôn left it to others to call him king. With Gelôn, as with Phalaris, we are left to guess whether Gelôn στρατηγός αὐτοκράτωρ<sup>1</sup> the power of the tyrant was simply the vague but irresistible power of one who could bring physical force to bear at any moment, or whether, like the power of the early Emperors at Rome, it was veiled under the title of some office known to the law. It is very strongly suggested, but we cannot say that it is quite proved, by the confused statement of a late writer that Gelôn ruled at Syracuse under cover of the office of general with full powers<sup>1</sup>. But however names and forms may have run, we see what Gelôn's power was. He commanded the resources of all south-eastern Sicily, Extent of his power. from his own Gela at least to the peninsula of Naxos and the hill of Tauros. If there was any exception to this No mention of Katané. rule, it must have been at Katané, a city which we hear nothing of in his story, and whose name is never mentioned by our chief authority<sup>2</sup>. We do not wonder at hearing that Gelôn became a mighty tyrant<sup>3</sup>, that his power far

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XIII.

<sup>2</sup> We shall come to Katané again in the days of Hierôn. See Diod. xi. 49. It was clearly a commonwealth distinct from Syracuse; but it may have been either dependent or independent.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. vii. 156; τοιοῦτον τρόπον τύραννος ἐγγεγόνει μέγας ὁ Γέλων.

CHAP. V. surpassed any other power in the Hellenic world<sup>1</sup>, and that under him Syracuse above all, the capital of his great dominion, waxed great and flourished<sup>2</sup>.

Gelôn  
founder  
of the  
enlarged  
Syracuse.

Ortygia  
and its  
outposts.

Beginning  
of union  
of the  
outposts.

These last phrases are emphatically true, no less as a matter of Syracusan topography than as a matter of Sicilian politics. As Archias was the founder of the first Syracuse in the island of Ortygia, so Gelôn was no less the founder of the enlarged Syracuse which, from his day onwards, went on growing greater and greater. We have seen that up to this time the proper Syracuse was still only the Island. It was by no means the only place, or the only fortified place, inhabited by Syracusan citizens. But it was the home, the centre, the meeting-place, of all. The system of outposts, nearer and more distant, which we have seen grow up in the former period, gave Syracuse a character of its own. It was a city made up of many cities; it was at all events a central city surrounded by several detached towns. The Syracusan territory must have been something like Attica, after the merging of the other Attic towns in the one Athenian commonwealth. But at Syracuse, far more than in Attica, all the other settlements stood in a relation to the central Island; all may be said to have existed for the sake of the central Island. Distant Akrai and Kasmenai stood as the guards of the Syracusan territory. Neaiton kept the hills and Helôron the coast; neighbouring Polichna, Temenitês, and Achradina, were the immediate sentinels of the Syracusan city itself. But even in the case of these nearer outposts, large spaces, which, whether inhabited or not, were certainly unfortified, parted them from the Island and from

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 145; τὰ Ἑλλήνων πρῶτα μεγάλα ἐλάττετο εἶναι, οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνιστῶν τῶν αὐτῶν πολλῶν μέγα.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 156; αὐτὸ δὲ [Συρακοῦσαι] παραγνῖα δὲ τ' ἴθραμον καὶ ἀνέβλαστον. Not ill-chosen words to set forth the climbing up of the city from Ortygia to the height of Achradina.





one another. The time was now come for the union CHAP. V.  
with the Island city of those among them whose union  
was possible.

Among the nearer outposts, Polichna was so placed  
that it was fated in the nature of things to remain an  
outpost; the swamps between it and the foot of the  
hill could not be inhabited or built over. But Achradina  
and Temenitês came near enough to the Island and to  
one another to suggest the union which in the end took  
place. Of that union Gelôn was the beginner; under  
him Syracuse began to deserve the epithet given to it  
by the poet as the great city made up of many cities<sup>1</sup>.  
The great additions which he had made to the popula-  
tion of the city called for a physical extension of its  
borders; at least if the citizens of Syracuse, or the great  
mass of them, were to dwell within a single city and a  
fortified city<sup>2</sup>. Gelôn's work then was to make the nearest  
and greatest of the nearer outposts no longer an outpost  
but an integral part of the city itself. It was he who  
joined Achradina to Ortygia. We have seen that both  
the occupation and the fortification of Achradina were  
older than Gelon's day<sup>3</sup>. And we may be sure that the  
low ground between Achradina and the Island, though not  
fortified, was at least not uninhabited. It must surely  
have begun to put on the character of an open suburb  
between the two defended posts. This seems implied in  
the fact that, before the time of Gelôn, the Island had  
ceased to be an island; it was, as Thucydides says, no  
longer surrounded by the waves<sup>4</sup>.

Gelôn  
joins  
Achra-  
dina and  
Ortygia.

We have distinct evidence that, somewhere about the  
middle of the sixth century before Christ, a mole of cut  
Making of  
the mole of  
Ortygia.  
B.C. a. 540.

<sup>1</sup> Μεγαλοπόλις. See vol. I, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. vi. 3; ὅστερον δὲ χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ ἔξω προτειχισθεῖσα πολυάνθρωπος  
ἐγένετο. See Appendix V.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 43, and Appendix V.

<sup>4</sup> Thuc. ii. 2; ἡ νῆσος, ἐν ᾧ τὴν οὐκ ἐτι περιχωμένην ἡ πόλις ἡ ἐντὸς ἴσται.

CHAP. V. stones was made which joined Ortygia to the mainland. The ground has been so often changed, last of all by the cutting of many channels, that it might be dangerous to fix its exact site<sup>1</sup>. The making of the mole may well have been a further cause of the extension of the fortified city. The Island, now become a peninsula, had lost one source of strength, and needed some new bulwark on the mainland. Such a bulwark it found in the new wall which there can be no doubt that Gelôn built from the southern end of the wall of Achradina down to the shore of the Great Harbour. To the west it commanded the marshy inlet, so to speak, which the outpost of Temenitês commanded from above<sup>2</sup>. Thus the height of Achradina, and the lower ground between its base and the Island, were now both taken within one fortified enclosure with the Island. Syracuse thus, under her first tyrant, sprang at once to the position of a great city: she was even now the greatest city of Greek Sicily, one of the greatest cities of the whole Greek world.

Gelôn continues the wall of Achradina down to the Great Harbour.

The Island practically an *akropolis*.

The space thus taken within the walls was many times greater than the original Island. But the Island still kept its position, oddly but strikingly expressed by the misapplied name of *akropolis*<sup>3</sup>. It, and not the height that rose above it, became the practical *akropolis*, the head and stronghold of the enlarged city. From the practice of all later rulers of Syracuse, we may infer that the Island was already, under the Deinomenid dynasty, the dwelling-place of the tyrants. But the centre of the civic life of Syracuse was moved elsewhere. The city must have had an *agora* from the beginning; and while the Island was the whole city, the *agora* must have been in the Island. But the only *agora* of Syracuse that we know lies in a

The new *agora*.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XV.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 42, 43 and vol. i. p. 349.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. i. p. 352.

place much better suited to be the centre of public and private business for the enlarged city. A large void space, marked by a single column of far later days, now occupies a large part of the low ground between the still inhabited Island and the forsaken parts of the city. Here was the meeting-place of enlarged Syracuse, the scene of many famous events in Syracusan history. There arose the buildings which commemorated the good deeds of Timoleôn; there the Sikel king Ducetius took refuge at the altar; there, in after days, a second Olympieion arose<sup>1</sup>, bringing Zeus nearer to the men of enlarged Syracuse than he was in his elder home at Polichna. As the *agora* was certainly here fifty years later, it is only reasonable to suppose that it was established here by Gelôn when he made its soil part, and the central part, of his enlarged city.

One result of these changes was that now if not before, the name of Achradina, which must once have belonged to the height only, was spread over the low ground between the hill and the Island<sup>2</sup>. The later Achradina thus took in, as has been already hinted<sup>3</sup>, much that we are surprised to find within the walls of a great city, much that must have had a strange effect when that city did not yet sit solitary, but was full of people. The *Latomiai* still yawned in the midst of human dwellings; sometimes a narrow road, where ancient wheel-tracks are to be seen, passed over a narrow isthmus between one deep quarry and another. Holes in the rock of all kinds, natural caves, tombs of past times, were all left in the midst of enlarged Syracuse, a wilderness with the hum of busy life around it, and assuredly a contrast, then as now, to the closely packed buildings of the Island. Some notion of the strange effect of such a

<sup>1</sup> For the Olympieion of King Hierôn, see *Diod. xvi. 83*; *Or. Verr. iv. 119*.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix V.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 45.

CHAP. V contrast may be seen in the deep ravines of Henna and of the Heraian Hybla. There, as has been already said<sup>1</sup>, primeval holes and modern houses divide the hill-side between them in a strange sort. But it is a sort which must have been very like the state of a large part of Syracuse from the days of Gelôn to the days when Achradina was forsaken. In Gelôn's wall, the wall that fenced it so much both old and new, stood the gate of Achradina, the chief outer gate of Syracuse, which is constantly marked as being near the *agora*<sup>2</sup>. It was the approach to the Island from two of the great roads, the road to Helôron and the road to Akrai, the road guarded by Polichna and the road guarded by Tementêa. So placed, the gate of Achradina naturally plays its part in many stirring scenes of our history.

The gate of  
Achradina.

Water-  
works.

We cannot be quite sure whether it is to Gelôn or his successor, or to the democracy that followed the overthrow of his house, that we ought to attribute some great works which are older than the Athenian invasion and later than the enlargement of the city. What, for instance, are we to say to the elaborate system of underground waterworks by which water was brought to Syracuse from Mount Thymbris, the present Criniti<sup>3</sup>? These works supplied the various parts of the hill; they even, it would seem, bored under the waters of the Little Haven and appeared in the Island<sup>4</sup>. One can hardly fancy such works older than Gelôn; they seem a natural part of his schemes. His time seems also the most likely for the making of the great naval arsenal of Syracuse. Under him Syracuse was greater, in the sense of power and external dominion, than she had ever been before, or than she ever was after, as a republican

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 151, 163, 173.

<sup>2</sup> See the story of Hermokrates in Diodoros, xiii. 75, and that of Dionysios, xiii. 113.

<sup>3</sup> All this is elaborately dealt with in Schubring's *Bewässerung*.

<sup>4</sup> Schubring, *Bewässerung*, p. 607. See vol. i. p. 354.



state. Gelôn made Syracuse a naval power, and the making of the docks in the Great Harbour, a work which clearly stood in close connexion with the walling in of the lower Achradina, is most likely to be set down as his doing. It is a work which seems naturally to follow on the enlargement and strengthening of his capital by a mighty prince. The docks were made on the northern side of the Harbour, on the shore of the low ground between the new wall and the Island. The water here is deeper than it is further west, and it must be remembered that the sea has encroached on the land at this point, so that the place where the ships would be drawn up on land is now covered with water. Here was the haven for the war-ships; the merchant-ships had their place on the west coast of the Island<sup>1</sup>. All this may be fairly set down as the work of Gelôn. It is less clear whether he had any hand in the other haven of the war-ships, in the Little Harbour on the other side of the isthmus. It was certainly in use at the time of the Athenian invasion<sup>2</sup>; but it was only by Dionysios that it was brought to perfection.

CHAP. V.  
The Docks  
in the  
Great  
Harbour  
the work  
of Gelôn.

The Little  
Harbour.

#### § 4. *The Emmenid Dynasty at Akragas.*

B. C. 488-472.

Besides Syracuse and its dependencies other Sikeliot cities at this time were under the rule of tyrants. Two of these rulers fill an important place, though in wholly different characters, in the great drama to which we are now drawing near. One of them has, partly by his share in that work, partly through the laureate strains of Pindar, won for himself a name second only to that of the lords of Syracuse. We shall soon come across Têrillos tyrant of

<sup>1</sup> See Schubring, *Achradina*, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> See Thucydides, vii. 22, 25.

CHAP. V. Himera as the betrayer of Hellas and of Europe. Thêrôn tyrant of Akragas appears in the first rank of their defenders. Of Têrillos personally we know next to nothing; neither the time nor the manner of his rise to power is recorded; but he is marked as being in close alliance with Anaxilas of Rhêgion and Zanklé, to whom he gave his daughter Kydippê in marriage<sup>1</sup>. Thêrôn, on the other hand, appears as in no less close alliance with the ruling house of Syracuse. Gelôn had married his daughter Damareta, and Thêrôn himself took, evidently in a second marriage, a daughter of Gelôn's brother Polyzâlos<sup>2</sup>. Thêrôn came of the great house of the Emmenids, the house of that Têlemachos who had overthrown the power of Phalaris<sup>3</sup>. The poet who sings of the Olympic victories won by Thêrôn at a later time does not fail to tell of the Rhodian settlers who came from their old home, to dwell in the holy house by the river, to be the eye of Sicily, and to be the forefathers of one who was to be the bulwark of Akragas, the man than whom none on earth was more gracious in spirit and more bountiful of hand<sup>4</sup>. They dwelled in a lofty city, and their bounteous gifts to the

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Pind. Olymp. ii. 6 (10). He refers to Timaios for the marriages.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> Pind. Olymp. ii. 6 (10). He sings of Thêrôn as

ὄπιν δίκαιον ξένον,  
ἄρεσσι Ἀκράγαντος,  
ἐδανύμεν τε πατέρων ἄσπετον ἀρθόπουλον.  
καρύνοντες οὐ πολλὰ θυμῷ  
ἱερὴν ἰσχὸν οἰκημα ποταμοῦ, Σικελίας τ' ἔσαν  
ἀφθαλμός.

(The Scholiasts have a vast deal to say about them.) And in 102;

τεκνὴν μὴ τιν' ἑατὸν γε ἐτίαν πόλιν  
φίλοις ἄνδρα μᾶλλον  
εὐεργέταν πρασίαν ἀφθορότερον τε χέρα  
θήρωντος.

So also at the end of the third Olympic, also in his honour. Cf. the fragment (Bergk, l. 416) quoted by the Scholiast on Ol. ii. 16.

gods were rewarded by the ever-flowing cloud of wealth CHAP. V. that followed them<sup>1</sup>. The wealth of Akragas, above all Fame and wealth of the Emmenids. the wealth of the Emmenid house, stands out in all accounts, and makes us less inclined to believe our one story of the path by which Thérôn rose to power. The beginning of his reign comes between Gelôn's occupation of Gela and his occupation of Syracuse. Of the circumstances of his elevation we have only one of those later accounts which become suspicious through their likeness to one another. Thérôn, like Phalaris, gets for himself or for his son the contract for building a temple, and employs the money in hiring men to act as his body-guard, and so Story of Thérôn's rise to power. B.C. 488. makes himself tyrant<sup>2</sup>.

All these stories, coming over and over again, about a man making his way to the tyranny by misuse of a public trust, above all by means of money designed for a sacred use, while they make us doubt as to the literal truth of each particular case, still have a certain value. They point to tricks of the kind attributed to Phalaris and Thérôn as being a likely path by which men might rise to power. And in this case, as in that of Phalaris, the tale has a good local colouring. The temple is that of Value of the story. Athênê. We are still in the akropolis. Dwelling-places of man have no doubt already begun to spread themselves far down the hill; but, at the beginning of Thérôn's power, the old city, girt with the wall of Phalaris, is still the place where the great temples of the gods are rising. Local colouring.

<sup>1</sup> Pindar, *Epith.* 2 ;

*ἐν δὲ Τόδῃ . . . πατήριον  
ἐνθαίνῃ ἀφοιμαίνοντες ἐφ' ἡλίου πάλῳ ἀμφιπέμμεται,  
εὐκλείστα μὲν δὴρ' ἀθανάτους ἀνέχοντες,  
ἴσμεν δ' ἀνέου πλοῦτος νέφος.*

<sup>2</sup> This story is told by Polyainos, vi. 51. The odd thing about it is that Thérôn, before he gets the contract, has got his body-guard ready, but is not able to pay them; *ἐπαρμόρου μὲν ἔχων ἐν ἀπορήτῃ παρεσκευασμένους, χρημάτων δὲ οὐκ ἰσχυρῶν πρὸς μισθοδοσίαν.* All this happens *τῇς πόλεως Ἀθηῶν μεγαλοπρεπῇ ναδὶ ἐγειρομένη.*

CHAP. V. The temple is still there; as at Athens, as at Syracuse,  
 The temple of Athénè as at Kamarina, so at Akragas also, the Parthenôn re-  
 mains a Parthenôn. Within, and under, a church of the  
 Panagia, we still trace large fragments of the basement,  
 the columns, the walls, of the temple of Thêrôn's elder  
 day. By a happy accident, though the ritual of the  
 East has now passed away from its altars, the church  
 still bears the name of Saint Mary of the Greeks. Far  
 below, in the later city, we see the works of Thêrôn's  
 days of power, the days of his better fame. Here, in  
 the upper city, we see, it may be, a monument of the  
 way in which he rose to power. Yet the story is not a  
 pleasant one. It seems unworthy of the character which  
 Thêrôn bears in his later days, a character which does not  
 come only from the poet who was bound to sing the  
 praises of the prince who paid and feasted him. Thêrôn  
 is set before us as highest in birth, first in wealth, not  
 only of the men of Akragas but of the men of all Sicily,  
 as surpassing them all in bounty and mildness of rule<sup>1</sup>.  
 We might believe that such an one rose to dominion by a  
 blow struck in some party strife; we would rather not  
 believe that a dominion which seems on the whole to have  
 been exercised for good began in so base a cheat as that  
 attributed to him in our only story of his path to power.

Thêrôn and Phalaris. There is somewhat singular in the comparison between the  
 later fame of Thêrôn and that of Phalaris. In dealing  
 with Phalaris, while we had no kind of consecutive narra-  
 tive, while we had hardly an ascertained and dated fact to  
 record of him, we were simply overwhelmed by the mass of  
 casual references to him in all manner of writers in later  
 ages. Thêrôn holds a real, an important, and, from one

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Fr. 1. 10; Θήρων δ' Ἀκραγαντῶνα γένει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ  
 πολλὰς φιλοφρονίᾳ καὶ προσίχων οὐ μόνον τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων  
 τῶν Σικελιωτῶν. This character throws great doubt on the story in  
 Polybios.

side at least, an honourable, place in the history of Sicily CHAP. V. and of Europe. But not only has no forger taken the No stories of Thérôn trouble to invent letters in his name; the dictionary-makers and anecdote-mongers of later times have hardly treasured up a single saying or story of the most bountiful of mankind. Our only casual source of knowledge tells us that Thérôn had enemies, and enemies in his own household. A brother, Xenokratês by name, won glory for Akragas and for the house of Ainêsidamos by the victory of his chariot, not indeed by the banks of Alpheios but on the humbler field of the Isthmos<sup>1</sup>. Other Kapys and Hippokratês, kinsfolk, Kapys and Hippokratês, stirred up, we are told, by envy at Thérôn's merits, rose and levied war against him, only to feel defeat at his hands by the banks of Himeras<sup>2</sup>. A victory of Himeras won by Thérôn in civil strife sounds almost like a mockery of the great day of his life. It was in a song in Thérôn's honour that the poet was stirred up to the loveliest picture of the pagan world of spirits. To him Pindar told of the home in the happy island, with its Ocean breezes and its golden flowers, the dwelling of those to whom it was given to tread the path of Zeus to the tower of Kronos<sup>3</sup>. There dwelled the heroes and lawgivers of old; there dwelled the chief of the Achaians who smote down the pillar of Troy and the Æthiop son of the Morning<sup>4</sup>. And, if

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXVI.

<sup>2</sup> The story of Kapys and Hippokratês, not very clear in any version, has got mixed up with the relations of Thérôn and Hiéron at a somewhat later time. See Appendix XXIII.

<sup>3</sup> See the wonderful passage, 64-84.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. 79 (142):

Ἀχιλλεύς τ' ἔπειτ' ἔπει Ζηνὸς ἦτορ  
 Λατὰς ἔπειτ', μῆτιρ  
 δὲ Ἑκτορ' Ἰσφάλα, Τροίας  
 ἀμείνων ἀνδρὸς ἐκείνου. Κρόνον τε θυράτω πόρην  
 Ἀεὺς τε ταῖδ' Αἰθίοπα.

Hektôr is Τροίας εἰών, as Thérôn himself is ἰσχυρὸν Ἀσπράγαντος.

CHAP. V. the lays of Athens could claim a place in that happy company for the slayers of a tyrant, Syracuse and Akragas might claim a place beside them for the tyrants themselves. For the warfare in which the lords of Syracuse and Akragas played their part was, as Herodotus has taught us, the same warfare as that which Achilles and Agamemnôn had waged before them.

### § 5. *Early Poetry and Philosophy in Sicily.*

Share of  
Sicily in  
Greek  
poetry.

Aristo-  
xenos of  
Selinous.

The lyric  
poets.

That Greek Sicily should play its part in the poetic, as well as the political, world of Hellas might seem to be foreshadowed in the presence of the cyclic Eumêlos among the earliest Corinthian settlers at Syracuse<sup>1</sup>. Such an expectation was not disappointed. Sicily contributed its fair share to the general choir of Greek minstrels, and in some particular branches of the poetic art men who belonged to Sicily by birth or adoption took the lead and passed for inventors. Of lyric poetry Sicily can hardly claim to be the birth-place. Aristoxenos of Selinous, said to have been one of the earliest writers of iambics along with Archilochos and the elder Simônîdês, was, if his date be rightly given, a Selinuntine only in the sense in which Eumêlos was a Syracusan. Selinous must have had a poet among her colonists<sup>2</sup>. But one of the most famous of lyric poets belonged more fully to Sicily than Eumêlos or Aristoxenos. Terpandros and Alkman come earlier than her Stêsichoros, and, though the island has its share in the lustory or legend of Sapphô, the songstress of Lesbos

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> If the date in Jerome's Chronicle, Ol. 29 (B. C. 664), be right, "Archilochus et Simonides et Aristoxenus illustres habentur," Aristoxenos can have been a Selinuntine in no sense but that of being one of the Megarian colonists in 628.

appears in Sicily only as a guest. In the elegiacs of Ovid CHAP V.  
Sicily and its women, Sapphō's rivals for the love of Phaôn, have no small share<sup>1</sup>. The grave chronicle of Sapphō in Sicily.  
Paros sends her in person to Sicily, seemingly as the result B.C. 595.  
of a political revolution in Mytilênê<sup>2</sup>. But in her extant fragments the only possible reference to Sicily is where she couples a Panormos, which may be our Phœnician All-haven, along with Cyprian Paphos as a seat of Aphroditê<sup>3</sup>. An Aphroditê of Panormos could hardly fail to be near akin to Aphroditê of Eryx.

Stésichoros, on the other hand, was in Sicily more than Stésichoros of Himera.  
a guest. He was perhaps a native; he was at any rate a B.C. 640-  
colonist in early childhood. He was Stésichoros of Himera, 546, or B.C. 632-  
and the city was so closely connected in men's minds with 551.  
the poet that the description of "the man of Himera" was sometimes enough to mark him<sup>4</sup>. The most probable reckonings of his birth and death make his birth come not long after the foundation of Himera, which would suggest that he was the son of an original or early settler. His His descent.  
father bears several names; one wild version makes him the son of the poet Hésiod; but the consent seems to be pretty general in favour of Euphêmos. His family came from the Lokrian Mataluros on the west coast of the southwestern peninsula of Italy, which shows that, as usual, settlers from various parts took a share in the foundation of Himera. His true name is said to have been Tisias; His name Tisias.  
he was called Stésichoros from his being the first to set in

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Her. xxi. 51-58. One is not surprised to hear the presiding goddess addressed as

"Tu quoque quæ montes celebras, Erycina, Sicanos;"

but why does Sapphō call on the

"Ninades matres Nisiadesque nurus"

to send back the runaway? Surely Nise (see vol. i. p. 122), if it existed at all, was the most obscure of Sikan or other towns.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix II.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. i. p. 250.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix XVI.

- CHAP. V. order the lyric chorus. If so, his surname as thoroughly displaced his original name as Plato did that of Aristokles. Whatever was his birth or his parentage, his fame as a poet was prefigured from the very moment of his birth. Before the babe had uttered his first cry, a nightingale settled on his mouth and lifted up her voice in song.
- His brothers. That he had a brother named Helianax, lawgiver of some unknown place, we need neither affirm nor deny. A brother
- His parable to the Lokrians. Mamertinus is a harder trial of faith. That he kept up some connexion with the elder land of his house is implied in a story preserved by Aristotle, in which he warns the Lokrians in a dark saying of the coming harrying of their lands<sup>1</sup>. And the man of Himera was no less at home at Katanê. There he died, and there seemingly he was
- His tomb at Katanê. buried. Himera had a monument for him also, but his most famous tomb was that at Katanê. If we rightly understand the somewhat dark account, his ashes were sheltered in an octagon surrounded by eight columns, outside a gate that bore his name. His memory abides in the nomenclature of modern Catania. It is more to be noticed than all that, after his native Himera had perished, his memory was cherished by statues and on the coinage, in the city of the Himeraian Thermai which kept on its traditions.
- His alleged relations to Phalaris. It is only in Italy that we see the poet of Himera playing any part in practical politics. We need not discuss his alleged relations to Phalaris, as they appear in the forged letters. And it has already been shown that the warning against that tyrant which he is said to have given to the men of Himera must belong to another sage, another tyrant, or another city, perhaps to all three at

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle tells this story twice in the Rhetoric, ii. 21 and iii. 11. The first time he warns them *ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰσχυρὰ εἶναι, δεῖ μὲν οἱ νέμειν χαμῶνι φέροντι*. This is explained to mean, lest the enemy should come and cut down their trees.



once<sup>1</sup>. In his extant fragments and in the various refer- CHAP. V  
ences made to him there is little indeed that directly bears  
upon Sicily. He seems to have been responsible for the  
doctrine that his own Himeras flowed from the same  
fountain as the southern stream of the same name<sup>2</sup>; and  
when, in a mutilated passage of a late writer, he appears  
as decking some city with his praises, a loyal editor  
assumes that it must have been his own Himera. But  
there can be little doubt that in one at least of his famous  
mythological poems Sicily must have had no small place.  
It may well be that in the legends of the Sicilian exploits His  
of Héraklēs to which we have had already to refer<sup>3</sup> we Geryonide  
have largely been listening to echoes of the Gêryonēis of  
Stésichoros. His tale carried the hero to the stream of His legend  
Tartēssos and beyond it, to the stream of Ocean and of Héra-  
beyond it, to Erytheia and the fountains that flowed klēs  
with silver, and brought him face to face with the sun-  
god in his golden cup. He surely told of his journey  
back again, of the wrestling-match by Eryx, and of  
the birth of the hot-waters of Himera<sup>4</sup>. One thing at  
least he did for the hero, be he Theban Héraklēs or  
Phœnician Melkart. The Héraklēs of the older Greek  
song was a civilized warrior, with the arms and dress of  
any other Hellenic hero. Was it under any barbarian

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Vibius Sequester, p. 11; "Himera oppido Thermitanorum dedit nomen Himera [very indirectly]. Hoc flumen in duas fudi partes sit Stesichorus, unam in Tyrrhenum mare, alteram in Libycum decurrere." See vol. i. p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. i. pp. 209, 544. It is worth noticing that Gêryonēs had (Suet. Tib. 14) an oracle somewhere near Patavium. This is not very near to Amprakia, but it is nearer than Tartēssos.

<sup>4</sup> See vol. i. pp. 77, 210. Cf. Athen. xii. 6, where Héraklēs is painted as a votary of the θεῶν ἀνδροειδέων. "Ἡ δὲ τὶ τὸ θερμὸν λευγρὸν τὸ φαυλὸν παρα τοῦ γῆρος πάντες Ἡρακλίου φασὶν εἶναι ἱερὰ; ἢ δὲ τὶ τὰς βαλάντας στρομεῖς Ἡρακλίου κοίτας εἰδέναι καλεῖν, αἱ καταφάνει τῶν ἡδίστων ζώωντων. Cf. Aristoph. Clouds, 1033.

CHAP. V. teaching that Stésichoros was the first to dress him in the lion's skin and to give him the club and the bow for weapons? A less renowned poem on Skylla might well contain Sicilian matter, and it has been thought that he told the tale of the Sicilian Daphnia<sup>1</sup>. But it is hard to see from the existing fragments of his poem on the Fall of Troy that Stésichoros was the special prophet of the tale that brought Aineias into the Western lands.

Story of  
his blind-  
ness

Next to the tale of the warning given to the men of Himera, Stésichoros is perhaps best known by the story of the blindness which fell on him by the vengeance of the deified Helen. The blind poet suggests Homer; it suggests also Sicilian Daphnia. The version of the story which most concerns us is one which, as late as the days of Pausanias, was fully believed at Krotôn and at the Thermaî which had taken the place of Himera. In the battle of the Sagras between Krotôn and Lokroi<sup>2</sup>, the Lesser Aias of the Iliad took his place in the Lokrian ranks, to defend those who were his kinsfolk by the spindle-side.

Leônymos  
and the  
Lesser  
Aias.

The Krotonian general Leônymos, fighting opposite to the post of the hostile hero, was smitten with a wound in the breast; we should surely have been told whether the arm that dealt it was seen or unseen. The wounded man

The Island  
Leukê.

went to Delphoi; the Pythia bade him go to the isle of Leukê by the mouth of Ister, where Aias, like some of his fellow-heroes, would heal the wound that he had given. There, not in the Island of the Blessed beyond the Ocean, the heroes dwelled. There was Achilles; there were the Greater and the Lesser Aias. Odysseus is not spoken of; the old feud perhaps was still unhealed. But Achilles had with him his Patroklos and his Antilochos; and Dêdaneia and Briséis had passed away to make room for

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XVI.

<sup>2</sup> Justin, xx. 2, 3; Strabo, vi. i. 10; Grote, iv. 352.

a lawful wedlock with Helen herself. In her indeed Paris and Déiphobos had no rights to plead; but what had become of the claims of Menelaos, promoted to his place in the Elysian field on the special ground of being son-in-law of Zeus? From this heroic gathering Leónymos, healed by the hand that smote him, went back to the company of men of his own day. But he bore with him the bidding of Helen herself to sail to Himera, and to tell the blind bard Stésichoros that the stroke had come upon him from Helen's wrath. Once had he sung that Tyndareós, sacrificing to the other gods, made no offering to the goddess of Cyprus. Aphroditê in her wrath decreed that the daughters of Tyndareós, twice and thrice-wedded, should leave their husbands for other men. But now, as far as one of them was concerned, he sang his *Palinódia* to her who had smitten him. Once he had told a false tale; now he sang that Helen had never gone in the well-benched ships or come to the *Pergama* of Troy. The atonement now was made, and the man of Himera saw once more.

Message  
from Helen  
to Stésichoros.

One is carried away by the famous tale. What then shall we say to a version which denied the blindness of Stésichoros as strongly as he denied the voyage of Helen to Troy? For some said that in the true tale—the *ἔννομος λόγος*—Stésichoros maligned no daughter of Zeus, but merely played the part of Archilochos towards Lykambê and her father. The Helen whom he libelled was but a mortal maid of Himera, whose father's name is given as Mikythos. She scorned the poet as a lover, and preferred a rival named Boupalos<sup>1</sup>. We should at least

Helen of  
Himera.

<sup>1</sup> Phôtios (Bibl. 149, Bekker) quotes the *Καυὴ Ἱστορία* of Ptolemy Hêphaisiôn for this very dall story; 'Ἀρχιλαος δὲ ὁ Κύπριος Στησιχόρου φησὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ Ἑλένην Ἱμεραίας ἀνωμόνην γενέσθαι, Μικύθου θυγατέρα ἀποστᾶσαν δὲ Στησιχόρου καὶ πρὸς Βούπαλον πορευθεῖσαν ἀμνησμένην τῆς ὑπερωφίας τὸν ποιητὴν γράψαι ὡς Ἑλένη ἐκούσῃ ἀπῆρε. ψευδὴ δὲ τὸν περὶ τῆς πηρώσεως εἶναι λόγον. But may there not have been at Himera

CHAP. V. have been told how the story of the poet's blindness came about.

His  
parable of  
the eagle.

Much more might easily be found to say about the bard of Himera; but most of his other remains concern the general historian of Greek literature rather than the special historian of Sicily. His parable of the grateful eagle saving the life of his benefactor by a seeming damage is one of a class<sup>1</sup>. It points, like the other stories of his warnings, to the old sententious Hesiodic vein of wisdom living on alongside of those more modern forms of song of which Stésichoros was deemed so high a master as to be coupled with Homer himself, whose soul was sometimes said to have passed into him<sup>2</sup>. In the story of the next poet of whom we have to speak a tale of the same kind is brought in, not as a parable, but as an alleged fact.

Ibykos of  
Rhégion.  
B. C. C. 540.

Ibykos of Rhégion, one of the Messenian stock in that city<sup>3</sup>, having, according to one tale, refused the tyranny of his own city<sup>4</sup>, lived much at the court of the tyrant Polykratês of Samos. But he touches Sicily also. It was on a journey between Himera and Katanê that he fell

a quickest-hedge with the same virtue as the one which we all know to have grown in Thessaly!

<sup>1</sup> *Ælian*, *Hist. An.* xvii. 37. It was sung *ἐν τοῖς ποιήματι τοῦ ἀποκρή- σαρτίου ἐν πολλοῖς*. The story is the opposite to that of the husbandman and the adder. But somehow the eagle reminds one of the fable of *Æschylus*.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XVI.

<sup>3</sup> *Soudas* in *Ἰβύκος*; *Ἰβύκος Φερτίου* (εἰ δὲ Πολυζήλου τοῦ Μεσσηνίου *ιστοριογράφου*, εἰ δὲ Κέρκυρας), γένει Ἑγγίνας. Here is evidently some confusion, and one would like to have the writings of an *ιστοριογράφος* of so early date. What is meant must be that Ibykos belonged to one of the Messenian families in Rhégion. See above, p. 127, and vol. i. p. 393. He goes on to confuse the dates of Croesus and Polykratês; but he must mean that Ibykos was contemporary and friend of the Samian tyrant.

<sup>4</sup> If one can make out anything from the proverb preserved by *Apostolios*, lii. 84; *Ἀρχαῖοι ποιεῖν Ἰβύκου*. *ἐπὶ τῷ εὐχέλῳ, οὗτοι γὰρ τυραννῶν ἀντάματοι ἀναδίδησαν*.

from a carriage and hurt his hand; he then dedicated his lyre to Apollôn<sup>1</sup>. And it is perhaps more likely, if not in Sicily yet at his own Rhêgion rather than at Corinth, that we should place the story of his death and the vengeance that followed it. He was slain by robbers in a desert place; his last words were that the cranes that he saw flying over his head would be his avengers. The dead man was missed, and was long sought for in vain. At last, on the day of a public spectacle, the murderers or some of them were seated unsuspected among the other lookers-on. A flight of cranes passed over them. Urged by their fate, they said merrily one to the other, There are the avengers of Ibykos. The words were heard; suspicion was awakened; inquiry was made, and the justice, be it of Corinth or of Rhêgion, came upon the slayers of the poet<sup>2</sup>.

We have already had to refer to Ibykos as our earliest direct authority for the topography of Syracuse<sup>3</sup>. We are told also that he had his own version of the Sicilian exploits of Hêraklês, which points to a poem on somewhat the same subject as the Gêryonêid of Stêsichoros. It was not any nymphs, but Hêphaistos—may we say Sikel Hadranos?—that sent up the hot springs to refresh him<sup>4</sup>. This slight difference still allows us to keep within the true range of Sicilian mythology. Ibykos must have touched on another point in the story of Stêsichoros, when he found a home for Achilleus, not in Leukê, but in the Elysian plain, and gave him for a wife, not Argeian Helen but

<sup>1</sup> Himerius, Orat. xxi. 5, "Ιβυκὸν δὲ κατέχει λόγος ἀπολιθεῖν μὲν ἐξ ἔρματος, εἰς Ἱέραν ἀπὸ Κατάνης δ' αὖτις ἀντὶ τῆς χειρὸς συχρὸν τινα χρόνον ἀπερθεῖν γενέσθαι, τὴν λύραν δὲ ἀναθεῖναι Ἀπόλλωνι."

<sup>2</sup> The story is told, among other writers, by Plutarch, De Garrul. 14. The city is not mentioned. The murderers are sitting in the theatre; καὶ γεράνων παραφανισῶν, ἅμα γέλωντι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ψιθυρίζοντες, ὅτι οἱ Ἰβύκου ἐστὶν τάραισιν. Soudas mentions only one, εἰς ἐν τῇ πόλει θασσάμενοι.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 151.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Arist. Clouds, 1050; Fr. 46.

CHAP. V. barbarian Mædeia<sup>1</sup>. From the favourite subject of his poems he would seem to have been a fitting laureate for the founder of Syracuse<sup>2</sup>. He too had his fable to tell, how, by the misapplied gift of Zeus, the serpent came by his power of renewing youth, coupled with the counterbalancing evil of unceasing thirst<sup>3</sup>.

Ibykos seems to have appeared in Sicily only as a guest. So did Ariōn, to whom a dweller in the deep did a yet greater service than the fowls of the air did to Ibykos. The wealth with which he set forth from Taras had been gathered in Sicily as well as in Italy, no doubt by the practice of his art<sup>4</sup>. It must have been other motives which led Theognis, the poet of oligarchy, to leave his native Megara by the Isthmus to become, perhaps a citizen, certainly a visitor, in its Sicilian colony<sup>5</sup>. He himself records the fact of his having been in the island<sup>6</sup>; but

Theognis.  
B. G. G. 360-  
48a

<sup>1</sup> Apollōnia (fr. 811); makes Hērē tell Thetis,

ὅτ' ἂν ἐς Ἑλλάδιον πεδίων τιος υἱὸς ἔσται  
\* \* \* \* \*  
χρεώ μιν κοῦρη πείσῃ ξύμεναι λίγαν  
Μηδείην.

The Scholiast adds, ὅτι δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς εἰς τὸ Ἑλλήσιον πεδίων παραγενόμενος ἔγηγε Μήδειαν, πρῶτος Ἴβυκος εἶρηκε μὲθ' ἐν Σικανίδῃ.

<sup>2</sup> See his character in Soudas and Cic. Tusc. iv. 39. But could he have outdone Theognis, or Solon himself?

<sup>3</sup> Ælian, Hist. An. vi. 81

<sup>4</sup> Herod. i. 24. So we have his own epigram in Ælian, Hist. An. xii. 45, where the dolphin saves him ἐκ Σικελοῦ τελέγους, and the alleged fragment (see Bergk, iii. 79),

οἱ μ' εἰς Πέλοπος γῆν ἐπὶ Ταυριάων ἀκτῶν  
ἀπορεύσαντε πλεόμενον Σικελῶ ἐνὶ κοντῶ.

<sup>5</sup> Plato, Legg. i. 630; Θέογνω, πολίτην τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρίων whence the confused statement of Soudas (Θέογνω), making him Μεγαρεὺς τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρίων.

<sup>6</sup> Theog. 783 (Bergk, iii. 187);

ἦλθον μὲν γὰρ ἔγνων καὶ ἐκ Σικελίης ποτὲ γαῖαν  
\* \* \* \* \*  
καὶ μ' ἐφίλειν προφρόνως πάντες ἐπερχόμενος.

He also visited Eubœa and Sparta; but he must have gone home; for he adds,

ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶμαι τέρψις ἐπὶ φρένας ἦλθεν ἔκείνων,  
οὐκ οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν φίλτερον ἄλλο πάτερ.

beyond that his extant verses contain no Sicilian matter. CHAP. V.  
 But, if we can believe a late writer, Theognis, if all his His poem on the deliverance of Syracuse.  
 writings had survived, would have been the most precious  
 of all the poets for Sicilian history. He is said to have  
 composed an elegy on the deliverance of Syracuse from  
 Hippokratés<sup>1</sup>, a piece of contemporary history for which  
 we would gladly exchange a large part of his extant  
 writings. The subject suggests many questions. How  
 did Theognis fare when a few years later the city of his  
 adoption perished at the hands of Gelôn? So stanch  
 an oligarch, if he were then in Megara, would assuredly  
 have been among the favoured ones who received the  
 citizenship of Syracuse. On the whole one is tempted  
 to believe that his Sicilian stay had come to an end His return to old Megara.  
 at an earlier time. Very soon after the event which  
 formed the subject of his Sicilian poem, he seems to  
 have been again in his own Megara, praying that his  
 native city might escape the hands of the invading  
 Mede<sup>2</sup>.

The gap, if in this age there was any, between poets Xenophanés of Kolophôn.  
 and philosophers is bridged by Xenophanés of Kolophôn. B.C. c. 568-475.  
 Banished from his Asiatic home, his later dwelling-place  
 was the Italiot Eleia; but he visited Sicily also, and his  
 presence was remembered at Zanklê and Katanê<sup>3</sup>. He  
 lived to a great age; for he himself witnesses, in an elegy  
 composed sixty-five years afterwards, that his banishment

<sup>1</sup> Soudas; ἔγραψεν ἐλεγίαν εἰς τοὺς σωθέντας τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. See above, p. 110. However confused the report, this can refer to nothing else.

<sup>2</sup> Theog. 775. How long did Theognis live? The verses seem to refer to the expedition of Xerxes; but it may have been written some years before 480 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Diog. Laert. ix. 2. 1; οἶκός, ἀνασάν τῆς πατρίδος, ἐν Ζάγκλῃ τῆς Συρακίας διέτριβε καὶ ἐν Κατάνῃ. The use of the name Zanklê is favourable to the genuineness of the story.

CHAP. V. was at the age of twenty-five<sup>1</sup>. He may therefore really have lived on, as one version makes him, to be one of the brilliant circle that gathered round the happy hearth of Hierôn<sup>2</sup>. He had dealings with tyrants of some kind, as appears from his saying that a man must either keep away from their company or conform to their will<sup>3</sup>. This piece of practical wisdom came most likely from Sicilian experience, and it concerns our history more than his speculations about the One and the Many. A pleasing fragment of another of his elegies brings us across the more famous name of Pythagoras, and puts the mysterious sage and his doctrine in an amiable light. His belief that the souls of men passed into other bodies enabled him to plead on behalf of the beaten dog that he heard in his howlings the voice of a departed friend<sup>4</sup>. But though the followers of Pythagoras will often come across our path, the historian of Sicily is happily relieved from any speculations as to the great master himself. No trustworthy witness carries him into Sicily. Those who take him to Tauromenion at once consign themselves to the same fate as the forgers of letters of Phalaris<sup>5</sup>. And it is hardly

His experience of tyrants.

His doctrines.

Pythagoras.

Tales of Pythagoras in Sicily.

<sup>1</sup> Diogenes preserves the fragment (7. Bergk, iii. 115).

<sup>2</sup> Jerome places him in the sixtieth Olympiad (a.o. 540-536); "clarus habetur." In the fragment of Timaios, 92 (C. Müller, l. 215), *ἐν [Ἡερακλέῳ] φησι Τίμαιος μὲν Ἰέρωνα τὸν Σακχίας θυνόσσης, καὶ Ἐπίχαρμον τὸν ταυρὸς γενέσθαι. Ἀνελιδόμενος δὲ μὲν τὴν νεοκρατορίῃς Ὀλυμπιάδα γινόμενος, παρὰ τὴν αἰῶνα δὲ τὴν ἀσπίδα τὴν καὶ Εὐρύου χόδον. A man born about a.o. 640 could hardly have lived into the time of Darius, but a man who was writing verses at ninety might have been famous in 536, and still alive in 478. Epicharmos was as long-lived as Xenophanes; but if a contemporary, he must have been a much younger one. Diogenes Laertius makes him discourse with Empedoklés, which can hardly be.*

<sup>3</sup> Diag. Laert. ix. 2. 3; *τοῖς τυράννοις ἀποτρίχθαι ἢ ἐν φατρῇ ἢ ἐν φιλοῖν.*

<sup>4</sup> The fragment is preserved by Diogenes, vii. 1. 20 (Bergk, ii. 115). See Grote, iv. 328.

<sup>5</sup> I cannot, with Holm (l. 410), let off the author of this anachronism on the chance that by Tauromenion he may have meant Naxos.



easier to believe that Pythagoras in person commanded the army of Akragas in a war with Syracuse, and that, so far as anything can be made out of the story, he perished by a strict observance of one of his own most mysterious precepts. He lost the battle and his life by refusing to march across a bean-field<sup>1</sup>. By the side of this, the exploits of his pupil Milôn as the comrade of Dôriens may seem historical<sup>2</sup>. The political influence of Pythagoras and his sect at Krotôn is of great importance for the history of Greek Italy; it hardly touches us in our island.

A faint interest is raised by a certain Ekphantos of Syracuse, described as a follower of Pythagoras, who wrote a treatise in praise of kingship, of which some passages have been preserved<sup>3</sup>. They may have been acceptable when Pindar was dreaming of Deinomenés as constitutional king of Ætna<sup>4</sup>. Ekphantos had also views about the earth, which concern us less, though, as being far beyond the science of his time, they may win him more credit<sup>5</sup>. And it may be that the philosophic impulse spread beyond the bounds of Hellas in the island. A Petron, certain Petron, described as of Himera, whose date is

CHAP. V.

Ekphantos  
on king-  
ship.

<sup>1</sup> So, according to Diogenes (viii. 1. 21), witnessed the philosopher Her-  
mippos in the third century before Christ; φησὶ, πολεμούντων Ἀκραγαντίνων  
καὶ Συρακοσίων ἐξελεσθῆναι τὸν Πυθαγόραν μετὰ τῶν συνήθων καὶ προσιῆναι τῶν  
Ἀκραγαντίνων τροπῇ δὲ γενομένη, περιέκλειστον αὐτὸν τῇ τῶν κείμων  
χώρῳ, ἐπὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἀναιρεθῆναι. Then follows a story how those  
who escaped, 305 in number, were burned at Taras; θάλασσαν ἀντιπολιτεύ-  
εσθαι τοῖς προεστῶσι. This is another version of the burning of the  
φροντιστήριον at Krotôn.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> John of Stobol, among his collections on a thesis ἐν: καλλίστην ἢ  
μοναρχίᾳ, has (xlvii. 22, xlviii. 64) two extracts from Ekphantos, some  
of which come twice over. There are some pleasant bits of dialect, but the  
arguments would hardly have convinced either an Athenian democrat or a  
Corinthian oligarch. On the name, see Ebert, Dissertationes Siculae,  
119.

<sup>4</sup> Pind. Pyth. i. 60 (116).

<sup>5</sup> Plut. de Flac. Phil. iii. 13.

CHAP V. older than that of our first historian Hippias of Rhâgion, had numbered the worlds, and found the tale to be one hundred and eighty-three<sup>1</sup>. His name is perhaps of greater interest than his philosophy. Petron must have come, by some path or other, from Sikel Petra<sup>2</sup>; he is fellow to Gelôn and to the older Hyblôn<sup>3</sup>.

Union of  
barbarians  
against  
Greece.

From questions like these we have now to turn to the great realities of the history of the world. We now come to the days when Hellas was threatened at once in the East and in the West. The whole barbarian world seemed leagued against her. On one fateful day—so the next generation at least believed—the hopes of all times to come were jeopardized at once on the waters of the Salaminian gulf and on the ground below the hills of Himera. In the common danger, in the common victory, we may forget that, while at Salamis the barbarian was beaten back by the captains and the seamen of free commonwealths, at Himera he yielded to the arms of tyrants. On that great day Ekphantos might have got a hearing in the *agora* of Syracuse or of Akragas. If the men of both those cities marched forth at the bidding of a master, it was a master who was at least their countryman, and in many a later year Sicily might indeed have welcomed another despot of the kind of Gelôn or of Thêrôn. In the tale of Sicily, the tale of Sicily as part of the tale of

Position  
of the  
tyrants.

<sup>1</sup> Plut. de Def. Gr. 13; *Ἀρπιδὲς δὲ τὸ Σικελίας, ἀνδρὸς Ἰμακίων τοῦτον Πέτρον· αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐκείνου βιβλιδίων εἰς ἑξήκοντα, οὐδὲ οἷα ἡσαρξομεν, Ἰωνες δὲ ὁ Ἑρμῖνος (ὃ μάλιστα φησὶ ὁ Ἑρμῖνος) ἱστορεῖ διέξαι εἶναι τούτου.* The writings of Hippias seem to have perished before Plutarch's day. See vol. i. p. 454.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> Housh, l. 401; "Reiske hielt den Namen nicht für griechisch und wollte deshalb Hieron lesen. Es ist nicht sicilisch; Petron von Petra, wie Gelon von Gela, Theron von Thera, Hieron von Hiera, Hyblon von Hybla, Krison von Kriss." Hyblôn of Hybla (see vol. i. p. 389) is the one who most concerns us.

Europe, theirs are the first names that we can with full CHAP. V.  
certainty inscribe on the bede-roll of the men who won  
their choicest laurels in the Eternal Cause. As worthy  
forerunners, they handed on the torch to those who should  
come after them, to Timoleón and to Pyrrhos, to Maniakés  
and to Roger.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE FIRST WARS WITH CARTHAGE AND ETRURIA <sup>1</sup>.

B. C. 480-472.

Character  
of the war  
with the  
barbarians.

WE have now reached a time when the great question between Greek and barbarian, with all that that question carries with it in the history of the world, is to become, for one moment of surpassing interest, the leading fact in local Sicilian history. Greek and barbarian have already met in arms alike on the soil of Attica and on the soil of Sicily Miltiadês, defending the land of the Greek,

<sup>1</sup> We now, for the first time, have something more than scraps and casual notices. In the eleventh book of Diodôros we come to the beginning of that continuous, though not contemporary, narrative of Sicilian affairs which remains our chief guide for nearly two hundred years. We always lament that we have only Diodôros and not his sources. We often lament that Diodôros did not make a better use of his sources. Still we feel the gain at every step, as compared with the times through which we have thus far gone, and to make easy sneers at a writer to whom we owe so much is a sign of a very feeble grasp of Greek history and a very slight knowledge of Greek literature. If Diodôros represents Ephoros and Timaios, he also represents Antiochos and Philistos. But we have also, for parts of our story, much nearer approaches to contemporary narrative. Herodotos helped us in our last chapter; he helps us still for the battle of Himera and the embassy to Gelôn. These are events nearer to his own time, and more closely related to his general narrative, than those with which he was dealing at an earlier stage. And the odes of Pindar, valuable in the last chapter, become of tenfold value now. If not a contemporary narrator, he is at least a contemporary commentator on events. And we still have, though not to the same extent as in the days of Phalaris, a large crop of references in various casual sources, from the fragments of Simônîdês onwards.

has beaten back the barbarian for a season. Dôrieus, CHAP. VI. invading the land of the barbarian, has been himself more than beaten back in his daring enterprise. What distinguishes the time which we have now reached is that the enemy of Miltiadês and the enemy of Dôrieus appear joined in a common undertaking. The day of barbarian advance has already begun; it began, if at no The barbarian advance. earlier time, when Croesus brought the Greek cities of Asia under barbarian supremacy. And we must again recall the great paradox which is the key to the whole story. While, from one point of view, we are entering Greece on one side declining. on the most brilliant time of the story of the Greek people, we are, from another point of view, entering on the time of its decline. The literature, the art, the science, of Greece, are all in their vigorous growth; so is the political developement of her cities, the developement of democratic Athens above all. But, from another side, the old age of Greece has already begun. The long tale of Rule of barbarians over Greeks. Greece under Foreign Domination<sup>1</sup>, the tale which stretches from the advance of the Lydian to the betrayal of Farga, has already had its first chapters written. In our common conception, from many points a true conception, of the history of Greece, the most splendid pages of that history are those which record the beating back of the Persian from the soil of Europe, the winning back of what the Persian had conquered from Hellas on the soil of Asia. But the mere fact that an enemy had to be beaten back, Character of the Persian war in Old Greece. that lands had to be freed from his grasp, shows that the enemy was in some sort the stronger, that he was at least the advancing power which had to be beaten back. With the great strife against Persia begins the long struggle which in our own day is not yet ended, the struggle of

<sup>1</sup> I must once more pay my tribute to the great work of Finlay, from whom I first learned to understand this side of Greek history. Strange as it seems, we are now entering on his period.

CHAP. VI. the Greek to win back what the barbarian has torn away from him. Themistoklēs and Kanarēs waged a warfare of exactly the same kind, a warfare, not of advance and conquest, but of recovery and deliverance. Theirs was not the warfare of Cæsar and Trajan, but the warfare of Stilicho and Belisarius, the warfare of every lord of the New Rome who won back any spot of his Empire from the grasp of Saracen or Bulgarian. It is the surpassing brilliancy of the Greece of the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ which makes us forget that the Greece—the scattered as well as the continuous Hellas—of the sixth and seventh held in one sense a greater place in the world. When men carved the grotesque shapes of Medousa and the Kerkôpes on the metopes of the Selinuntine temple, Hellas could still make the boast that all her sons were free, that no inch of Hellenic ground obeyed a barbarian master. When men carved the deathless forms which filled the same place on the Athenian akropolis, the highest boast of Hellas was that she had driven out the barbarian from that very akropolis, and there were still spots in the world which had been Hellas over which the barbarian ruled.

The seventh and the fifth centuries.

European and Asiatic barbarians.

There are few more touching tales in the whole story of the Greek people than that which told how the men of Poseidônia—that Pæstum where the works of the old Hellenic days have outlived the rule of every conqueror—after they had fallen away from their Hellenic speech and Hellenic life, still kept one holy day of mourning in each year, to weep and wail for what once had been, for the change which instead of Hellènes had made them Lucanians or Romans<sup>1</sup>. Yet to become Lucanians or Romans

<sup>1</sup> See the account copied from Aristoxenos of Taras in Athénaios, xiv. 31. He speaks of the Poseidonians; *ὡς ἐνέβη τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἑλλήνων οὖσαν ἐκβεβρωμένην Τυρρηνοῖς ἢ Ῥωμαίοις γεγονόσαι, καὶ τὴν τε φωνὴν μεταβεβλημένην τὰ τε λαοὶ τῶν ἐκτελευράτων, ἄγαν τε μίαν τιὰν αὐτοῖς*

did not wholly cut them off from the great fellowship. CEAP VI.  
 It did not hinder them from having their part in Europe;  
 it did not hinder them from one day having their part  
 in Christendom. It was to ward off a darker fate that  
 Old Greece and Greek Sicily had to strive at the same  
 moment in the last years of the second decade of the fifth  
 century. And Greek Sicily had to strive to ward off a  
 darker fate than any that threatened Old Greece. Had  
 the Persian won the day at Salamis and Plataia, Athens  
 and Sparta might have been forced to become what Thebes  
 had made herself willingly. They would have become the  
 dependents and tributaries of the Great King; they would  
 hardly have sunk lower. But had the Carthaginian won  
 the day at Himera, Syracuse and Akragas would surely  
 have undergone a sterner doom than this. From what  
 Gelôn and Thêrôn saved their cities we best know by the  
 fate which lighted on Selinous and Himera seventy years  
 later.

Another point not to be left out, at least in local Sicilian Position  
of Syra-  
cuse and  
Akragas.  
 history, is that it is now that the first and second of  
 Sikeliot cities distinctly come to their place as first and  
 second. Syracuse is not strictly the head even of Greek  
 Sicily; but it is drawing near to that character. If not  
 the head, it is distinctly the foremost. Akragas too is so  
 distinctly marked as the second that it feels some call to  
 reckon itself as the first. Syracuse now begins to play  
 her characteristic part in history. Her calling, it was said, Mission of  
Syracuse.  
 was, when she was herself under tyrants, to rule over other  
 cities; when she was herself set free, it was to set free those  
 who were under the rule of the barbarians<sup>1</sup>. Yet this

*τῶν ἑσπέρων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν, ἐν ᾗ συνίστηντες ἀναμνησκούμεναι τῶν  
 ἀρχαίων ἐκείνων ἀνομίαται τε καὶ νομίμων, καὶ ἀπολοφειρόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 καὶ ἀποδακνύσαντες ἀπέχονταί. Aristoxenos was a disciple of Aristotle,  
 and the way in which he speaks of the Romans should be noticed. But his  
 Tyrrhenians should surely be Lucanians.*

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, vi. 2. 4; *οἱ ἄνδρες ἡγεμονικοὶ παύσθησαν, καὶ συνέβη Συρα*

CHAP. VI. account is hardly adequate; it hardly does justice to the time or the men with whom we are just now dealing. The picture is drawn from later tyrants and later deliverers. We have to speak of men who were tyrants and deliverers in one. The enslaved Syracuse of Dionysios ruled over other cities. The free Syracuse of Timoleôn set free enslaved cities. The Syracuse of Gelôn, certainly not free, but hardly to be called enslaved, could do its work in both

§ 1. *The Carthaginian Invasion and the Death of Gelôn.*  
B. C. 480-478.

Alliance of  
Persia and  
Carthage.

There seems to be no reasonable ground for doubting the statement of more than one ancient writer that the Persian attack on Old Greece and the Carthaginian attack on the Greek cities of Sicily were parts of a joint enterprise planned in concert<sup>1</sup>. The motive for a joint attack on the part of the two great barbarian powers of East and West is obvious. Wherever the Greek, the independent Greek, had settled, he was a thorn in the side of his barbarian neighbours, as his barbarian neighbours were a thorn in his side. If powers like Persia and Carthage were to flourish and advance, the Greek states that severally came in their way, if not actually swept away or brought down to bondage, must at least be brought under tribute. It was the growth of powers like Persia and Carthage which made a general barbarian league of this kind possible. The great kingdom of the East, the great commonwealth of the West, were barbarian powers such as the world had never seen before. They were vigorous, advancing, powers, they were active enemies of Europe in a way that no barbarian

Their new  
position.

μοναίσις τυραννουμένοις τε διασφύζειν τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ ἐλευθερωθεῖσιν ἐλευθεροῦν τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καταδυναστευομένους.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XVII.



powers had been before, because no barbarian powers on the same scale had ever before come into the same contact with Europe. And they were dangerous beyond all earlier barbarian powers, because both had, in different ways, something of kindred with Europe. The Aryan Persian, though he had turned aside and become part of the Asiatic world, had not lost all traces of his origin. His born superiority to the mere Asiatic races around him is shown in that strong and abiding national life of the Persian people which has lived through all conquests and led captive all conquerors. And if the Persian had not wholly lost all traces of earlier brotherhood, the Phœnicians of Africa, Spain, and Sicily, Eastern settlers in the Western world, had in some sort become part of the Western world. No other barbarian power had developed a political constitution like that of Carthage<sup>1</sup>.

Two great powers of this kind, having a common interest in checking Hellenic growth, but which had not yet come near enough to one another to become direct rivals, were surely likely to combine for the object which both had at heart. The Persian kings kept a watchful eye on the affairs of the Greeks of the West. We have come across not a few cases of intercourse between Persia and the Greeks of Italy<sup>2</sup>, and we have seen the Persian court chosen as the most obvious place of shelter on the part of a fallen Sikeliot prince<sup>3</sup>. Between Carthage and Old Greece we have less signs of intercourse; but

Inter-  
course  
between  
Persia and  
the West.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 219, 289.

<sup>2</sup> Take for instance the whole story of Démokédēs, Herod. iii. 115 et seqq.

<sup>3</sup> As in the case of Skythēs of Zanklê. See above, p. 114.

The opposite notion of Sicily as an obvious place of shelter from Asia comes out in a wild story of Konôn (Narr. 38; Photus, 158, Bekker) which is akin to the Letters of Phalaris. A man of Milêtos, at a time which is described as τῆς παρὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν Ἀπράγῃ τοῦ Κόρου [an odd genealogy] ἐν ἀνδύσῃ οὐσίᾳ, flees to the as yet unfounded Tauromenion (εἰς τὸ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ταυρομένιον ἐκείνη), and there puts his money with a banker.

CHAP. VI. the great city of Africa had made a deep impression on the Greek mind, and two generations later it could find its place in dreams of Athenian ambition<sup>1</sup>. The East and the West had quite knowledge enough of one another for Persia and Carthage to know that they had a joint interest in the attack, and for Sicily and Old Greece to know that they had a joint interest in the defence.

Carthage  
not de-  
pendent on  
Persia.

At the same time there is no need to think, as has been inferred from some passages in ancient writers, that the advance of the Persian arms along the coast of Libya had been so successful that the Great King could not only deal with Carthage as an ally but could command her as a master<sup>2</sup>. The joint interest of Persia and Carthage in opposition to the interests of Greece everywhere were enough to bring the two powers into harmony, and the Persian king had his agents for such a negotiation ready at hand. The supremacy over the old Canaan which he had inherited from earlier Asiatic powers does not seem to have been harshly exercised or to have called forth any

Position of  
the old  
Phœnician  
cities.

special discontent<sup>3</sup>. The cities of the old Phœnicia still kept their separate being, their untouched Phœnician life, and their relations to the younger cities of their own stock. Tyre was no less the metropolis of Carthage, it was no less visited and honoured as such, its renowned temples of the national gods were none the less places of pilgrimage, because the fleets of Tyre now sailed at the bidding of the lord of Susa and Ekbatana. Indeed Persian naval action

Old Phœ-  
nician  
mediation.

commonly meant Phœnician naval action<sup>4</sup>. The shipmen of Tyre and Sidon fought gladly against Hellas, and when

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. vi. 90.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XVII.

<sup>3</sup> See the honourable position held by the Sidonian and Tyrian kings in the military council of Xerxes; Herod. viii. 67.

<sup>4</sup> This comes out strongly in the poems of Simonides; see 96 or 157:

*ἔσθ' αὖτε Φοινίκων ἤντας καὶ Πέρσας δρόνους*

*καὶ Μήδων ἱερὰν Ἑλλάδα βυσσόμενα.*

So 107 or 167, and the more famous 142; Bergk, 1163.

Xerxes wished to open communications with the *Shophetim* CHAP. VI. and senate of Carthage, there were men of Tyre and Sidon ever ready to act as his envoys. And, if those communications tended to the damage of Greek interests, those envoys were sure to discharge their errand the more faithfully and zealously. Phœnician representatives of the Persian king appeared at Carthage to arrange a scheme of joint operations. Sicily and Old Greece were to be attacked at the same time. If the Carthaginians should have done their work in Sicily soon enough, they were to sail to the help of the King in Peloponnésos, to be fellow-workers with the men of the elder Phœnicia in the strife against the common enemy everywhere<sup>1</sup>. That the Persian attack on the Greeks of old Hellas and the Carthaginian attack on the Greeks of Sicily was the result of an agreement between the Persian king and the Carthaginian commonwealth, if not asserted by the very best evidence of all, is a statement at once probable and uncontradicted. It was one of the supreme moments in the history of the world, when the life and civilization of Europe, as yet confined to a single nation, was threatened in its two chief seats by two such powers, each of them, from different points of view, such really worthy adversaries, as those which now combined to sweep Hellas from the earth.

Treaty  
between  
Persia and  
Carthage.

The warfare which the Greeks had now to wage with Persia on the one hand and with Carthage on the other had some special characteristics in each of its two fields of action. The Phœnician enemy was in every way nearer to the Greek of Sicily than the Persian was to the Greek of Attica or Peloponnésos. Carthage was an actual neighbour; she had her dependencies on the soil of Sicily itself, from whence she could at any moment pour her forces into the Hellenic territories. The position of the Sikelots had in

Advantage  
to Carthage  
of her  
Sicilian de-  
pendencies.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XVII.

CHAP. VI truth more likeness to that of the Greeks of Asia than it had to that of the Greeks of the Greek mainland and the islands. Syracuse was as Athens would have been if there had been three powerful Persian settlements in Aitôla, and if weaker and less dangerous barbarians had dwelled in Phôkis and Lokris. In comparing the two stories, the *quasi*-continental character of Sicily must never be forgotten. But this *quasi*-continental character touched only the great advantage which the Carthaginian drew from his abiding possession of part of Sicily itself. The Persian had no such hold on Greece as the Carthaginian had on Sicily through his dependencies at Motya, Panormos, and Solous. But, as regarded the gathering and the march of his main forces, the Persian had the easier, though the longer, path of the two. He could march from Susa and Ekbatana to Athens and Sparta with no obstacle on the part of Possidôn beyond a strait which could be yoked with a bridge. But the whole Carthaginian power, bating the forces of the Phœnician cities in Sicily itself, had to be brought together by sea. From the shores and islands of the western Mediterranean men had to be brought to the trysting-place at Carthage, and thence carried again to the seat of war in Sicily. Picked men doubtless all of them, the flower of the barbarian warriors of Western Europe, they were brought together with more pains, and they had to be sent on their watery path with greater care, than the multitudes that marched from Asia into Europe under the Persian lash. No wonder then that, far nearer as Carthage was to its intended scene of action, the preparations of the Phœnician commonwealth took as long as the preparations of the Persian king.

March of  
the two  
armies.

Gathering  
of the  
Cartha-  
ginian  
armies.

Length of  
prepara-  
tions.

Different  
result of  
the warfare  
in Sicily

On the other hand, when the strife was over, then the *quasi*-continental character of Sicily, its analogy to Asia rather than to Old Greece, came to light again. The victories of Salamis

and Plataia cleared the old Greek lands of Medes and Persians for ever ; it cleared them of barbarians of any kind for some ages. The victory of Himera did not clear Sicily of Phœnicians ; the victories of Mykalê and Eurymedôn did not clear Asia Minor of Persians. In both cases the barbarian was simply weakened, not rooted out. He was shut up within certain bounds, in Sicily within the bounds of his old corner. In both cases he was to come forth again with fresh power, to win back, by arms or by policy, more than he had held before. Athens and Sparta were freed, as far as the Persian was concerned, for ever ; Thebes was even freed against her own will. So Milêtos and Selinous were freed, but not for ever. A hundred years later Milêtos was again a tributary of the Persian ; seventy years later Selinous was a far more lowly tributary of the Phœnician.

The agreement between Persia and Carthage provided for a joint attack on Old Greece and Greek Sicily at the same time. The effort in both cases was to be on the very greatest scale ; the dominions both of the Eastern king and of the Western commonwealth were to be taxed to the uttermost to provide all that was needed for an expedition such as had never before been seen. The tale of the King's preparations has been handed down to us in a shape which, prose as it is, we instinctively place alongside of the songs which hand down to us the tale of Ilios. Of the three years' preparations of the wise men of Carthage<sup>1</sup> we have no such life-like picture ; but we know that the whole barbarian world was stirred at both ends to strike a blow which was, if not to root out Hellas for ever, at least to put Greeks everywhere under the supremacy of barbarian masters. Six-and-forty nations, reckoning, if we believe the reckoning, their contingents by myriads and millions,

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 1 ; τέλος δὲ τρετὴ χρόνον περὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς ἀσχολήθητες.

CHAP. VI. marched at the bidding of Xerxes<sup>1</sup>. We have a graphic picture of the dress and the arms, of the home and the manners, of each. He who has painted for us this picture has given us the mere names, speaking names indeed some of them, of the nations which went to swell the motley host of Carthage. From Iberia and Gaul, from Liguria and Italy<sup>2</sup>, from the great islands that lie between Sicily and those lands, came the men who made up the tale of her thirty myriads<sup>3</sup>. One thing is plain; those who came from Italy came simply as mercenaries; while we do see signs of joint action between Carthage and Persia, we see no signs of any joint action between Carthage and Etruria. In truth nothing but a most dangerous common foe could ever have brought those two powers into partnership, and there is no sign that they ever were so brought. Carthage and Etruria were rivals in a way in which Carthage and Persia never could be rivals, rivals for the dominion of the western basin of the Mediterranean. According to one account, the joint schemes of Persia and Carthage marked out Italiots as well as Sikeliot for Carthaginian conquest. And no people of Italy could have endured Carthaginian settlement in any part of the Italian peninsula. Gelôn was threatened by the joint efforts of Persia and Carthage;

No Etruscan action.

Rivalry of Carthage and Etruria.

<sup>1</sup> Cf Herod ix. 26, 27, with the famous list in vii. 61. But there are not likely to have been contingents of all forty-six at Marathôn.

<sup>2</sup> That the *ἑλίσσαν* of Herodotus, vii. 165 were Volscians used to be accepted (see Grote, v. 296) as a happy guess of Niebuhr. But Holm (l. 415) and Busolt (ii. 263) quote the explanation of *ἑλίσσαν* as *ἰθὺς Ἀργεῶν* given by Stephen of Byzantium from Ephorus (p. 20). This is unlucky for the etymology, but Diiodorus (xi. 1), reckoning up the Carthaginian forces, says distinctly *μεθοφόρους αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ἀργεῶν καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ἰσθμίας*. And I do not see that this is set aside by saying with Busolt that Ephorus changed the tradition according to the usage of his own age, when Campanian mercenaries were common. Why should not Carthage in 480 hire Volscians or any other Italiots?

<sup>3</sup> Diod. xi. 3. But we have the same figures in Herod. vii. 165.

it was Hierôn who was threatened by the power of Etruria after Carthage and Persia had withdrawn from the field. CHAP. VI.

The Carthaginians then were making ready for the invasion of Sicily; Xerxés was beginning his march for the invasion of Old Greece<sup>1</sup>. Old Greece itself was divided. Some of her commonwealths had given earth and water to the barbarian. Others were making ready to withstand him to the death, if only they could bring about enough of unity among themselves to enable them to withstand him at all. The representatives of the Greeks who kept the better mind<sup>2</sup> were gathered at the Isthmus to devise means for the common deliverance. They sought how all the Greek folk everywhere might be as one, how they might join together in the same work, and so escape the danger that was hanging over all<sup>3</sup>. To that end they sent their envoys hither and thither; among others they sent them to the mightiest power of the whole Greek name; for none was there so great as the lord of Syracuse<sup>4</sup>. In such an embassy we should have looked for the mother-city of Syracuse to take the lead; but of Corinthian envoys we hear nothing; the speakers whose alleged words have been preserved are the Spartan Syagros and a nameless Athenian<sup>5</sup>. It may deserve a passing thought whether, now that Syracuse was under the rule of a man of Gela, the tie between metropolis and colony

March of  
Xerxés.

The Greeks  
at the  
Isthmus.  
B. C. 480.

Their em-  
bassy to  
Gela.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XVII.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. vii. 145; οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἕλληνας οἱ τὰ δμῶα φρονέοντες.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.; εἰ καὶ ἔν τε γένοιτο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ εἰ συγκύβαντες τῶντ' ἀφ' ἑσέων πάντες, ὥς δεινὸν ἐπιδόντων ὁμοίως ἔωσι Ἕλλησι. The lesson of all ages, once carried out in our century, and then called "an untoward event."

<sup>4</sup> Ib.; τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πρήγματα μέγала ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλῶν μέζω.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. 157; ἐπεμφθῆν ἡμῖας Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ εἰ τούτων σύμμαχοι.

CHAP. VI. could have been so keenly felt as it assuredly was both earlier and later. But the reported dialogue between Gelôn and the Athenian and Lacedæmonian envoys is one of the most famous scenes in Grecian history. The unlucky thing is that to accept the speeches recorded by Herodotus as reports of anything that was actually said is to cast aside all the known circumstances of the case. It is to attribute to the representatives of Athens and Sparta a measure of empty boastfulness and a lack of the most ordinary prudence which seems to pass all belief<sup>1</sup>. When men in great danger ask for help of a powerful kinsman, they do not go out of their way elaborately to insult him.

The speeches in Herodotus.

Help from Gelôn impossible. As the story stands, Gelôn is prayed to give help to Old Greece against the Persian, exactly as if he were free to devote the whole power of his dominions to that end. Yet, as the course of events is conceived, and no doubt rightly conceived, by Herodotus himself, Gelôn had a perfectly good answer to any such appeal<sup>2</sup>. He could no more help those who asked his help than they could help him. The barbarian confederacy was aimed at both alike; if Athens and Sparta were threatened by the Persian, Syracuse and Akragas were equally threatened by the Carthaginian. The envoys are made to set forth to Gelôn, as one in high place among the powers of Hellas—ruler of Sicily they call him<sup>3</sup>—the danger which hangs over Hellas everywhere. If the Persian should overcome Old Greece, he will assuredly come on to Sicily also. Gelôn is made to answer, in words on which we have already had to comment<sup>4</sup>, that the Greeks of Old Greece had refused to give him any help when he had fought

First speech of the envoys.

Answer of Gelôn.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XIX.

<sup>2</sup> See Grote, v. 292, and Appendix XIX.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. vii. 157; τὸ δὲ δυνάμει τε θῆκεν μεγάλης καὶ μοῖρᾳ τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μὲν, ἀρχοντί γε Σικελίης.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 98, and Appendix VIII.



against the barbarian to avenge the death of Dôrieus. CHAP. VI.  
 They had left him to fight the battle, while they had shared in the commercial advantages which his success had won for all Greeks everywhere. For all that the Greeks of Old Greece had done to hinder it, the spot whereon their envoys now stood might be a barbarian possession<sup>1</sup>. It was only when danger touched themselves that they thought of Gelôn<sup>2</sup>. Yet he would return good His offers and demands. for evil; he was ready to help them with a mighty force, two hundred triremes, twenty thousand heavy-armed, two thousand horse, two thousand light horse, two thousand bowmen, and two thousand slingers. He will further provide food for the whole armament as long as the war might last—the ruler of Sicily could make such a promise less rashly than other men. But all must be on one condition; the lord of Syracuse must be commander-in-chief of the whole forces of united Hellas.

A demand like this might be startling; but it was Exclamation of Syagros. surely in no way unreasonable in one who could offer help on such a scale. The only question is whether any offer of help could then and there have been made at all. In any case we are surely in the land of romance when the Spartan envoy is made to answer, with a scrap of Homer pressed into his service, how the Pelopid Agamemnôn would mourn if the command were taken away from Sparta and given to Gelôn and the Syracusans<sup>3</sup>. The appeal to

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 158; τὸ δὲ κατ' ὁμίας, τάδε ἅπαντα ὑπὸ βαρβάρῳσι νέμεται.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.; νῦν δὲ, ἰπικὸν περιελήλυθε ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἀπύκται ἐς ἡμέας, οὗτω δὲ Γέλωνος μνηστὴς γέγονε.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. 159; ἥ κα μὲν' ἀνέχεσθαι δὲ Πελοπίδην Ἀγαμέμνονα, πειθόμενος Σπαρτιήτας τῇν ἡγεμονίην ἀπαραιρηθῆναι ὑπὸ Γέλωνος τε καὶ Συρακουσίων. The obvious reference is to Il. i. 155;

ἥ κατ' ἡγήσασθαι Πρίαμος Πριάμοιο τε ταῖδε  
 and more directly in words, though with less point, to Il. vii. 125;

ἥ κα μὲν' οἰμώξετε γέρον ἱππηλάτα Πηλεΐς.

We may notice the cadence of the hexameter which is clearly aimed at,

CHAP VI. the Pelopid Agamemnôn in mouth of a Dorian of Sparta speaking to a Dorian of Syracuse or Gela was really about as much to the purpose as an appeal to the shade of British Arthur would be in the mouth of an envoy from England speaking to a President of the United States. Yet the thing is possible; we know how often Greek diplomacy turned, or was expected to turn, on arguments drawn from legendary times, and we know the strange confusions of thought which had come about through the rule of Herakleid princes over a Dorian army. But what follows passes belief in any case, unless the threats of Agamemnôn to Achilles were taken as a model by his votaries. Let Gelôn not talk any more of the command for himself; if he chose to help Greece, he must be under the command of the Lacedæmonians; if he did not choose to be under their command, he had better not send any help<sup>1</sup>. The tyrant appears throughout as a miracle of patience. After some moral sentiments and reflexions, he says that, as the other side are so hard to deal with, he will abate somewhat of his demand. He will be satisfied with the command either by land or by sea only, whichever they may think good; if he is refused both, they must go without his help<sup>2</sup>.

Mythical  
diplomacy.

Compromise  
offered by  
Gelôn.

Speech  
of the  
Athenian  
envoy.

At this stage, when the Spartan is silenced, the Athenian is made to chime in with a speech of no less folly than that of his colleague. He too has his quotation from Homer; but he keeps it till the end of his speech, and

though the metre is not perfect, like the "scolling anapaestic cadence" of the oligarchic oath quoted in p. 135.

Perhaps the confusion of land and folk (kith and kin) was never carried further than in this notion of Agamemnôn caring for Dorian Spartans. Still we must remember the Achaian origin of the kings (cf. Herod. v. 72).

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 159; *εἰ δ' ἄρα μὴ δαυαὶς ἀρχέσθαι, αὐτὸ δὲ μὴ βοηθεῖν.*

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 160; *καὶ ἡ τοῦτοιαὶ βέλαι χρεῖαι ἐστὶ ἀπείκεστα, ἢ ἀνέμεν συμμαχῶν τοσούτοις ἐπόμεναι.* Every word in this most curious dialogue is worth notice.

refers to his author by name. Whether in mockery or CHAP. VI.  
 from any other cause, he is made to give Gelôn the  
 royal title. The King of the Syracusans is told that  
 Hellas had sent to ask, not for a general but for an army.  
 He, Gelôn, had said nothing about sending an army,  
 unless he were to be himself the chief captain of all  
 Hellas<sup>1</sup>. As long as he had spoken of claiming that  
 headship, it was for the Athenian to hold his peace, know-  
 ing that the envoy of Lacedæmon could speak for both.  
 But now that Gelôn spoke specially of a command by sea,  
 he, the Athenian, must tell him that, even if the Spartans  
 agreed to yield it to him, his own fellow-citizens would not.  
 The command by sea the Athenians would yield to a  
 Lacedæmonian, but to none other. It would be in vain  
 that they had brought together the greatest naval force in  
 Greece, if they, Athenians, were to yield the command of  
 it to Syracusans. The Athenians were the most ancient Athenian  
boasts.  
 people of Greece; they, alone among the Greeks, had never  
 changed their dwelling-place. They were not ashamed to  
 make their boast, for it was an Athenian of whom Homer  
 in his verse had spoken as the best of all men to marshal  
 and drill an army. The patience of Gelôn at last changed Final  
answer of  
Gelôn.  
 into wrathful sarcasm. He told the Athenians that they  
 seemed to be well off for commanders, but not to be so  
 rich in men for them to command<sup>2</sup>. If they still claimed  
 all for themselves and would yield nothing, they would do  
 well to get them home as fast as they could, and to tell  
 Greece that the spring was taken out of her year<sup>3</sup>.

So outrageous a form of outspoken folly as is here

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 161; *ὅτι δὲ στρατηγήσει αὐτῆς* [*Ἑλλάδος*] *γλίχεται*. On the phrase *ὁ βασιλεὺς Συρακουσίων* see Appendix XIX.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 162; *εἶναι Ἀθηναῖα, ὅμως οἴεσθε τοὺς μὲν ἀρχοντας ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀρμόζοντες οὐκ ἔχειν*.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.; *ἀγγέλλοντας τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ ἐφαρ-  
 τηται*. Herodotus need hardly have spent so many words as he has to  
 explain this pithy saying.

CHAR. VI. attributed to the Athenian and Spartan envoys passes all belief. But one may be inclined to see in these famous speeches a certain element of satire. The speeches are a grotesquely exaggerated expression of certain traditional feelings and habits of the Greeks of the mother-country which could hardly fail to show themselves in a comic light to any Sikeliot of a sarcastic turn. We can well believe that in the cities of Old Greece there was a certain feeling of jealousy towards a colonial power like Syracuse which had just made such a sudden start in the world. To Spartans and to Athenians Syracuse would be simply such an upstart power. Neither of them was its metropolis; they would have none of the kindly home feeling, the feeling of parental pride, which Corinth might still bear to a daughter that had become so great, even under the rule of a stranger. Something of condescension might even unwittingly show itself in the diplomacy of the old states towards the younger. It was a tyrant too to whom they had to make their petition, and both at Sparta and at Athens the hatred of tyrants was still lively. Even the last form of address to Gelôn, the giving him the name of king, might be a sarcastic outburst of this feeling. And we must remember that Athens herself was really somewhat of an upstart power. Her greatness was almost as new as that of Syracuse; her position in Greece was not acknowledged like that of Sparta; she had to be always asserting her antiquity, to be always quoting Homer, sometimes, her enemies said, falsifying him<sup>1</sup>. She is well conceived as the power which, by no means with general consent, claims the second place, and whose policy it is to profess for the moment an almost ostentatious submission to the power that holds the first place. In all these ways, though the exaggeration is manifest, the position is well

Character  
of the  
speeches.

Feeling  
between  
Old Greece  
and the  
colonies.

Position  
of Athens.

<sup>1</sup> See the dispute about Salamis in Strabo, ix. i. 10, and Plutarch, Solon, 10.

caught. The whole reads like a piece of Syracusan satire CHAP. VI. which was passed off on Herodotus as a report of speeches Probable origin of the story. actually made. He was further told in Sicily that, after al., Gelôn would have given help to Greece, if the Carthaginian invasion had not hindered him. But the certainty that the Carthaginian invasion was coming must have equally hindered him from offering help. Even setting aside exaggeration and satire, the only way in which we could believe the most meagre outline of the speeches to be historical would be if we could fancy Gelôn playing the dangerous game of making demands so great that he felt sure that they must be refused. That was the game which Nikias played just before the Athenian invasion of Syracuse, and with him it was not lucky.

There is another point in which the speeches and the whole account of the dealings of the allied Greeks with Gelôn is highly instructive. The language used illustrates the abiding difficulty of finding a befitting nomenclature between a motherland and its colonies, dependent or independent. We find the difficulty in our own experience. Nomenclature of colonial and parent states. The word "English" has now been for a good while opposed to the word "American"; it has latterly come to be opposed to the word "Australian." Use of the word English. Those words at an earlier stage in each case meant the savages of America and Australia, not the English settlers in those lands. Now they are applied to the English of America and the English of Australia to distinguish them from the English of Britain. And yet ever and anon there come times when it is hard to avoid applying the English name to all the sharers in English blood and speech. So in this narrative the word *Hellas* and its derivatives are sometimes used so as to take in the Greeks of Sicily, sometimes so as to shut them out. Envoys of the Greeks come to Gelôn<sup>1</sup>. Gelôn is asked to help *Hellas* as something

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 157; οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

CHAP. VI.  
Like use  
of *Hellas*  
and *Hellē-*  
*nē*.

Inconsis-  
tent use  
in the  
speeches

which he himself stands outside of<sup>1</sup>. He addresses the envoys as *Hellēnes*, as by a name in which he has no share<sup>2</sup>. He bids them go back to *Hellas*, as to a land of which the spot where they are standing forms no part<sup>3</sup>. Yet *Gelōn* and his power are spoken of as part of *Hellas*, and no mean part<sup>4</sup>. He and his people are *Hellēnes*, threatened by the same dangers as other *Hellēnes*. If the whole Hellenic folk are to join together, *Gelōn* and his people must join as well as the rest<sup>5</sup>. That is to say, *Hellas* is the land of the *Hellēnes* wherever they settle; England is the land of the English wherever they settle. Yet the two names have become so specially attached to that seat of the Hellenic or the English folk where possession is both oldest and most complete, they have gone so far towards putting on a sense purely geographical, that in both cases it needs some effort to extend the name from its geographical to its national use. But, by a happy accident of language, *Hellas* remained an adjective; it was therefore easier to speak of the younger *Naxos* and the younger *Megara* as cities of *Hellas* than it is now to speak of the younger *Boston* and the younger *Melbourne* as cities of *England*. By another happy accident, the Greek tongue could distinguish the *Sikel* and the *Sikelot*, while we have no such power of coining endings to distinguish the native savage of *America* or *Australia* from the English settlers in his land. And again, *Sikelia* had the good luck not to bear any arbitrary fancy name like *America* and *Australia*, but to be called after the national name of the chief among her elder people. On the other hand, the modern metropolis had, till it cast it away, an advantage in nomenclature over the

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 159; *ei βοῖλεσι βοηθίῃν τῇ Ἑλλάδι*.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 158. He begins his speech with *ἀνδρες Ἕλληνας*.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. 162; *ἀπαλασσόμενοι καὶ ἀγγέλλοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι*.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. 157; *μοῖρ' αὖτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἰσχυρὴ μέγα*.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. *βοηθεὶ δὲ τοῖσι λευθεροῦσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ συναλευθίρας. ἔλεγε γὰρ προμνήνῃ πᾶσι τῇ Ἑλλάδι, χεῖρ μεγάλη συνέσταιναι*.

elder one. For a long time the word opposed to "America" was not the national name "English," but the geographical name "British." An American Gelôn might have told British envoys to go back to Britain, while asserting himself to be a very important member of the English folk. But the general analogy is a near one; in both cases we see how hard it is to keep nomenclature perfectly accurate and consistent. At all events, none of the disputants looked forward to a day, a day which we shall come across before our Sicilian story is fully told, when the name Hellên had put on a meaning wholly theological, when the name Hellas had put on a meaning wholly geographical, and when men who spoke no tongue but that of Hellas had to distinguish the people of the local Hellas by the newly-coined name of *Helladikoi*<sup>1</sup>.

The notion that Gelôn had any serious thought of sending help to the allied Greeks at the Isthmus, either before or after the envoys went away, may be dismissed as inconsistent with the circumstances of the case. If the question had really arisen, he might, as Herodotus suggests, have been disinclined—and perhaps not wholly unreasonably disinclined—to go to Peloponnêsos merely that he, tyrant of Sicily as he is called, should act under Lacedæmonian orders<sup>2</sup>. It may well be that, as the same writer also suggests, he expected that the Greeks would in any case be defeated<sup>3</sup>. At any rate, what he really did with regard to the Persian invasion of Old Greece was to be ready for the chance of that invasion being successful.

<sup>1</sup> See the revolt of the Orthodox Ἑλλαδικοί against the Iconoclast Emperor Leo, in Theoph. i. 623, ed. Bonn.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. vi. 163; *θεὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ποιησάμενος ἐλθὼν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἀρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἰὼν Σικελίης τύραντον.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*; *δείσας περὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μὴ οὐ δύνασται τὸν βαρβαρὸν ὑπερβαλέσθαι.* The witness of Herodotus is of immeasurably greater strength for actual fact than for these surmises and speeches.

CHAP. VI. Had either Carthaginians or Persians succeeded in their immediate share of the enterprise, the victors were to go on to the help of their allies in Old Greece or in Sicily as might happen. It was therefore possible that Gelôn might have to fight, not only against the Carthaginians and their allies in Sicily, but also against the great Persian host or some large detachment of it, flushed with victories in Attica and Peloponnésos. Against such a joint attack he doubtless felt that he could not bear up. He therefore took means to ward off the attack of one of his foes, the foe who was the more distant and the less certain to come against him. The Persian again, in the case of the greatest success, was not likely to aim at more than a supremacy over Syracuse and all Greek Sicily; the Phœnicians were likely to aim at utter bondage or destruction.

Different positions of Persia and Carthage.  
Gelôn sends Kadmos to Delphoi;  
his policy.

When Gelôn therefore heard that Xerxés had really crossed the Hellespont, he sent a trusty agent to Delphoi to watch the course of affairs. This was the righteous man Kadmos, son of Skythés of Kôs, whom we have already seen first lay down the tyranny of his native island and then bear a part in the settlement of very unrighteous men at Zanklê<sup>1</sup>. By this time his Samian comrades had been driven out to make room for the mixed multitude planted in Zanklê by Anaxilas<sup>2</sup>, and Kadmos had seemingly, like so many others, entered the service of Gelôn, and had doubtless received the citizenship of Syracuse. He was now sent by Gelôn, with three ships of fifty oars and a great treasure, with orders to wait and see what might happen. If the Greeks were victorious, he was to do nothing and to come back again. If the Great King had the better, he was to offer him the treasure in Gelôn's name, and withal to give earth and water as a sign of the submission of all Gelôn's dominions<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. vii. 163; *τέμνει Κάδμος . . . παραδίδωκε τὴν μάχην ἃν ποιεῖ*.



By that means, if the war with Carthage was still unde- CHAP. VI.  
 cided, or decided in favour of Gelôn, the further advance  
 of the Persians would most likely be stayed. Gelôn would  
 have acknowledged the Persian as his lord; but the supre-  
 macy of a lord at such a distance was likely to be little  
 more than nominal. But, as all the world knows, things  
 took another turn. Kadmos waited till after the battle  
 of Salamis, and went back to Syracuse to hail his master <sup>Kadmos  
goes back  
to Gelôn.</sup>  
 as victor of Himera. And it was set down as a sign of  
 his exceptional righteousness that he did go back and took  
 the money with him. It seems to have been thought that  
 the more obvious course would have been for Kadmos to  
 go off to some other part of the world with the treasures of  
 Gelôn and to turn them to his own use <sup>1</sup>.

Meanwhile Gelôn and his ally Thêrôn were doing their <sup>Occasions  
and causes.</sup>  
 share of the work of Hellas and Europe. Though prepara-  
 tions had long been making at Carthage, the immediate  
 attack was brought about by an event which was its occa-  
 sion and not its cause. Most of the great wars and revo-  
 lutions of Sicily—and not of Sicily only—were immediately  
 brought about by the appeal made by some discontented  
 person or party in the island to an enemy who was simply  
 watching his opportunity. So disloyal Christians brought  
 in the Saracen; so disloyal Mussulmans brought in the  
 Norman. In each case all that the immediate petition for  
 help really did was to fix the immediate time and place of  
 an invasion which was already planning. The blow would  
 before long have assuredly fallen in some other time and

τα, κ.τ.λ. The mission of Kadmos is doubtless a fact, and there seems no  
 reason to question its alleged object

Gelôn sent him (Herod. vii. 164) διὰ δαμυσσένης τὴν αἰ αὐτοῦ ἑλλην  
 αὐτῶν τοῦτων (See above, p. 110.) His coming back with the money is  
 thus described; ἐπὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δικαίωσι τοῖσι ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἐργασμένοι καὶ  
 τότε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τοῦτων εἰλείπειν. κρατήσας γὰρ μεγάλων χρημάτων τῶν  
 αἰ Γέλον ἐπετρέπετο, παρὲν αὐτοσχέστου, οὐκ ἠθέλησε.

CHAP. VI place. So it was now. An application from Sicily for Carthaginian help in local warfare brought the fleet of Carthage at the particular moment when it came, and led it to the north side of the island, instead of to the south. It cannot have done more.

**Treason of** The immediate traitor to Hellas in this case was Têrillos  
**Têrillos of** of Himera, the forerunner alike of Euphêmios and of Iba-  
**Himera.** Th mra, the man who plays in the West the part which Hippias of Athens plays in the East. In each case it is a banished tyrant who calls in the barbarian. Têrillos had been driven out of Himera by the lord of Akragas. Whether Thêrôn had simply annexed Himera to the dominions of Akragas, or whether he had been called in by a Himeraian party as a deliverer from a local master, we have no means of judging<sup>1</sup>. But Têrillos had ties of hospitality with the Carthaginian Hamilkar son of Hannôn, who then held the post of Shophet, and, as such, is spoken of by the Greek writers as king<sup>2</sup>. Hamilkar was the son of a Syracusan mother<sup>3</sup>. This may or may-not imply that, in the days when the Phœnician powers were not yet dangerous to eastern Sicily, the right of *connubium* had been established between Syracuse and Carthage. Têrillos was zealously supported by his father-in-law Anaxilas of Rhêgion and Zanklâ. The lord of two Greek cities

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 165 *ὅτε Θήματα τοῦ Αἰναιδῆμον Ἀκραγαντίων μονάρχου ἐλασθεὶς ἐξ Ἱμέρης Τήμλλος ὁ Κριτίωνος, τέραντος ἐὼν Ἱμέρης*. Grote (v. 295) and Holm (i. 205) both suggest the action of a party in Himera.

<sup>2</sup> The great host of Carthage had στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμίλκω τὸν Ἀνακτοῦ, Καρχηδονίαν ἐόντα βασιλέα (Herod. vii. 165). His addrs (166), βασιλεύσαντα καὶ ἐνδοναυτίῳ Καρχηδονίῳ.

Should his name be written *Hamilkar* or *Amilkar*? Movers (i. 615) and others make the name *חמלק*, like Obadiah, Obad-edom, Abd-al-Hamid, like *Γίδχριστ*, *Χριστιδουλος*, or the Persian *Tahnasp-Kouâ Khm*. In English transliteration the *y* is commonly left out, and I have written *Adadrubal* for *Ἰδδρὺβ*, like *Assarab*. But I have surely seen the name somewhere connected, not with *חמלק*, but with *חמל*, like *Hemibal*.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. vii. 166; Καρχηδονίαν ἐόντα σφδς σφδς, μητρίδην δὲ Συρακυσίαν.

earnestly pressed Hamilkar to an expedition against Sicily: CRAP. VI. he went so far as to give his children as hostages for his own faithfulness to the Phœnician cause<sup>1</sup>. We thus Comparison with old Greece. find the same kind of division in Sicily which we find in Old Greece. The part of Athens and Sparta and the other patriotic cities is played by Syracuse and Akragas, while Anaxilas represents the medizing states of the motherland, as Térillos represents the banished Peisistratids. There is indeed one difference. Hippias came to Marathôn, and Thebes gave active help to Xerxês at Plataia; but we hear nothing of any share taken by Térillos or Anaxilas in the campaign of Himera. But Selinous, most likely as a dependency of Carthage, was either ready or was constrained to give help to the ruling city. It was Syracuse and Akragas, Gelôn and Thêrôn, Pre-eminence of Gelôn and Thêrôn. with the other cities over which Gelôn and Thêrôn ruled, on whom at this time fell the championship of Hellas in the West.

The fleet, with the motley host that it bore, set forth from Carthage. The figures, no more trustworthy than figures Numbers of the Punic army. in general, speak, besides the three hundred thousand fighting men, of perhaps two thousand ships of war, and three thousand vessels of burthen, carrying the stores of the host, and also the horses and the war-chariots<sup>2</sup>. The use of these The war-chariots. last Carthage would seem to have inherited from Jabin and the other warriors of the elder Canaan. Their mention now and in later times is perhaps a little startling; but they were seemingly used in the earlier Carthaginian

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 165; μέγιστα δὲ τὴν Ἀναξίλειον . . . προθυμίην, ὅς . . . τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τέκνα δοῦναι ὁμήρουσι Ἀμίλκαρ, ἐπὶ γὰρ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίαν, τιμωρέων τῷ κενθέρῳ.

<sup>2</sup> In Diod. xi. 20, for ἀσχιλίαν, as the number of the μεγάλα νῆες, most modern writers, as Busolt (ii. 267), seem silently to correct διακοσίαν. The larger number is clearly exaggerated; but one might have looked for something greater than the smaller. On the chariots see Judges i. 19, iv. 3.

CHAP. VI. campaigns before the elephants had been brought into use, as the chief means of breaking the ranks of the enemy. The suppliant from Himera is not spoken of at this stage, but it was surely he who directed the course of the voyage. The fleet of Hamilkar did not, as might have been expected, sail straight to the nearest side of Sicily, and at once strike a great blow by an attack on Akragas in company with the Greek allies of Carthage at Selinous. When Selinous was hostile, the grandson of Hamilkar made Lilybaion his landing-place<sup>1</sup>; but Selinous itself would seem the most obvious head-quarters for an attack on Akragas with Selinuntine help. But the cry for help had come from the fallen lord of Himera. His city was therefore chosen as the first point of attack. The campaign was to be waged on the northern, not on the southern, coast of Sicily. Thérôn, and through him Gelôn, could be attacked on either side.

The fleet at Panormos. This point being fixed, the obvious landing-place and centre of warfare was the chief seat of Phœnician power in the island. The fleet set sail for Panormos. On the voyage a storm arose which sank the vessels that carried the horses and chariots<sup>2</sup>. Though weakened in this arm, the main body sailed safely along the western coast of Sicily. It passed under the height of Eryx, and by the shore of inland Segesta. As Hamilkar entered the two-fold haven of Panormos, he is reported to have said that the war was over. His fear had been that the sea, which had thus far fought for the Greeks of Sicily, should altogether decide the struggle in their favour<sup>3</sup>. After three days spent at Panormos, the host set forth for Himera. The land force marched along the lower ground between the hills and the sea, while the fleet sailed in concert along the coast. Neither force seems to have met with

Saying of  
Hamilkar.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xiii. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. xi. 20.

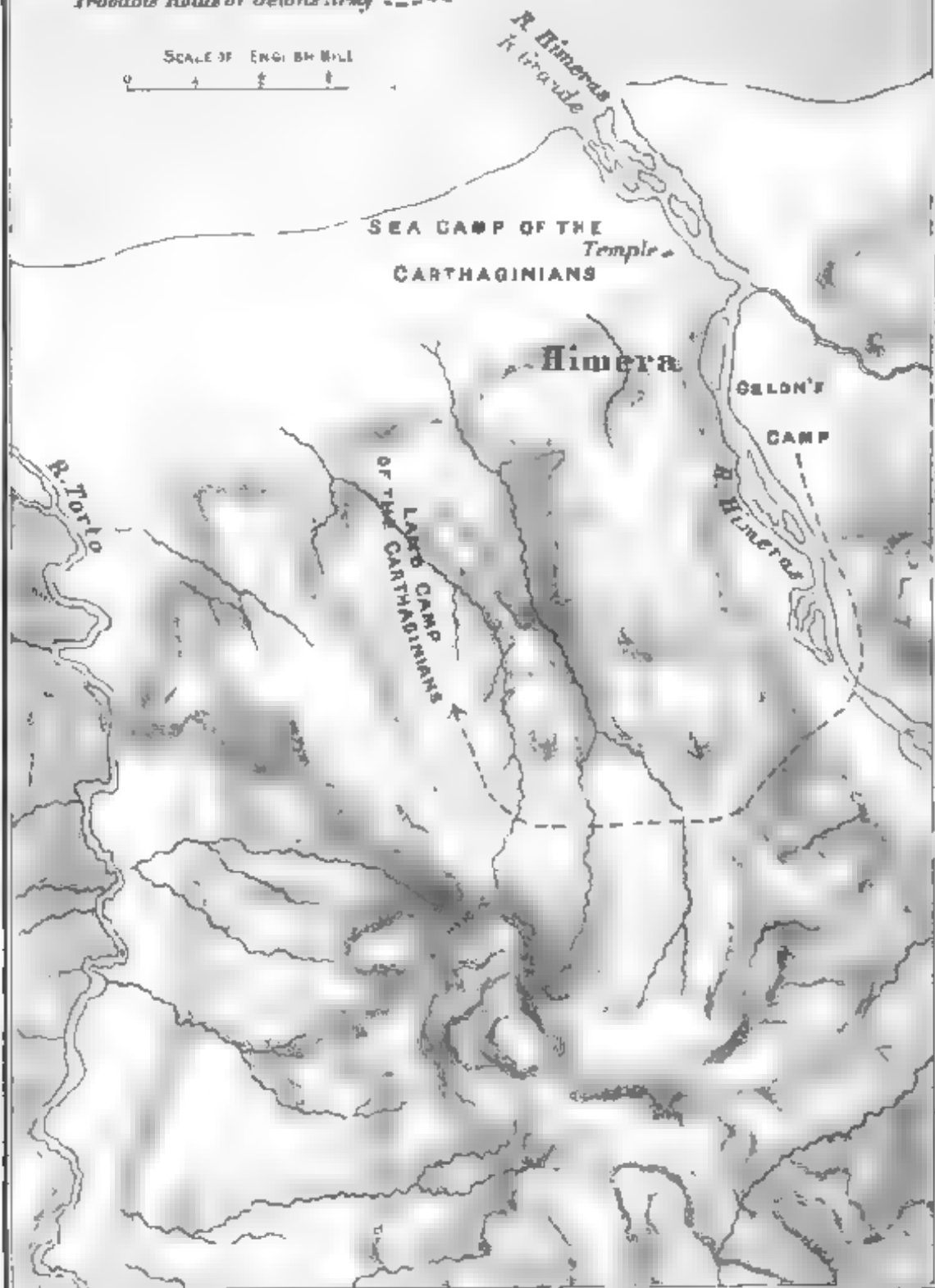
<sup>3</sup> Ib.; μήποτε ἡ θάλασσα τοῦσι Σικελιώταις ἐξέλῃται τῶν ποδῶν.



# BATTLE OF HIMERA

*Probable Route of Gelon's Army - - - -*

SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES  
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any opposition till they came close to the town of Himera, to which they at once laid siege on two sides.

CHAP. VI.  
Landing at  
Himera.  
Position of  
Himera.

Himera, as we have already seen<sup>1</sup>, lay on the left bank of the northern river of its own name, the modern *Fiume Grande*, between its mouth and that of the smaller stream of the *Fiume Torto*. It stood on the edge of the higher ground skirted by the present road from Palermo to Cefalù, with about a mile of flat ground between the town and the sea. The town was now, as we have seen, in possession of the lord of Akragas, and Thérôn in person was within its walls, in command of a large force<sup>2</sup>. His presence at Himera shows that he knew what was the intended point of Carthaginian attack; yet it may be that at the actual moment of Hamilkar's coming the attack was unexpected. Here was the main difference between the Persian invasion of old Greece and the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily. Xerxes could not strike a sudden blow. All his doings on his long march could not fail to be known to the whole world, and those whom he threatened could be ready for him at every point. But though the Sicilian Greeks had long known that a Punic invasion was coming, they could not tell the exact time and place where the blow would fall. The stroke might be sudden, and it seems to have been so. The Greek allies of Thérôn do not show themselves till later; the Greek allies of Hamilkar do not show themselves at all. Of Anaxilas we hear never a word; of Selinuntines we do hear that Hamilkar bade them by letter—sent perhaps from Panormos—to send their horse to Himera by a certain day, and that they sent back an answer, pledging themselves to do as he bade them<sup>3</sup>. Hamilkar was able to form a double

Thérôn at  
Himera.

Agreement  
of Hamil-  
kar with  
the Seli-  
nuntines.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 414.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xi. 20; Θέρων δ' Ἀκραγαντίνων δυνάστης ἔχων δύναμιν ἑαυτῶν καὶ παραφυλάττων τὴν Ἱμέραν.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. 21.

CHAP. VI. camp before Himera without hindrance. He occupied the low ground between the town and the sea by the mouth of the river. Here he drew the mass of his triremes on shore, and fenced them in with a deep ditch and a wall of wood<sup>1</sup>. For his land force he made another camp, which joined the camp by the sea on one side, but which stretched further inland<sup>2</sup>. While the sea-camp lay wholly between the hills of Himera and the sea, the land-camp spread itself so far that it altogether hemmed in the city on the western side<sup>3</sup>. That is to say, it must have stretched over the low hills to the west of the hill of Himera, and over the valley which parts them as far as the high ground to the south. And this is as much as saying that the city had already so far spread over the western part of its own hill as to have fortifications on that side<sup>4</sup>. On two sides therefore, west and north, Himera was fast shut in; but the language of our story in no way suggests that there was any regular investment of the town on the landward side to the south. Outposts of course there may have been, and the plunderers would doubtless be busy there. But there can hardly have been any greater operations. The hill, as we have seen<sup>5</sup>, dies away on that side very gradually into the general mass of ground, high and low. The valley to the west and the dale of the Himeras do not actually meet so as to isolate the hill; there is always something of an isthmus between them. The south side was therefore comparatively open; but this was not the side on which anything was likely to approach the city. It was to the east that Himera lay most open, alike

Double  
camp  
before  
Himera.

Extent of  
the land-  
camp;

of the city.

The town  
not fully  
sur-  
rounded.

The land-  
ward side  
open.

<sup>1</sup> *Diod. xi. 20; τάφρον βαθύην καὶ τεῖχος ξύλινον.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.; τὴν δὲ τῶν τεζόντων περιεβαλὼν ἐχύρυσεν, ἀντιπρόσωπον ποιήσας τῇ πόλει, καὶ παρατείνας ἀπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παρατυχίσματος μέχρι τῶν ὑπεραιμμένων λόφων.* These λόφοι I take to be the high points to the south.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.; πᾶσιν ὅλοις τῶν τὸ πρὸς θεσμὸς μέρει καταλαβόμενοι.*

<sup>4</sup> See vol. I. p. 416

<sup>5</sup> See vol. I. p. 415.



to Greek friends from Syracuse and to Greek enemies from Zanklê. Hamilkar however does not seem to have spread his lines to the east of the river. The sea-camp was to the north, the land-camp to the west. The ships of burthen had carried a stock of provisions which were brought on shore for immediate use; the vessels that carried it were sent off to Africa and Sardinia to fetch more<sup>1</sup>. The Phœnician part of Sicily is not spoken of; its contributions had most likely been already taken in during the stay at Panormos. Twenty triremes were not drawn on shore but were left afloat to keep watch against any sudden need<sup>2</sup>.

Having thus made his military arrangements for a siege, Hamilkar led out a picked body of men<sup>3</sup>—we should like to know which of all the nations gathered under his banners were specially chosen for such a service—to an attack on the city, perhaps rather to challenge its defenders to come forth and try their strength. A sally was made from Himera, most likely from its western side. Whether it was led by Thêrôn in person we are not told; but the battle or skirmish was unfavourable to the men of Himera or of Akragas. Not a few were slain, and the hearts of Thêrôn and his followers sank within them<sup>4</sup>. They shrank from any further unassisted attempts at resistance, and Thêrôn sent a message to his ally at Syracuse, praying him to come with all speed to the deliverance of Himera.

We know not whether Gelôn had been looking for a Carthaginian attack on Syracuse itself. On the one hand, he was fully equipped for immediate action; on the other,

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 26.

<sup>2</sup> This appears from Diod. xi. 24; εἰκοσι καὶς μακρὰ διέφυγον τὸν κίνδυνον, ὃς Ἀμίλκαρ εὖκ ἐνέωλεσε πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας. By this we must correct the words of c. 20, τὰς μακρὰς ναυς ἀπώσας ἐνέωλεσε.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. 20; τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνελθάν.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. 20; συνεπλήξατο τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὁ Θέρων φεβηθεῖς.

CHAP. VI.	the fact that he was at Syracuse and not at Himera seems to show that he had not looked for the blow to fall at the point where it did fall. During the time of waiting, his preparations had been busy and vigorous; but the only detail that we hear of is the sacrifice made by his wife Damareta and the other noble matrons of his dominions. They gave up their ornaments to the public service, and out of them a special coinage was struck for the payment of the troops, which bore the name of the wife of Gelôn <sup>1</sup> .
Gifts of Damareta and the matrons.	
Numbers of the Syracusan army.	His care had prospered so well that he had a host ready to march at the moment when the news came of the distress of Himera <sup>2</sup> . If figures are to be trusted, he set forth at the head of a greater force than he had offered to send to the help of Old Greece. That last was doubtless conceived as only part of the warlike strength of the lord of Syracuse, while the army that marched to Himera might seem to be the whole. The numbers are given as fifty thousand footmen, without distinction between heavy-armed and others, and five thousand horse. The great proportion of this last force, as compared with the armies of Sparta or even of Athens, marks the number of wealthy men in Syracuse and the other cities under Gelôn's rule, and further points to the special advantages of the horse-breeding land of Sicily. He pressed with all speed to Himera;
The cavalry.	
March to Himera.	

<sup>1</sup> Basolt (ii. 260) prefers, and I think rightly, this explanation, that of the lexicographers, Julius Pollux (ix. 85) and Hesychios (ν Ἀγμάρτιος), to the story in Diodorus, xi. 26. This last connects the coinage with the crown voted to Damareta after the victory. It is hard to see how the money could be coined out of that. Pollux mentions that other women had a share. See also the Scholiast on Pindar, Ol. ii. 29 (purporting to quote Timaeus); Ἀγμάρτιος ἀπ' ἧς καὶ τὸ Ἀγμάρτιον νόμισμα ἐν Σικελίᾳ. Bergk has found a reference in Simonides, Ep. 141, as he has corrected it by putting together the extracts in the Scholiast on Pyth. i. 155, and Sonides in Ἀσπίδος. He thus gives us two lines:

ἢ λατὸν λιγύον καὶ πενήκοντα τάλαντων  
 Ἀγμάρτιον χρυσῶν, τὰς δὲ τὰς δὲ τὰς.

But is it not a little harsh to make Ἀσπίδος an adjective?

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xi. 11; ὃ δὲ Γέλων καὶ αὐτὸς ἡγεμενὸς ἦν τῇ δυνάμει.

we should be glad to hear something of the details of his CHAP. VI. march. If he took a straight course, he would go right through the heart of the Sikel country and by Henna itself. Unluckily we are told nothing at this time of the No mention of Sikels. elder inhabitants of the land. We are left to guess that they stood aloof during this strife for the dominion of their soil between the two more fortunate nations which had planted themselves among them.

In the story, as it is told us, a story which of course Gelôn and Thêrôn. comes from Syracusan and not from Akragantine sources, there seems a certain disposition to put the energy of Gelôn in contrast with the faint-heartedness of Thêrôn. But we can hardly doubt that Gelôn really was the chief actor in the great deliverance that was coming. He drew near to Himera on the eastern side, doubtless along the broad valley of the winding river, gladdening the hearts of the besieged as they saw the relieving force draw near<sup>1</sup>. On the right bank of the river he pitched a camp of his Gelôn's camp. own, defended by a deep ditch and palisade, but keeping up a close communication with the besieged city. Himera was in short hemmed in between two camps, one of friends, the other of enemies<sup>2</sup>. The presence of the friendly army kindled again the spirits of the besieged, and, before risking the decisive struggle with the enemy, Gelôn took every means to keep up the hearts of all on his side. Till his coming, the defenders of Himera had ceased to venture beyond their walls, while marauders from the Punic camp spread freely over the whole country, foraging and plundering. It was a new thing for them when they were hunted down by the Syracusan horsemen and carried off as captives,

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 21, ἐποίησε θαρρεῖν τοὺς πρότερον καταπεληγμένους τὰς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὑπέρμας.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. ; αὐτοὶ στρατοπεδεῖαν οὐκίαν βαλόμενοι τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν τόπων, ναύτην μὲν ἀχύρῃσιν, τάφρον βαθεῖα καὶ χαρακώματι περιλαβάν. The site is not mentioned ; but it cannot fail to have been where I have put it in the text.

CHAP VI  
Gelôn  
and the  
prisoners.

to the number of ten thousand, into the Syracusan camp<sup>1</sup>. It must have been now, if ever, that Gelôn practised the device which is attributed to him, as it is to some later Greek generals, of selling his prisoners naked. Men used to the games of Greece were to be shown the difference between themselves and their enemies, above all, between themselves and the swarthy Africans<sup>2</sup>. We are told too that Thérôn, in his fright, had blocked up all the gates of Himera. Gelôn caused them to be opened again, and even made fresh openings in the walls<sup>3</sup>. In all these ways Gelôn raised the spirits of the men of Himera; they had found a chief whom they could trust, and they no longer shrank from the enemy<sup>4</sup>.

We opens  
the blocked  
gates.

The Battle  
of HIMERA.  
B. C. 480.

Himera  
and Sala-  
mis.

At last the great day came, the day that was to decide, for a season at least, whether Sicily, or any part of it, was to remain within the bounds of the European world. We would still fain believe that the twofold salvation of Hellas was wrought on the same day in East and West. We would still hope that, on the same morning when the Hellenic psœan was echoed back from the island rock of Salamis<sup>5</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 21; οὕτως [οἱ ἑσπεῖς] παραδόντες ἐπιφανέστες διεσπαρμένοι ἀπέναντι κατὰ τὴν χώραν.

<sup>2</sup> Front. Strat. l. ii. 18; "Gelo, Syracusanorum tyrannus, bello adversus Pœnos suscepto cum multos cepisset, infirmisimum quemque, præcipue ex auxiliariis qui nigerrimi erant, nudatum in conspectum suorum produxit, ut persuaderent contempnendos." The "auxiliares" (ἐόμμαχοι) seem to be opposed both to πολιτικοί and to μισθοῖ. The same story is told of Agésilas (Xen. Ag. i. 28), only this time the barbarians were not "nigerrimi" but λευκοί, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ εὐχέλεια. One begins to think of some later Greeks and Albanians.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. xi. 21; ἀπώσαν τὰς πύλας, ἃς διὰ φόβον πρότερον ἀνγκοδόμησαν οἱ περὶ Θέρωνα, ταύτας ταθναστῶν διὰ τὴν καταφρόνησιν ἐξηκολόγησαν καὶ ἄλλαι προσκατασκεύασαν.

<sup>4</sup> Th.

<sup>5</sup> Æsch. Pers. 388;

πρῶτον μὲν ἤχοι πέλαδες Ἑλλήνων ἑέρα  
μολπηδὸν εὐφήμεσαν, ὄρθιον δ' ἄμα  
ἀντηλάλαξε νησιότιδος τέτρας  
ἤχη.

when the Hellenic trireme, be she of Athens or of Aigina it skills not, dashed hard her brazen prow into the defences of the ship of old Phœnicia<sup>1</sup>, at that self-same moment the horsemen and the spearmen of Syracuse and Akragas were pressing forward in the same cause against enemies of the self-same stock. Hellas against Canaan, the elder Hellas against the elder Canaan, the younger against the younger—that was the cause to be judged on that memorable day. Of the work of that day by the shore of Himera we have two tales. It is not easy to bring them into exact agreement, above all as regards the fate of the Phœnician leader. Herodotus gives us one story as the Carthaginian version, but implies that the Syracusans told another tale<sup>2</sup>. That other tale has been handed down to us by the native historian of Sicily. We have the two to compare; to reconcile them is a harder task.

CHAP. VI.

The two stories of the battle.

From the Carthaginian version we learn no details of the ups and downs of the battle. We hear only that men fought on from morning till evening, and that night closed on the utter rout of the motley host of Carthage<sup>3</sup>. The Greek of Sicily, fighting for his own soil, was too strong for the barbarian of Libya fighting at his master's bidding, too strong for the barbarian of Spain or Gaul or Italy, selling himself for the hire which he was not to handle. Meanwhile, in the Semitic version, a version which breathes a truly Semitic spirit in every word, the Shophet of Carthage is painted after the likeness of Moses and

The Carthaginian version.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the two stories in Herodotus (viii. 64) with the verses in Æschylus which most concerns us (Pers. 409), which leaves it open;

. . . ἦρξε δ' ἐμβυλὴν Ἑλληνικὴν  
ναῦς, καποθράσει πάντα Φοινίσσης νεὸς  
κέρυμβ'

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XX.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus, it will be remembered (see above, p. 160), places the fight of Himera on the same day as the fight of Salamis. On that day vii. 167), οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ἐμάχοντο ἐξ ἧσιν ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι δειλῆς ὥρης· ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ γὰρ λέγεται ἐλθεῖν τὴν δύσταν.

CHAP. VI. Samuel, rather than after that of Joshua and Saul. While the fight was waging, Hamilkar abode in his camp by the shore. He had a great sacrifice to do to Baal, a sacrifice which would work more mightily for the cause of the worshippers of Baal than aught that he could do in the fight with his single arm. A huge fire was kindled, and, hour after hour, Hamilkar kept on making his offerings to the gods of Carthage. On such a day as this it was not enough to give to the heavenly powers some small part of the victims' flesh, while their worshippers feasted on the rest. Whole-burnt-offering upon whole-burnt-offering, bodies—were they of man or beast? were they alive or dead?—cast without stint into the flame, were the devout offerings of the Judge of Carthage. And hour after hour the gods of his race seemed to smile on him; lucky omens steadily showed themselves to the inquiring soothsayers<sup>1</sup>. But Zeus on the hill of Akragas, Athênê in the island of Syracuse, were that day too strong for Baalim and Ash-taroath. At the moment when Hamilkar, after so many gifts to the flames, was pouring forth his drink-offering, he looked from his camp, and saw his army scattered before the pursuit of victorious Hellenes. Then he made yet one more offering, and one more costly than all. The life of the Shophet of Carthage was due to Carthage; Hamilkar threw himself into the fire and was seen no more<sup>2</sup>. Search far and wide was made for him at the bidding of the conqueror, but nowhere on earth was the Punic leader to be found living or dead<sup>3</sup>. But the gods

The sacri-  
fice of  
Hamilkar.

Defeat of  
the Car-  
thaginians.

Self-  
sacrifice of  
Hamilkar.

<sup>1</sup> There is something wonderfully striking in the picture drawn by Herodotus (vñ. 167. . ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκαρις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χρόνῳ μένων ἐν τῇ στρατο-  
νήῃσιν ἐβριετο καὶ ἐπαλλασσέμετο, ἐπὶ περὶς μεγάλην σάματα ἔλα καταγίζον. On  
the σάματα ἔλα see Grote, v. 297.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 166; ὅς τ' ἡ συμβολή τι ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς ἔισσεντο τῇ μάχῃ ἀφανισθῆναι  
πισθάνομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶντα οὔτε ἀποθανόντα φανῆναι· οὐδαμοὶ γῆς τὸ τῶν  
γὰρ ἐπιτελεῖν διζήμενος Γέλων. See Appendix XX.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. 167; ἰδὼν δὲ τροπὴν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ γενομένην, ὡς ἔτυχε ἐπισπένδων  
ταῖσι ἱράσι, ὥς ἐωυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ· οὕτω δὲ κατακαίεοντα ἀφανισθῆναι.

whom he served gave him his reward. The city which CHAP. VI. might have nailed him to the cross if he had come back to tell the tale of his army's overthrow could honour the man who so strangely gave his life for her. In every Honours colony and dependency of Carthage memorials were raised paid to him. to Hamilkar son of Hannôn; in Carthage itself arose the proudest memorial of all. He who had so bountifully served the gods himself received the offerings due to a hero<sup>1</sup>; and seventy years later his grandson offered a richer offering still to avenge Hamilkar's death on the spot where he had died.

The tale of the self-sacrifice of Hamilkar is so over- Estimate of the story. whelmingly grand in itself that it is a comfort that it suggests no hard questions of topography. It happened, or it did not happen. It might have happened anywhere. If it happened anywhere at Himera, it certainly happened on the low ground between the hills and the sea. The Syracusan version. tale which was told at Syracuse goes into far greater detail, and it needs some pains to adapt it to the circumstances of the ground. The Syracusan and the Carthaginian version cannot be reconciled; yet the two have a common element in this, that a great sacrifice offered by Hamilkar forms a leading feature in each. As the tale was told in the Greek tongue, the Shophet of Carthage made ready, on the shore of one of the seas of Hellas, to sacrifice with all pomp and costliness to the Hellenic ruler of the waters. A day was announced for a great Hamilkar's sacrifice to Poseidôn sacrifice to Poseidôn<sup>2</sup>. In this version the place of offering would seem to be the temple of which the remains still exist on the left bank of the Himeras<sup>3</sup>. The day fixed

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 167; Καρχηδόνιοι τοῦτο μὲν οἱ θύουσι, τοῦτο δὲ μνήματα ἐποίησαν ἐν πόρει τῆσι πολισι τῶν Ἀκαϊδῶν, ἐν αὐτῇ τε μέγιστον Καρχηδόνι.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xi. 21; τοῦ Ἀμίλκα διατρέποντος μὲν κατὰ τὴν ναυτικὴν στρατοπεδείαν, παρασκευαζομένων δὲ θύειν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι μεγαλοπρεπῶς.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. i pp. 415, 416.

CHAP. VI. for this act of worship to the gods of the enemy was the day on which the horsemen of Selinous had promised to show themselves in the Carthaginian camp. The Greek god could not be worshipped in due order unless men familiar with the Hellenic religion were there to guide his Phœnician worshippers in the unaccustomed rites of Hellas. But that day the teachers were lacking. The letters sent from Selinous to Hamilkar fell into the hands of Gelôn<sup>1</sup>. The lord of Syracuse knew how to improve such a chance. He sent out horsemen of his own by night. They were bidden to show themselves before the camp as the expected contingent from Selinous. Once within the wooden wall, they were to slay Hamilkar and to set fire to the ships that had been drawn on shore. Scouts were set on the hills. When they saw the Greek horsemen within the Phœnician camp, they were to raise a concerted signal from the heights. The difficulty in this account is that, though there are neighbouring heights to the south higher than the town, yet there are none from which the ground between the town and the sea can be seen. We must therefore suppose, odd as the phrase sounds, that the heights spoken of are those of the town itself, as compared with the camp of Gelôn pitched below in the dale of the Himera. When the time came, when the horsemen had made their way into the sea-camp of the enemy, Gelôn himself was to lead the main body of his army to attack their other camp on the low western hills.

The Syracusan horsemen admitted to the Punic camp. The scheme was successfully carried out. The night before the day appointed for the coming of the Selnuntines, Syracusan horsemen, under cover of the darkness, made a roundabout march, most likely by an inland

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 21 (see above, p. 187): *ἤσαν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἱππεῖς ἀγόντες πρὸς τὸν Γέλωνα βιβλιαφόρον, ἐπιστολάς κομίζοντα παρὰ Σελινουσίων, ἐν αἷς ἦν γεγραμμένον ὅτι πρὸς ἣν ἔγραφον ἡμέραν Ἀμίλκαρ ἀποστείλαι τοὺς ἱππεῖς, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκτέμνουσιν.*



course south of the city, which brought them to the CHAP. VI.  
western side of the Punic sea-camp. The morning came;  
and, when the sun rose, the horsemen, not of Selinous but  
of Syracuse, were ready before the gate. None suspected  
the trick. Dorian Greeks were looked for, and Dorian  
Greeks were there; the keepers of the gates welcomed the  
contingent of the faithful dependency. Once within the  
walls, the work began. Hamilkar was, it would seem,  
standing ready for the pious duties of the festival, waiting  
for the coming of his Greek allies to offer his victims to  
Poseidôn with the dawn of day. But, instead of allies, Death of  
Hamilkar  
and burn-  
ing of the  
ships.  
the destroyer was upon him. The enemy was within the  
camp, the Shophet himself was slain before the altar,  
fire was set to the ships; the signal from the hills told  
Gelôn that one part of the work was done, and that the  
time was come for him to take that share in it which he  
had allotted to himself<sup>1</sup>.

Gelôn was waiting for the call, whether in his camp on Gelôn  
attacks the  
land-camp.  
the right bank of the Himéras or at any point nearer to  
the expected scene of action. The most obvious path from  
that camp to the land-camp of the Carthaginians would  
be by the landward side, over the isthmus, so to speak,  
which parts the western valley from the dale of the  
Himéras. At whatever point, Gelôn was ready with his  
host marshalled for battle; and, by whatever course, he  
made his way with all the speed in his power to the Punic  
land-camp. The officers left there in command led out their  
troops to meet him, and the stout barbarians of Europe  
and Africa fought manfully from the small vantage-  
ground which was given them by the low hills on which  
they were encamped. The great struggle of the day was  
now come, on the ground westward of the city.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 12; εὐθὺς προσδραμόντες τῇ Ἀμίλκῃ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν γυνομένην  
τούτων μὲν ἀνάλας, τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἐνέπρησαν, ἔπειτα τῶν σκεπῶν ἀράντων τὸ  
σίσημα, κ.τ.λ.

CHAP. VI. The battle is described to us with much life, but only in general terms. The trumpets sounded on both sides; the war-shouts went up; Greek and barbarian strove which should rend the skies with a mightier cry<sup>1</sup>. The contending hosts swayed backwards and forwards; victory was long uncertain<sup>2</sup>. This general picture is all that we have; but the fight of Himera must have been one of no small moment in the history of warfare. It must have been a trial of tactics and weapons; it must even have been in some sort a forerunner of the days of Kynoskephalai and Pydna. The men of the Greek phalanx, not yet marshalled with the full skill that was to come in after days in Thebes and Macedon, but already practising the Dorian tactics of shield and spear, had to strive, perhaps against the claymore of Gaul, certainly against the short stabbing-sword whose use the Iberian taught to the Roman. The day was undecided when the flames from the burning ships rose to their height, and when men came from the sea-camp with the news of the death of Hamikar. The hearts of the Greeks were stirred and quickened. Strong in the hope of victory, they pressed on more fiercely<sup>3</sup>. The barbarians gave way and took to flight. It was now perhaps that for a moment fortune seemed again to turn to the side of Carthage. The Greeks burst into the camp; it seemed an easy prey, they were scattered after the rich plunder of the Carthaginian tents. But the stoutest of barbarians, the Spanish swordsmen, had either not given way, or had formed again. They fell on the disordered Sikeliots, and

CHAP. VI.

The battle.

Contrast of weapons.

Success of the Greeks.

The barbarians rally in the camp.

<sup>1</sup> Died. xl. 22. Wherever Diodorus got his picture, whether from Timaios or from any one earlier, it is at least a vigorous one; *ὁμοῦ δὲ ταῖς σάλπιγγιν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ταῖς στρατοπέδοις ἐσήμενον τὸ πολέμευον καὶ κραυγὴ τῶν δυναμένων ἑναλλὰξ ἐγένετο, φιλοτιμουμένων ἀμφοτέρων τῷ μεγέθει τῆς βοῆς ὑπερῶρα τοὺς ἀντισταγμένους.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*; *τῆς μάχης διῦρο κἀκείσε ταλαστενομένη.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*; *ἀφρα τῇ κατὰ τὰς ταύς φλογὶ ἀρθείσῃ εἰς ὕψος, καὶ τινῶν ἀπαγχειλάντων τὸν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φερον, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἐθάρρησαν.*

slew not a few. And now came the turn of Thérôn and the men of Akragas to play their part in the day's work <sup>1</sup>. Perhaps they had been left to guard the city; at any rate they are spoken of as acting as a separate division of the army. The lord of Akragas fetched a compass to the further west, and came upon the camp behind the spot where Greek and barbarian were still struggling, to the advantage of the barbarian. Thérôn's men set fire to the tents; even the brave Iberians, attacked on both sides, now lost heart, and sought refuge in the ships which were still afloat <sup>2</sup>.

CHAP. VI

The battle decided by Thérôn's force.

Those who found such a shelter as this were the exceptionally lucky ones in the defeated army. The great mass fled hither and thither; the orders of Gelôn were to spare none. Figures again are dangerous; but the men of Syracuse and Akragas boasted that half the Carthaginian army, a hundred and fifty thousand barbarians of every race, were slaughtered in the flight and in the pursuit. A body of those who escaped sought shelter on a rocky height among the hills, and there for a while strove to defend themselves. The spot has been looked for on the height of Calogero, between the site of Himera and its Baths. Wherever the spot was, the height was waterless; thirst soon drove its defenders to surrender <sup>3</sup>. Others were scattered hither and thither, and were gradually brought in by the victors as part of the plunder. The few who reached the ships that were at anchor strove to sail to Africa. It is perhaps a legendary addition which tells how the sea again fought for Scily—Poseidôn had at least not hearkened to his alien worshipper—how the ships on their voyage were broken by another storm,

Slaughter and pursuit.

News brought to Carthage.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XX.

<sup>2</sup> This comes out in c. 24; πολλοὶ τῶν φεγγάντων ἀναλαβοῦσαι [αὐτοῖς]

<sup>3</sup> Diodôros (xi. 21) says only ἐπὶ τινι ἑνὶ ἄρμυρῳ. Holm (l. 107) suggests Calogero with much likelihood.

CHAP. VI. and how the news of the day of Himera was brought to Carthage by a few men in a small boat<sup>1</sup>. That boat is clearly the fellow of that other boat in which Xerxes crossed the Hellespont. Such a tale is hardly needed to swell the greatness of either of the twin victories of that great day. At Himera, as at Salamis, Hellas had won. And in one way Himera was more than Salamis; no Plataia was needed to finish the work. For seventy years from the day of that great deliverance, the Phœnician settlements in Sicily remained, with the slightest exceptions, harmless neighbours of the Greeks.

Salamis  
and  
Himera.

Rewards  
of the  
army.

Gifts to  
the gods;  
at Himera.

Hellas had vanquished Canaan, and Hellas, so much at least of her as had gone to make a new Hellas on Sicilian soil, had now to pay her duty of thanks and offerings to the gods and the men who had fought for her. First and foremost among mortal deliverers were the Syracusan horsemen who had made their way into the camp of Hamilkar, and who had dyed the altar, whether of Moloch or of Poseidôn, with the blood of his chief worshipper. For them, and for all who had done good work in the fight, Gelôn had fitting gifts and badges of military prowess<sup>2</sup>. But all the allied troops received their share of the spoil; the countless captives were meted out as not the least precious part of it<sup>3</sup>. No small share of the trophies were nailed up in the chief temples of Himera as an offering to

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 24; ολίγοι δὲ τινες ἐν μικρῷ σκάφει διασπέντες εἰς Καρχηδόνα, διεσέφθησαν τοῖς πολίταις, σύντομον ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἀπόφασιν, ὅτι πάντες οἱ διαβάντες εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπολώλασιν. So in the parallel case (Æsch. Pers. 254) the ἀπόφασις is σύντομος enough;

... ἀνάγκη τῶν ἀναπτόμεν πάθος,  
Πέρσαι, στρατὸς γὰρ πῶς ἐλαλε βαρβάρων.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xi. 25; τοὺς τε ἰππεὺς τοὺς ἀναλόντας τὸν Ἀμίλκαρ θυρεαῖς ἐτίμησε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἠνδραγαθηκότας ἀριστείοις ἐκόσμησε. Soemingly all the horsemen and some of the others.

<sup>3</sup> Ib., τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ [τῶν λαφύρων] μετὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων διεμέρισε τοῖς συμμάχοις.

the gods who had kept the walls of their city. But the greatest and most brilliant share of the captive shields and weapons was carried home to Syracuse, to enrich the holy places of the Island and the Olympieion, and of the newer city that was springing up at Gelon's bidding<sup>1</sup>. With the spoils of victory, at the head of his victorious army, the lord of Syracuse marched back to his capital. He entered, doubtless by the gate in the wall of his own building, in all the glory of the deliverer of Hellenic Sicily.

On that solemn day of triumph, the victor of Himera, tyrant as he was, could afford to bear himself as other than a tyrant. At such a moment he could venture to call together the whole folk of Syracuse, doubtless in the wide *agora* between the hill and the harbour, which he had made the meeting-place of the enlarged city. Thither pressed the mixed multitude who owed their citizenship to his gift; thither pressed those older citizens, patrician and plebeian, to each of whom he had at least given freedom from the rule of their immediate rivals. On that day, the Corinthian sprung from a comrade of Archias, the enfranchised Sikeli who had helped to drive him forth to Kasmenai, the last mercenary from whatever land whose stout blows dealt at Gelon's bidding had won him a place on the burgher-roll of Syracuse—all would join with one heart and with one soul to welcome the deliverer of all. On that day Gelon could trust them all. He bade each man come to the assembly girded with his weapons; he alone stood among them unarmed, in no pomp of military or civic command, in the simplest garb of a citizen's daily life<sup>2</sup>. Our thoughts are carried on to that armed assembly

CHAP. VI.

at Syracuse.

Return of Gelon to Syracuse.

His appeal to the people.

The armed assembly; Gelon unarmed.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 25; τῶν δὲ λαφύρων τὰ καλλιστεύοντα περιφύλαξε βουλόμενος τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις τοὺς κοσμήσαι τοῖς σκέλοις τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ἐν Ἱμέραις προσήλωσε τοῖς ἐπιφανιστάτοις τῶν ἱερῶν. We mourn the loss of all the temples of Himera, save our one fragment.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 26; συνήγαγε ἐκκλησίαν προστάξας πάντας ὁπαιστῶν μετὰ τῶν

CHAP. VI. which welcomed returning Godwine beneath the walls of London, or rather to the crowds which, on the day of Lepanto and the day of Vienna, greeted the man sent from God whose name was John. Before that multitude Gelôn, like Sulla, made his full defence, his *apologia pro vita sua*<sup>1</sup>. His later days needed no counsel for the defence; but one would have been well pleased to hear him cross-examined either by a son of Hippokratês or by a man of Megara who had escaped from the slave-market. But in that hour of victory and thankfulness there was no accuser. Each action of Gelôn's life, as he described it, was listened to with admiring shouts. The tyrant stood before them, an easy mark for a Syracusan Melanippos or Harmodios; but the tyrant was forgotten in the deliverer. With one shout of joy men greeted Gelôn with the titles which men gave to the immortal gods, titles which in after days were more freely lavished on mortal princes. They hailed him as benefactor, as saviour, and as king<sup>2</sup>.

His de-  
fence.

Acclama-  
tions of the  
assembly.

Question  
of Gelôn's  
kingship. Now are we in this list name to see a formal vote of the Syracusan commonwealth bestowing a definite rank and authority on the victorious general of the commonwealth<sup>3</sup>? There is something to be said on both sides. From this moment the writer whom we have chiefly to follow in these times changes his mode of speech. From henceforth he always speaks of Gelôn and his successors as kings, and of their dominion as a kingdom<sup>4</sup>. Nor can we forget the traces of abiding or restored kingship which we have seen in other Sikeliot cities and elsewhere among the scattered settlements of Greece<sup>5</sup>. Still, on the whole, it

δωλον. αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μόνον τῶν δωλον γυμνὰ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἦλθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄχων ἐν ἱματίῳ προσελθὼν, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>1</sup> Diud. xi. 26; ἀπελογήσαντο περὶ πάντων τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοῖους.

<sup>2</sup> Ib., τοσούτων ἀπέχετο τοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν τιμωρίας ὡς τύραννος, ὥστε μὴ φανῇ πῶτας ἀποκαλεῖν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ βασιλέα.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix XIII. <sup>4</sup> See Appendix XIII. <sup>5</sup> See Appendix I.

seems safer not to look on Gelón as clothed with any formal kingship over Syracuse or over any other spot on the earth's surface. We may rather conceive him as for the moment lifted up altogether above mortal men by titles which he shared with Zeus and the other dwellers on Olympus. Men would then hail a victorious chief as *Euergetés*, *Sôtér*, *Basileus*, as in other times they might have hailed him as *Imperator*. There was at least none on earth greater than he. When Belisarius in later days, and when Roger in days later still, came to Syracuse in Gelón's steps, titles had so far stiffened by usage that to have hailed them as men now hailed Gelón would have been treason against an absent sovereign or overlord.

The somewhat theatrical element in this otherwise striking story, the appearance of Gelón, unarmed and lightly clad, before the armed multitude, was the part which most struck men's fancies in later times. It has put on more than one variety of legendary shape. In some of the tales no reference at all is made to Gelón's position as victor at Himera. In one, at which we have already glanced, the appeal becomes the mere trick of a candidate for power by which Gelón the general is able to turn himself into Gelón the tyrant<sup>1</sup>. Here the circumstances are wholly misunderstood. In another version Gelón is already tyrant, but a mild tyrant. Hearing of a plot against his power, he calls together the citizens to an armed assembly, and himself comes before them in full armour. He tells them what he has done for them; he tells them also of the plot against him. He then strips off his armour; he stands defenceless before them, and bids them deal with him as they may think good<sup>2</sup>. They

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 137, and Appendix XIII.

<sup>2</sup> This story comes from Ælian, Var. Hist. xiii. 37. Gelon τῷ τῷ ἀρχῇ παύσασαι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπε; but στρατιώταις τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν πλοῦντο. Then comes the scene in the assembly winding up with the words, δίδωμι χρῆσθαι ὅτι βούλεσθε.

CHAP. VI. confirm his power by a formal act<sup>1</sup>. They also give over his enemies to him, and he gives them back to the citizens for their own judgement<sup>2</sup>. In a third version, which comes nearer to the real state of the case, Gelôn, victor at Himera, master of all Sicily, comes unarmed into the assembly, and offers to give up his power<sup>3</sup>. The citizens refuse the offer; they had found him no monarch, but a popular ruler<sup>4</sup>. In neither of these two latter stories is there any mention of the title of king. But they both seem to point to some tradition of a formal act of some kind following the great victory, an act by which the power of Gelôn was put on a more legal footing than before. And it is said that the appearance of Gelôn in his undress was commemorated by a statue, perhaps that which in Timoleôn's days was picked out for special honour, when the forms of other Syracusan rulers were defaced. For men still knew and revered the name of him who had smitten the Carthaginians at Himera<sup>5</sup>.

Statue of  
Gelôn.

Tales of  
Gelôn's  
designs to  
give help  
to Greece.

But even that praise did not seem enough for some of the Sicilian admirers of Gelôn. That the lord of Syracuse had no share in the fight of Salamis was no blame to him; yet men felt as if he ought to have been there, that, in his

<sup>1</sup> *Ælian*, V. H. xiii. 37; τὴν ἀρχὴν ἱδρυσεν.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*; τοῖσιν ἐπέστρεψε τῶν δὴμῶν τιμωρήσασθαι.

<sup>3</sup> This is in the same collection, vi. 11; Γέλων ἐν Ἰμέρᾳ νικήσας τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, πᾶσις ὅφ' ἑαυτὸν τὴν Σικελίαν ἐποικίσσας, εἶτα ἰλθὼν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν γυμνὸς ἔφατο ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς πολιταῖς τὴν ἀρχήν.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*; οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἤθελον, δηλονότι πεπιπυμένῳ αὐτοῦ δημοτικωτέρῳ ἢ κατὰ τὴν τῶν μονάρχων ἔξουσίαν.

<sup>5</sup> The statue is mentioned in both the stories in *Ælian*. In the one he is γυμνός, in the other ἐν δέξασθαι χιτῶνι. But in *Diodorus* he is ἀχίρων ἐν ἱματίῳ. According to one tale the statue is set up ἐν τῇ τῆς Σικελίας Ἦρᾳ νεῖῳ (see *Holm*, *Topografia di Siracusa*, 186). The story in *Plutarch*, *Tim.* 23, speaks only of Γέλωνος ἀνδρείας τοῦ παλαιοῦ τυράντου. They spared him, ἀγέμετοι καὶ τιμῶντες τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς νίκης ᾗ πρὸς Ἰμέρα Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκησεν.

On one of his stories *Ælian*, or the writer whom he copied, makes the comment; ᾗ τοῦτο τῆς δημαγωγίας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ μνημῆμα καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνα μέλλουσιν ὄρχειν βίδαγμα.



own phrase, the year of Hellas was not perfect without its spring. Tales therefore arose that, even after he had sent away the envoys, he was still minded to send help to the Greek allies, if the coming of the host of Hamilkar had not hindered him<sup>1</sup>. And this no doubt is true in a sense. Gelôn might likely enough have taken his part at Salamis, if he had not been needed at Himera. Another tale is told how, after Himera, when his own land was safe, he was minded to help the land of his fathers. He was making ready for the new enterprise, his fleet was on the point of sailing, when news came from the mother city of Syracuse that his help was no longer needed<sup>2</sup>. Tales like these do not get beyond the region of surmises; they simply show what men thought that the ideal course of history would have been. The true light in which to look on the victors of Salamis and the victors of Himera is that in which they themselves claimed to stand, that in which the men of their own day placed them. The Eastern and the Western Greeks were fellow-workers in the same cause, working to free Hellas in both her seats from the attacks of barbarian enemies. Well did the verse of Simônides, graven on the votive tripod of Gelôn, tell how the four sons of Deinomenês, victorious over barbarian nations, gave a helping hand to the freedom of Hellas<sup>3</sup>.

Historic  
position of  
the victory  
of Himera.

Verses of  
Simônides  
and  
Pindar.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 165 λέγεται δὲ καὶ τότε τὸν τῶν ἐν Συρακῇ οἰκημένων, ὃν ὄνομα καὶ μέλλων ἀρχισθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Γέλων ἐβρόθήσῃ ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, εἰ μὴ, κ.τ.λ. It is in this oddly casual way that Herodotus brings in the whole story of the Carthaginian invasion, beginning with the driving out of Têrillus by Thêrôn.

<sup>2</sup> According to those whom Diodôros (xi. 26) followed, Gelôn παρσκευάζετο πολλὰ δυνάμει πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ συμμαχεῖν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν ἤδη δὲ τούτου μέλλοντος ποιῆσθαι τὴν ἀναγωγὴν κατέπλευσάν τινες ἐκ Κορίνθου. The news was of the flight of Salamis and the flight of Xerxês; yet surely the horsemen of Syracuse might have been useful at Plataia.

<sup>3</sup> The lines of Simônides on the tripod offered by the brothers Schol. Pyth. i. 155, Bergk, ii. 485) have been already referred to (see p. 190) in their financial aspect. The four brothers, Gelôn, Hierôn, Polyzêlos, and

CHAP VI. Well did Pindar sing the common praise of all who had rescued Hellas from heavy bondage. Of Athens and her glory he would sing at Salamis; of Sparta he would sing at the foot of Kithairôn, where the Median bowmen fell. And to the sons of Deinomenês the hymn should rise by the well-watered coast of Himera, to tell how by their deeds of arms the foemen perished<sup>1</sup>. And we may notice that it is Syracuse and her lord, her lord and all his brethren, who stand forth as the champion princes of the champion city<sup>2</sup>. Akragas and Thêrôn pale before them. Gelôn and Thêrôn. Gelôn is the deliverer; Thêrôn is simply delivered. We have ventured to liken the lord of Syracuse to the prince who delivered Vienna, we are sometimes almost tempted to liken the lord of Akragas to the prince whom he delivered. Such a comparison would be unfair; Thêrôn and his people have clearly received less than their due share of honour. Yet in the one tale which has come down to us to show that the men of Akragas had a real share in the work, though they have their part in the battle, though they even turn the scale, yet their part is distinctly secondary to that of Gelôn and his Syracusans by whom the fight had been begun and kept on. In the laureate

Thrasymboulos, join to record the deliverance of Hellas by their hands. The whole poem, as arranged by Bergk, stands thus;

φημι Γέλων', Ἰέρων, Πολύζηλον, Θρασύβουλον,  
ταῖδας Δεινομένους, τὸν τραπεζ' ἀνθίκεται,  
ἕξ ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων  
Δαμαρέτου χρυσοῦ, τῆς δικάτας δεκάτας,  
βάρβαρα νικησάντας ἔθνη· πολλὴν δὲ παρασχῆν  
σύμμαχον Ἑλλήσιν χεῖρ' ἐς ἐλευθερίην.

<sup>1</sup> Pind. Pyth. i. 146;

... ἄριστοι  
πάν μὲν Σαλαμῖνος Ἀθηναίων χάρις  
μισθόν, ἐν Σπάρτῃ δ' ἐρίω πρὸ Κιθαιρῶνος μάχην,  
ταῖσι Μήδικοι κόμον ἀγκυλότοξοι  
παρὰ δὲ τὸν ἑσθλὸν δακτύλ' Ἰμέρα κείθεσσιν ὕμνον Δεινομένους τέλεισσι,  
τὸν ἔδιδξαν' ἐμφ' ἀρετῇ, πολέμιον ἀνδρῶν καμόντων.

<sup>2</sup> Diocl. xi. 25.

strains of Pindar all the references to the day of Himera and to other warfare on behalf of Hellas come in the Syracusan odes. Thérôn is the most bountiful of men, Akragas is the most beautiful of mortal cities<sup>1</sup>; in Thérôn's honour the loftiest notes of poetry and the richest stores of legendary lore are lavishly poured out; but the sons of Anésidamos nowhere stand alongside of the sons of Deinomenês as equal fellows with the warriors of Salamis and Plataea. Let Thérôn have his due; but Gelôn was clearly the master spirit.

CHAP. VI.  
Thérôn's  
work at  
Himera not  
referred to  
by Pindar

The analogy between the champions of Hellas and the later champions of Christendom would be nearer still if we could believe one report as to the nature of the treaty with Carthage which ended the war of Himera. It is hardly needful to accept every detail which we read in Greek writers as to the utter despair into which Carthage was thrown by the crushing defeat of the great host of Hamilkar. It is certain that, within a very few years, Carthage was again looked on as dangerous to Greek Sicily<sup>2</sup>. The picture of all Carthage watching day and night lest the fleet of Gelôn should appear before the harbour is possibly the imagining of one who wrote after the exploits of Agathoklês<sup>3</sup>. We need not even believe that the envoys of Carthage came to Gelôn with tears in their eyes, praying him to deal with them as a man with men<sup>4</sup>. This appeal to common humanity was, according to one version, answered in a way which could hardly have been looked for. Gelôn,

Gelôn's  
treaty with  
Carthage.

Alarm at  
Carthage:  
exaggera-  
tions.

<sup>1</sup> Pyth. xii. 1. See vol. i. p. 430.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Grote, v. 299.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. xi. 24; ὥστε τὰς νύκτας ἅπαντας διαγρυπνεῖν φυλάττοντας τὴν πόλιν, ὡς τοῦ Γέλωνος πάσῃ τῇ διατάμει παραχρῆμα διεγναυῖτος πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα. And presently, φοβούμενοι μὴ φέσῃ διαβῆς εἰς Α.βύνην Γέλων. Busolt (i. 266, 267) knows that this comes from Timaios, and in this case it is likely enough; but I do not see any evidence for Busolt's "Erandschätzungen" and "Kapersien" on the part of Syracuse.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. 26; παραγενομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Καρχηδόνα τῶν ἀπεσταλαμένων πρεσβέων, καὶ μετὰ δακρύων δεομένων ἀνθρώπους αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι.

CHAP. VI  
Alleged  
forbidding  
of human  
sacrifices.

Estimate  
and import  
of the  
story.

Unheli-  
hood of  
the story

it was said, made it a condition of peace that the Carthaginians should forswear the special abomination of Semitic idolatry, that they should no longer make either their own children or strangers pass through the fire to Moloch<sup>1</sup>. Simply as a poetic conception, the tale, one to which I have already referred<sup>2</sup>, is ennobling. It shows that, already in pagan days, there were men, be it Gelôn in his deeds or his panegyrist in his thoughts, who could forestall, not only the crusader but the missionary. They could deem it the highest duty of the conqueror to use his power for the good of men below and for the honour of the mightier powers above. Gelôn is painted as the Frankish kings calling on the vanquished heathen to accept the faith, but not, as the Frankish kings, calling them to accept it at the sword's point. The victorious Greek, worshipper of the kindlier gods of Hellas, calls on the vanquished barbarian, as the price of his favour, to put away the blackest practice of his own law, and to sin no more against the common humanity shared by Greek and barbarian alike. The tale, true or false, shows a full feeling of all that was meant by the strife of the great day of Himera, how truly it was a strife of light and darkness, of good and evil. Next to the deed of Gelôn, if such a deed he really did, comes the thought of the man to whom it seemed that so to do was the fitting thing for Gelôn in his hour of victory.

Such a tale we would gladly believe if we could; but the authority for the story is weak. The same tale which is told of Gelôn is, strangely enough, told also of Darius<sup>3</sup>; and such an interference with the internal laws and the national worship of an independent power would be wholly without precedent or analogy. The tale is hard to believe; yet it is honourable to Gelôn that it should ever have been

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXI.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. pp. 22, 305.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix XXI.

told of him. And some foundation it surely must have. CHAP. VI.  
 Could Gelôn, for instance, at a moment when he was Its prob-  
 almost entitled to act as the lord of all Sicily, have re- able origin.  
 quired, as a condition of peace with the Phœnicians of  
 Sicily, that no such deeds should be done on the soil of his  
 own island? Could he have required that even in Carthage  
 itself Moloch should have no Hellenic victims? Anyhow Story of  
 the existence of the tale is remarkable, and that a like Gelôn and  
 tale is told of Darius does not go so far to shake its autho- of Darius.  
 rity as if the like tale were told of another Greek tyrant.  
 How easily the name of one Sicilian prince may be put for  
 another we have seen many times and shall see many times  
 again; but a Persian king and a lord of Syracuse are not  
 persons whose names naturally get confounded. And the The Greek  
 position of the Greek and that of the Persian towards the and the  
 evil rites of Carthage were utterly unlike one another. Persian  
position  
 Each would abhor them, but on wholly different grounds.  
 If the Greek stepped in to quench the fires of Moloch, it  
 could be from no motive but that of a feeling of the com-  
 mon brotherhood of man. If a Carthaginian Shophet gave  
 the fruit of his body for the sin of his soul, it mattered not  
 to Gelôn in his island; it did no wrong to Athène in  
 Ortygia or to Zeus in the Olympieion. The Persian, on  
 the other hand, would step in, not on behalf of the brother-  
 hood of man, but on behalf of his own special creed and  
 worship. To the votary of Ormuzd the profanation of  
 the earthly symbol of Ormuzd would be a sin against the  
 heavenly powers than which none could be blacker<sup>1</sup>. It  
 would be his duty to preserve by every means, by arms or  
 by treaty, the pure and holy element from the pollution to  
 which it was doomed in the worship of the men of Canaan.  
 The story of Gelôn then and the story of Darius, be either

<sup>1</sup> Herod. iii. 16; *Πέρσαι θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι πῦρ . . . Πέρσαι . . . θεῷ οὐ θύειον εἶναι λέγοντες πέμψει νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπου.* Would a living body have been any better?

CHAP. VI. of them true or false, may well be independent of one another. Each is well conceived as regards the position of the man of whom the tale is told. With Darius we have no further concern; of Gelôn we cannot assert the tale with any confidence; at the same time it is hard to believe that it is sheer invention.

Greek  
temples at  
Carthage.

It rests on better authority that, if Gelôn did not step in to forbid the national ritual of the Semitic gods, he at least acted as a missionary of the gods of Hellas on Semitic soil. One of the clauses of the treaty bound the Carthaginians to build two temples in which the stones on which the treaty was graven should be laid up<sup>1</sup>. These could not fail to be temples to Greek deities; we may say almost with certainty that they were temples to the goddesses of Sicily, the special patronesses of Gelôn and his house, Dêmêtêr and the Korê. A payment of two thousand talents was further laid upon the Carthaginians for the costs of the war<sup>2</sup>.

Gelôn and  
the Greeks  
of Sicily

We are told that they so gladly accepted these terms that they voted a crown of gold to Damareta, who pleaded their cause with her husband<sup>3</sup>. In all such tales we suspect exaggeration; we remember that, not very long after, Phœnician attack was again dreaded. Still that the treaty between Gelôn and Carthage was a treaty dictated by the conqueror to the conquered there is no manner of doubt.

It is harder to see the exact relations now established between Gelôn and the other Sikeliot powers. We hear of the cities and lords who had opposed Gelôn, how their envoys pressed around him, craving his pardon and promising obedience to his will. All, we are told, were received with favour and were admitted to his alliance<sup>4</sup>. Yet it is not easy to see

<sup>1</sup> Dial. xi. 26; δύο ναοὶ πρόσθεν εὐδομήσειν, καὶ εἰς ἑκάστην συνθήκας ἀναγεῖναι. This surely means at Carthage.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.; αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐμπεῖσαν συνήγαγεν πλείστον εἰς τὴν σόνθειν τῇ εἰρήνῃ.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.; πόδες δὲ καὶ τῶν πρότερον ἀνατιυμένων πλείων γε καὶ δυναστῶν

to what cities and lords this description can apply. Greek Sicily will supply only Anaxilas in his character of tyrant of Zanklê, and Selinous, whatever was its form of government. No other Greek power that we know of had acted against Gelôn in the late war. Anaxilas was held to have received some benefit from Gelôn which entitled Gelôn to his thanks; and it is hard to see to what this can refer except to favourable treatment in the negotiations after Himera<sup>1</sup>. Selinous, which may likely enough have been an unwilling enemy, whose horsemen, after all, seem never to have come to the Punic camp, was, we may be pretty sure, set free from all dependence on Carthage. In the next Carthaginian invasion she is treated by Carthage as an enemy indeed. The only other Sikeliot city which is not mentioned as coming under the rule of Gelôn, Thêrôn, or Anaxilas, is Katanê, of which, oddly enough, we never hear through the whole history of Gelôn. One can hardly fancy Sikel communities referred to; but it is quite possible that some relations may have been entered into with Segesta. The dominion of Carthage over the Phœnician cities of the north-west was clearly left untouched. Still Gelôn, with so many cities under his immediate rule, with Thêrôn as his willing, and Anaxilas most likely as his unwilling, ally, held a higher position than any one man had ever before held in Sicily, or indeed anywhere in the Greek world. It was a pardonable exaggeration to speak of him as lord or tyrant of the whole island. But there is no reason to think that his dominion extended beyond the strait which was in the keeping of Anaxilas.

παρεγένοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πρίσβεις, καὶ μὲν ταῖς ἡγουμέναισι αἰτούμενοι συγγνώμην, εἰς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπαγγελλόμενοι πῶς ποιήσει τὸ προστατόμενον. ὁ δὲ πᾶσι ἐπεισθεὶς χρησάμενος, συμμαχίαν συνετίθετο καὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἀνθρωπείαν εἶπεν.

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus (xi. 66) makes Hierôn remind the sons of Anaxilas τῇ Γέλωνος γενομένηι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν εὐργεσίαι. It was now perhaps that Hierôn married the daughter of Anaxilas.

CHAP. VI. A single notice which would seem to attribute to him  
 No deal- an Italian dominion, or at least Italian possessions, is most  
 ings with likely due to the process of which we have seen so many  
 Italy. instances, that of putting the name of one Sicilian tyrant  
 for another <sup>1</sup>.

Thank- The thankofferings of Gelôn to the gods of Greece in  
 offerings whose cause he had fought and conquered were on a lordly  
 of Gelôn; scale, alike in his own island and in the common sanctuaries  
 at Delphoi; of the whole nation. To Delphoi he sent the golden form  
 of Nikê, and the golden tripod which bore the verses which  
 told how the sons of Deinomenês fought for the freedom  
 of Hellas <sup>2</sup>. At Olympia he had, while still described as a  
 man of Gela only, dedicated a chariot <sup>3</sup>; he now com-  
 memorated his victory by the building of a treasury, called  
 in proud scorn the treasury of the Carthaginians. There  
 he dedicated three breast-plates of linen as trophies of his  
 victory, and a vast statue of Zeus himself as a thank-  
 offering to him who gave it <sup>4</sup>. Rich too was the gift which  
 he gave to the Father of Gods and Men in his own Olym-  
 pieion by the Syracusan harbour. A mantle of gold, per-  
 haps renewed, perhaps enriched <sup>5</sup>, was Gelôn's tribute, a gift

at Olym-  
 pia;

at the  
 Olym-  
 pieion.

<sup>1</sup> Athenaios (xii. 59) quotes Demos of Samos for the story that Gelôn made a beautiful garden near Hippônion in Italy; *πλησίον Ἰταλίου πόλεως ὅσους τε δειννοσθαι κάλλει διάφορον καὶ κατέργον ἴδασιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τόσων τινὲς εἶναι καλούμενον Ἀμπαθείας κίρται, ὃ τὸν Γέλωτα κατασκευάσας.*

<sup>2</sup> Athenaios (vi. 20) quotes Theopompus for these offerings, coupling the name of Hierôn with that of Gelôn. Diodoros (xi. 26) mentions the tripod as made *ἐκ τάλαντων ἐκκαίδεκα*. On the verses see above, p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> PAUS. vi. 19. 4; ἐφίχθη δὲ τῇ Συρακυσίᾳ ἔσθλη δὲ Καρχηδονίων θησαυρός, Ποσειδὸς τέχνη καὶ Ἀντιφίλων τε καὶ Μεγακλίου, ἀναθήματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Ζεὺς περιβέβηκε μέγας καὶ θώρακες λινοὶ τρεῖς ἀριθμόν, Γέλωτες δὲ ἀνάθημα καὶ Συρακοσίων Φοῖβου ἦτοι τρήματα ἧ καὶ περὶ μάχῃ κρατησάντων. The linen *θώρακες* are in that case characteristic of barbarian against Greek. Pausanias seems a little in the dark about the fight of Himera. Cf. Athenaios, vi. 20, where the date is given; καὶ οὕτως χρόνους ἑτέρῃς ἐνιστρέφεται τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 113.



which a later tyrant took away in mockery, as too hot in summer and too cold in winter<sup>1</sup>. But foremost among his gifts, foremost perhaps among all his works, were the twin temples of the patron-goddesses of Sicily, the powers of which he was the special hierophant, temples which arose at his bidding on the mainland of Syracuse. Had the city as yet left the special goddesses of Sicily unhonoured? If so, there was no man by whom the fault could be so well made up as by a lord of Syracuse who was more than a lord of Syracuse, who had some claim to be looked on as a lord of Sicily, and who was truly the deliverer of all the votaries of the goddesses, Sikel and Sikeliot. The house of a worship not locally Syracusan but common to all Sicily was placed by Gelôn outside the bounds of his enlarged city<sup>2</sup>. It stood at the southern foot of the hill on the lower terrace, looking down on the fount and stream of Kyana which had doubtless already found their place in the great Sicilian legend. It stood by the road leading to the Sikel hills, inviting worshippers of the elder stock to make it a place of pilgrimage. And it did in truth draw to itself somewhat of the mysterious holiness which belonged to the twin gods and the twin fountains of the Sikel. The Great Oath, sworn in the precinct of Dêmêtêr and the Korê, with the purple robe of the goddesses thrown around the swearer and the burning torch held in his hand, was as binding in Syracusan eyes as the oath by the Palici themselves. Party-leaders and budding tyrants were taken to the holy place to purge themselves by that oath of all evil purposes. But the oath by the Palici was, we are told, never broken; the

CHAP. VI.

Temple of  
Dêmêtêr  
and Per-  
sephonê.

its site.

The Great  
Oath.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. de Nat. Deor. 33 (83). It was in "fanum Jovis Olympii," doubtless the Olympieion. The robbery comes among other doings of Dionysios. Valerius Maximus (i. 1. Ext. 3) tells the story of Hierôn, but later editors have substituted Gelôn. All goes on the great principle that one Sicilian tyrant is as good as another.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XXII.

CHAP. VI. oath by Dêmêtêr and the Korê proved but a slight bond when men used it to fetter the ambition of Kallippos and Agathoklês<sup>1</sup>.

But the devotion of Gelôn to the two great goddesses did not stop with the temple outside the gate of Achradina. It was perhaps not even bounded by the limits of his own dominions. Another temple of Dêmêtêr was begun by him at the foot of Ætna, a work which might imply authority over the land of Katanê; but to bring that work to perfection was not granted to him<sup>2</sup>. Gelôn died of dropsy, within two years after his great victory<sup>3</sup>. His life is so crowded with stirring incidents that we are surprised to find that his whole time of rule, in Gela and in Syracuse, was less than twelve years, and his time of rule in Syracuse less than eight<sup>4</sup>. His last wishes were that his brother Hiêrôn should succeed him in his kingdom, lordship, tyranny, whatever we are to call a dominion which undoubtedly began in wrong, but which seems long before his death to have been willingly accepted by all his subjects<sup>5</sup>. He left a young son, under the personal guardianship of his friends and brothers-in-law, Aristonous and that Chromios of whom we have already heard. Some share in his bringing up may possibly have belonged to his Arkadian friend Phormis<sup>6</sup>. Politically the child was doubtless safer as a subject of his uncle than if he had been left in the position of a prince under the wardship

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXII.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XXIII.

<sup>3</sup> For his death see Diod. xi. 16. Plutarch (*De Pyth. Or.* 19) says that ὁ βροχὴν ἐνέπλησεν so the Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 89; ἔδωκε ποσῆματι τὸν βίον τελευτῆσαι.

<sup>4</sup> On the exact chronology see Clinton. It is clearly by an odd slip that Diodorus (xi. 23) makes Gelôn ἐγγηράσαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix XXIII.

<sup>6</sup> I cannot help thinking that the Phormos or Phormis of Soudas (Φόρμος), who was εἰς αἰῶνα Γέλωνι τῷ τυράννῳ Σικελίας καὶ τροφεὺς τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ, is meant for Phormis of Mainalos (see above, p. 133) rather than for the comic poet Phormos. See Lorenz, *Epicharmos*, 85, 86.

of one who had an interest in his death or dethrone-  
ment. As it was, it is significant that Damareta, daughter  
of Thérôn, widow of Gelôn, entered at Gelôn's bidding  
into a second marriage with her first husband's brother  
Polyzêlos. He alone of the Deinomenid brethren shared  
in the glories of Himera, but had no share in the  
tyranny of Syracuse. The will of Gelôn moreover, while  
putting Hierôn in the first place, named Polyzêlos, the  
more energetic soldier of the two, for the command of the  
Syracusan armies. We shall presently see what came of  
this attempted division of power. Great rulers constantly  
fall into the mistake of thinking that smaller men than  
themselves will be able to work a system which they have  
successfully worked by dint of their own personal qualities.  
Sometimes, when they doubt the power or the will of  
the smaller man so to do, they strive to control or to  
strengthen him by checks and props which he has at least  
energy enough to cast aside. Polyzêlos would seem to have  
been better fitted than Hierôn to carry on the work of  
Gelôn. But then it should have been Polyzêlos alone;  
Polyzêlos, as a check on Hierôn, was worthless.

The will of Gelôn perhaps failed to be carried out in  
another point through the universal reverence felt for  
Gelôn himself. The law of Syracuse, a law of his own  
enacting, forbade all lavish expenditure on funerals, and  
Gelôn ordered that his own burial should be carried out  
strictly according to the law<sup>1</sup>. This order is said to have  
been obeyed<sup>2</sup>; if so, the law must have dealt only with

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 38. The law forbade πολυτελεῖς ἐκφορὰς νόμῳ καταλελυ-  
κότων καὶ τὰς εἰσθύναις ἰσπαναίς εἰς τοὺς τελευτῶντας and κατατελὼς τὰς ἐντα-  
φίαις σπουδαίαι. Costly tombs are not directly mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.; ὁ βασιλεὺς Γέλων . . . τὸν περὶ τῆς ταφῆς νόμον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ βέβαιον  
ἐτήρησεν. (His motive was τῆς τοῦ δήμου σπουδῆς ἐν δασι διαφελάττειν.)  
And directly after; περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ταφῆς ἐντετέλεστο, διατελλόμενος ἀκριβῶς  
τηρήσαι τὸ νόμον. (This looks as if Diodóros were copying two different  
accounts.) And he adds that Hierôn τὴν ἐκφορὰν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν αὐτοῦ  
συντετέλεστο. Yet see Grote, v. 302.

CHAP. VI. the actual ceremonies of burial, and have said nothing as to the amount that might be spent on the monument marking the spot. The burial-place of Gelôn was on some spot not ascertained in the flat land to the west of the Great Harbour, on a piece of ground which was the property of his wife Damareta, and in which she was afterwards buried herself<sup>1</sup>. The whole people of Syracuse, pressing to do honour to their late ruler, formed the long funeral procession<sup>2</sup>. A stately tomb was reared for him, surrounded by nine lofty and massive towers<sup>3</sup>, which in the view from the Island must have grouped with the columns of the great temple as they shone in the morning light. Nor could the tomb of Gelôn have been far from the fountain and shrine of Kyana, famous in the legends of those powers below the earth of whom Gelôn was the chosen minister. There, welcomed as it were to a place among the gods of the land, the victor of Himera, the second founder of Syracuse, the man who had freed Greek Sicily, her people and her temples, from barbarian invasion, the man who had made the city that he had won the greatest city of Sicily and of Hellas, received the worship of a hero<sup>4</sup>.

His tomb.  
He is worshipped as a hero.

Career and character of Gelôn. The first of the tyrants of Syracuse is a man of whom we should gladly know more. There is such a marked contrast between his beginning and his ending. That a man should gain power wrongfully and should yet make a wise

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 38. He was buried *παρὰ τὴν ἀγρὸν τῆς γυναικὸς, ἐν ταῖς καλουμέναις Ἑννία Τύρραις*. He makes it, by some mistake or other, two hundred stadia from the city, which is corrected by Holm, i. 418. His own account (xiv. 62) of the destruction of the tombs of Gelôn and Damareta by the Carthaginians shows that it cannot have been far from the Olympieion.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.; *ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔπειτα συνηκολούθησεν*.

<sup>3</sup> Ib., *οὕτως τῷ βάρει τῶν ἔργων θαυματοῖς*.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.; *ὁ μὲν δῆμος τάφον ἀξιόλογον ἐποίησε ἡραιαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτίμησε τὸν Γέλωνα*.

and beneficent use of it when he has gained it, is a contradiction, if contradiction it be, which has many parallels. But in the case of Gelôn, the shortness of time over which his reign is spread makes the feeling towards him more remarkable. The generation which remembered the proscription of the triumvirs had well nigh died out long before the rule of the first Augustus came to an end. In his latter days the great mass of the Roman people had known him from their childhood as a master and a kindly master. But Gelôn's coming to Syracuse could be remembered by all who had passed the age of childhood. The remembrance of his wrong-doings must have been fresh in the memories of the mass of those who followed him to his grave. Those to be sure who had suffered most bitterly and wantonly at his hands, the betrayed and enslaved commons of Megara and Eubœia, would not be there to mar the general homage to his memory by the tale of their own wrongs. Of the actual inhabitants of Syracuse at the death of Gelôn, a great number really owed much to him, and the rest might easily have fared far worse at his hands than they did fare. Both classes of the elder inhabitants of Syracuse had been in some sort betrayed by him; still each had something to thank him for. The *Gamoroi* had been restored to their homes, if not to their dominion, and they had not been obliged to submit to the dominion of the hated commons. The commons, on the other hand, would undoubtedly be better pleased with the dominion of Gelôn than with that of their old masters, and they might think themselves well off as compared with their fellows at Megara and Eubœia. And the former oligarchs of those cities were well pleased to be as they were, when they had looked for a much worse fate. So it would doubtless be with the men of Kamarina, who might have looked for some far heavier punishment for the death of Glaukos than actually fell to their lot. Even

CHAP. VI

Shortness  
of his reign.Compari-  
son with  
Augustus.Causes of  
his popu-  
larity.

any men of Gela who had come to Syracuse against their will might have easily become reconciled to their position as citizens of so mighty a city under so renowned a prince of their own stock. To the other classes of settlers, to the men of various kinds whom he had invited to Syracuse or who had chosen Syracuse as their abode, above all to the crowd of mercenaries whom he had raised to Syracusan citizenship, Gelôn was a father and founder in the strictest sense. All classes must have been dazzled by the splendour of his reign; the citizens of such a city as he in so short a time had made Syracuse must have felt themselves lifted up among men. And when to all this was added the glory of his crowning mercy, the thought, still so fresh at the moment of his death, that it was by his hand that the gods of Hellas had brought the great salvation of Hmera, every other thought would give way to one overwhelming feeling of admiration and thankfulness. With such a claim as that on men's honour, worse wrongs than any man in Syracuse had suffered at the hands of Gelôn might well have been forgiven <sup>1</sup>.

Character  
of Gelôn's  
dominion.

Whatever was the exact nature of Gelôn's power, as king, tyrant, or general, there is every reason to think that the ordinary forms of the commonwealth, the assemblies and the courts of justice, still went on. It is certain that his dominion was not practically op-

His care  
for war and  
agricul-  
ture.

pressive. We hear of his care to practise the men of Syracuse in military exercises. We hear also of his care that they should not be idle, but should employ themselves

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch (*De Sera Numinis Vindicta*, 6) puts Gelôn with Hierôn—could he have been thinking of the second Hieron!—and Peisistratos, as tyrants who gained power badly, but used it well; *πονηρίᾳ κτησάμενοι τυραννίδας, ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς ἀρετὴν αὐταῖς, καὶ παρανόμως ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐλθόντες, ἐγένοντο μέτροι καὶ δημοφελεῖς ἄρχοντες· οἱ μὲν εὐνομίαν τε πολλὴν καὶ γῆς ἐπιμέλειαν παρασχόντες, αὐτοὶ τε σάφρονες τοῖς πολίταις καὶ φιλιργοὶ, ἐκ πολυγέλων καὶ λάλων κατασκευάσαντες.* What does this last mean? Is there a lurking pun?

in agriculture, to the improvement of the land<sup>1</sup>. The fall CHAP. VI.  
of the *Gamoroi*, the rise to citizenship of so many of their former subjects, the admission to citizenship of so many men of all kinds by Gelôn himself, the enlargement of the Syracusan territory by the lands of Megara, Kamarina, and perhaps Eubœia, must have caused no small change in the disposition of landed property. Many new landowners must have come into possession. Some of them, as the mercenaries admitted to citizenship, may have had no great experience in the tith of the ground or in any peaceful pursuit. No wonder then that the thoughts of Gelôn were largely given to making his people at once skilful tillers of the soil and gallant defenders of it against any enemy. In another story Gelôn appears as something like a constitutional sovereign. He asks, evidently of an assembly, for Story of his subsidy and loan. money for a war, the great Phœnician war or any other. The people cry out against the demand; he then asks for the money as a loan, and, when the war is over, he repays it<sup>2</sup>. Still, even if the forms of the constitution went on, democratic freedom must, under Gelôn's rule, have become little more than a shadow, though in his day there were many things to fill men's minds and to call their thoughts off from its loss. But the position of Gelôn was after all a difficult and a precarious one. We see by the history of his successors how hard it was for any other man to keep it as he had kept it. Perhaps it was well for his own fame that he died so soon after the greatest day of his life, while the wreath of Himera was still fresh.

Of Gelôn's personal character and habits only a few notices have been preserved. One legend told how he was Legend of his childhood. marked out for great things from his childhood. The

<sup>1</sup> Plut. *Apophth.*, Γέλωνος, 2; ἐξήγε πολλὰς τοὺς Συρακούσιους ὅς τε στρατείας καὶ φυγίας, ὅπως ἢ τὴ χώρα βελτίων γένηται γεωργουμένη καὶ μὴ χείρων αὐτοὶ σχολάζοντες. So we have the γῆς ἐπιμέλειαν in the last extract.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.; αὐτῶν χρήματα τοὺς πολῖτας, ἐκὰς ἐθροβήσαν, αὐταὺν εἶπεν ὅς ἀποδέσσειν καὶ ἀντίδοκε μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον.

CHAP. VI. boy Gelôn was sitting in a school with his writing-tablet; a wolf came and carried it off; the boy followed the beast, and, before he came back, the school-house fell in, and crushed the master and a crowd of boys<sup>1</sup>. This story might seem to belong to a rather later stage of Greek manners than the days of Gelôn. And another tale sets him forth as lacking in the ordinary accomplishments of a polished Greek. One day at a convivial gathering where he was present, the lyre was passed round, and the guests sang and played in turn. Gelôn's skill was of another kind; when his turn for the lyre came, he called for his horse, and showed the company how lightly he could spring on its back<sup>2</sup>. Later tradition contrasted the uncultivated Gelôn, who recked nothing of literature, philosophy, and art, with the brother and successor who gathered all the choicest spirits of the Greek world around his rich and happy hearth<sup>3</sup> at Syracuse<sup>4</sup>. It was enough to leave a memory behind him as the model prince in a city which came to have large experience of princes. It was more than the faint praise of being the best of tyrants when it was said that men put trust in Dionysios because Gelôn had reigned<sup>5</sup>. His last days were

Gelôn at the banquet.

His lack of culture.

His memory.

<sup>1</sup> J. Tzetzes, *Chil.* iv. 270 (just after the story of the dog below);

*τοῦτον ἐξίσωσε ποτε καὶ λευκὸς ἐκ θανάτου.*

He ends;

*τῶν παιδῶν δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἱ συγγραφῆς βούσι.*

*Τίμαιος, Διονύσιοι, Διόδωροι, καὶ Δίας*

*πλεῖς τελοῦντα ἐκατέρ' τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς οὐκ οἶδε.*

One would have liked a reference to our Diodōros.

<sup>2</sup> *Plut.* n. s.; *ἐλαφρῶς καὶ βελίαν ἀνεπήδησεν ἐκ' αὐτόν.*

<sup>3</sup> *Pind.* *OL.* i. 16;

*ἐν ἀφρονὶ κομμένους*

*μέκουργον ἴδμενοι ὄντιαν.*

<sup>4</sup> He appears in an odd story in *Ælian*, V. H. iv. 15, as *ἀνθρώπος ἀμύμονος*. He sets the standard of *dynoucia*.

<sup>5</sup> For Gelôn as a stock subject in Syracusan rhetoricians see *Diod.* xlii. 12, xiv. 26. There is something more emphatic in the story in *Plutarch*, *Dion.* 3, where we get the epigram addressed to Dionysios; καὶ μὴν σὺ



indeed the days, not of a tyrant of Syracuse but rather of a king of Sicily. And if the gods watched over his childhood, they watched over his maturer years. The dumb beasts served him, the tame as well as the wild. The gravest historian of Sicily, who made history as well as wrote it, thought it not scorn to set down the tale of the faithful dog that kept guard over the slumbers of the victor of Himera<sup>1</sup>.

CHAP. VI.

Story of his dog.

One more mention of Gelôn remains. A story was current at Rome of a prince of Syracuse in the early days of the Roman commonwealth giving or selling a great quantity of corn to the hungry Romans in time of famine. The tale has drawn to itself special notice by being brought into connexion with the famous legend of Gaius Marcius of Corioli. To the legend-maker, as to most other people, all Sicilian tyrants were alike, and, in what is likely to be the oldest form of the story, the name brought in was that of the most renowned of Sicilian tyrants, Dionysios. More critical writers, who knew that Dionysios lived after the time assigned to Gaius Marcius, as they knew that Pythagoras lived after the time assigned to Numa Pompilius, changed the name of Dionysios into the more possible name of Gelôn<sup>2</sup>. It was perhaps a waste of critical

Did Gelôn supply Rome with corn?

Story of Dionysios and Gaius Marcius.

ἡγήσαντο δὲ Γέλωνα πιστευθῆναι· δὲ δὲ δὲ εὐδαίε ἕτερος πιστευθήσεται. Yet Agathoklēs came.

<sup>1</sup> Pliny (Nat. Hist. vii. 61) merely tells us that Philistos made mention of Pyrrhos the dog of Gelôn. What he told about him we find in two places of Ælian, Hist. An. vi. 62, Hist. Var. i. 13. So J. Tréséus, *Chil.* iv. 266. Gelôn has a dream that he is smitten with a thunderbolt. He screams for fear. The dog wakes, goes round him and gently barks, till he is awake and quieted. The former version adds the fitting remark on a tyrant's dog, ὥστε τοῦ Γέλωνος ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς παθεῖν κινδυνεύοντος. Julius Pollux (v. 42) has the same story, but he confounds dog and man, and tells it of a dog of King Pyrrhos.

<sup>2</sup> Dionysios of Halikarnassos (vil. 1) rebukes Lælius and Gellius for their chronological blunder. Ptolemy (Cor. 16) takes care to be accurate. The corn was πολλὰ μὲν ὥστε ἐξ Ἰταλίας, οὐκ ἐλάττω δὲ διαρρηδὲς ἐκ Συρα-

CHAP. VI. power to try to reconcile a poetic legend with the Fasti. That Gelôn may have supplied Rome with corn no one can deny. The fact is possible, and even likely. Those who accept the first treaty between Rome and Carthage will assuredly not dispute the likelihood of commercial dealings between Rome and Syracuse. But there is no such distinct evidence for them as there is for the treaty between Rome and Carthage. The story would most likely arise in days when Sicily was already beginning to be the granary of Italy. If corn was brought from beyond sea, it was in Sicily that it must have been sought, and Dionysios, the best known of Sicilian names, must have been the sender. It is hardly safe to set down the feeding of hungry Rome among the authentic acts of Gelôn.

### § 2. *The Works of Thêrôn at Akragas.*

B.C. 480-472.

Later days  
of Thêrôn.

The lord of Syracuse thus went down to his grave with the honours of the greatest day of his life fresh upon him, before he had had the chance or the temptation to do aught to tarnish the fame of the deliverer of Hellas. His fellow-worker, the lord of Akragas, outlived him by six years, and a considerable part of the recorded history of Thêrôn follows the day on which he and Gelôn fought side by side. And in the local history of Akragas the effects of the day of Himera make themselves more distinctly seen than they are at Syracuse. We speak of Gelôn as the second founder of Syracuse, as the man who enlarged the bounds of the city itself no less than the bounds of the dominion of which he made her the head. But

Works of  
Gelôn and  
Thêrôn.

κενσὸν, Γέλωνος τοῦ τυράννου πέμψαντος. Livy (ii. 34) does not mention either name.

his great works must have been mainly done before the Carthaginian invasion; it was as the lord of the enlarged Syracuse that he stands forth before the envoys of Old Greece. There is much reason to believe that Thêrôn was in the same sense the second founder of Akragas; but it is clear that his greatest works were done after the victory of Himera and as the direct result of that victory. That the most brilliant season of Akragantine prosperity now began there can be no doubt. The explanation that is given us is doubtless true as far as it goes; but it is surely inadequate. We have already marked the vast number of barbarian slaves which came into the hands of the victors of Himera. They were in fact the most valuable part of the spoil. These bondmen were divided among the cities which had a share in the battle, and were by them employed in the public works which were going on in each<sup>1</sup>. The only powers, to use modern language, which had shared in the war were Syracuse and Akragas, Gelôn and Thêrôn. But as Gelôn and Thêrôn had warred with the full force, not only of Syracuse and Akragas, but of their whole dominions, we may suppose that each of their subject or dependent cities received some share of this human booty. But in any case more than full measure fell to the lot of Akragas. Of those soldiers of the defeated army who did not at once fall into the hands of the victors, but wandered about seeking shelter, the greater part strayed into the Akragantine territory which lay open to them to the south, and there fell into the hands of new enemies<sup>2</sup>. Each man of Akragas seems to have caught them as he could, like any other kind of

Prosperity  
of Akragas.

Number of  
barbarian  
captives.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 15; αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐκ πλείστων κατέστησαν τοὺς διαιρεθέντας αἰχμαλώτους, καὶ τὰ δημόσια τῶν ἔργων διὰ τούτων ἐπισκεύαζον.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.; ἀνεχώρησαν μάλιστα εἰς τὴν Ἀκραγαντίναν, ὅν ἑαυτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων (ωγηθέντων, ἔγμεν ἡ πόλις τῶν ἐαλωκότων. Later in the chapter he says that the number throughout Sicily was so great ὥστε δοκεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς γεγονέναι τὴν Λιβύην ὅλην αἰχμάλωτον.

CHAP. VI. game. The city was full of captives, not a few Akragantine citizens owned as many as five hundred<sup>1</sup>. But those who became the property of the state were a yet greater number. And these were presently set to labour at the great public works with which the citizens and their munificent master began to adorn the city.

They work at the buildings. Of the works that were now carried out at Akragas several classes are specially mentioned. The prisoners cut the stone for the building of the greater temples, and also for great works of drainage which were now undertaken. At the same time a large artificial fishpond was made<sup>2</sup>. Here is no mention of the building of walls or of any extension of the city; but those works did take place some time, and this time of increased wealth and increased energy under a vigorous chief is the most obvious time

The wall; for them. As has been already argued<sup>3</sup>, we cannot believe that this vast extent of wall was laid out from the first; and the work suits the circumstances of the reign of Thêrôn better than any time before or after. The example of his ally at Syracuse would go for something; what Gelôn had done for his city Thêrôn would do for his, and

its relation to the temples. more also. And again the making of the wall at this time is almost implied in what is said about the building of the temples. The temples here spoken of, the greatest temples of the gods<sup>4</sup>, can mean only the line of temples along the southern wall, as distinguished from earlier temples on the akropolis and elsewhere, among them from that temple of Athênê with which Thêrôn had had something to do in earlier days. The style of architecture shows these temples to belong to the fifth century before Christ. Two of them, those of Hêraklês and of Olympian Zeus, were of great size; that of Zeus was the greatest

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 25.<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 231.<sup>3</sup> See vol. i. p. 434.<sup>4</sup> Diod. u.s.; *ἐν αὐτῷ ὅντι οἱ μέγιστοι αἱ μέγιστοι τῶν θεῶν καὶ κατασκευασθέντες, κ.τ.λ.*



Distension



2

temple of Akragas or of Hellas. And they are clearly CHAP. VI  
 built with reference to the south wall of the enlarged city.  
 They follow its line; the temples adorn the wall, and the  
 wall protects the temples. Of course the temples might  
 have been built in this relation to an already existing  
 wall; but it seems far more likely that wall and temples  
 both formed part of a great plan for the enlargement and  
 strengthening and beautifying of the city, such plans as  
 we know to have filled the minds of the men of Akragas at  
 this time.

Of this plan, it is obvious that the wall was a work Thérôn  
 which, if it was to be done at all, had to be done all at makes the  
 once, while the building of the temples might be carried wall.  
 on more gradually. The captives of Himera would not  
 last for ever; but the wealth for which Akragas now  
 begins to be famous would find means for the works.  
 That, even with such help, the work was done but He be-  
 slowly we know in the case of the greatest temple gins the  
 of all. The Olympieion of Akragas was still unfinished temples.  
 more than seventy years after the battle of Himera<sup>1</sup>.  
 From this we may infer that the like was the case with  
 regard to the other buildings. We may therefore say  
 with some confidence that Thérôn made the whole wall,  
 but that he only began the temples. Of the temples  
 then in their perfect state, as part of the wealth and  
 splendour of Akragas a generation or two later, we may  
 speak in another chapter; our present business is with the  
 wall.

The story of the enlargement of Akragas is the same as Enlarge-  
 that of the enlargement of Syracuse, with the differences ment of  
 needful on each site. Syracuse spread upwards, Akragas Akragas.  
 downwards; and Akragas seemingly had no outposts to  
 take in. The inhabited area of the city now reached far  
 beyond the original fortified inclosure; dwellings were fast

<sup>1</sup> See Diod. xiii. 82.

CHAP. VI. spreading over the whole slope of the hill. It was expedient to make this newly occupied region part of the city in every sense, and to fence it in by an enlarged wall. Thêrôn did at Akragas after a hundred years what Aurelian did at Rome after eight hundred, as in truth Servius had already done before him. In choosing his line of defence he was of course guided by the nature of the ground which he had to defend. And nature had done much for him. He may be said to have found a great part of his wall ready-made. We speak of building the wall, but in a large part of its circuit there was very little building to be done. The foundation was already laid almost everywhere. That is to say, Thêrôn, in carrying out the defences of his enlarged Akragas, simply followed the line of the natural hill. In many parts there was little more to do than to cut the cliff into the needful shape, and, where it was wanted, to raise it to the needful height. In some parts, where the ground was less rocky, the slope was scarped and strengthened by masonry. In many parts it was needful to build on the rock; here and there it was needful to build from the foundations. In the circuit of the wall of Akragas examples of all these different kinds of work will be found. Near the south-eastern corner we see what a strong and lofty defence could be made out of the rock itself; near the south-western corner are the best pieces of scarpment. On both the east and west sides, the cliff in some parts sinks and turns inland. On the west side some grand remains of built wall span the mouth of the inlet, so to speak, which is thus formed<sup>1</sup>.

The  
natural  
wall.

Shape of  
the  
closure.

As to the direction of the wall on the north, east, and south sides there is no question. It followed the line of

<sup>1</sup> The wall generally cannot be better described than it is by Polybius, ix. 27; ἡ δὲ περίβολος αὐτῆς καὶ πύλαι καὶ κατασκευὴ διαφερόντως ἡσφάλισται. κτεταὶ γὰρ τὰ τεῖχος ἐπὶ πέτραις ἀγροτόμοις καὶ παραρῶγας, ἧ μὲν αὐτοφυεῖς, ἧ δὲ χυροποιήτων.



the main hill. This is such that there can hardly be said CHAP. VI.  
to be a north-eastern corner. Where that corner should be,  
the northern and eastern sides are represented by a single  
curve. There is no distinctly eastern side till about the  
point, a point where the hill is specially steep and rocky,  
which was crowned by the temple which has been some-  
times assigned to the goddesses of Sicily and sometimes  
to the river-god Akragas<sup>1</sup>. Below this point there is, as  
on the western side, a deep inlet in the hill, where the cliff  
sinks and seems to have had its place supplied by a built  
wall. Another small inlet further to the south formed  
the road of approach from Gela; here was the eastern  
gate of the city, the gate of Gela. The southern wall was The gates.  
pierced by the sea-gate, the gate that led to the haven,  
known, in later times at least, as at Constantinople and  
at Spalato, by the name of *porta aurea*. It is only on the  
western side that there is room for controversy on any  
point beyond the naming of the temples. On this side the  
hill that bears the wall rises above a steep and narrow  
ravine, most unlike the plain that stretches below the  
southern wall, and widely differing from the broad dale  
of the Akragas with its tall hills on the other side. A A Gate of  
Hérakleia.  
western gate, a gate of Hérakleia, has been placed on this  
side by some, and has been denied by others<sup>2</sup>. The only  
place for it would seem to be where, nearly at the same  
point, near the junction of the Hypeas or Drago with its  
tributary the brook of Saint Leonard, the main valley  
widens and the cliff fails. Here it is that the built wall boldly  
descends the hill to span the mouth of the small tributary  
valley<sup>3</sup>. Soon after this point, going northwards, the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Biefert, 24; Schubring, 19. Its existence is hardly proved by the phrase of Polybios (i. 18) describing the Roman siege; *κατέρρευσεν δὲ πύργον ὃν οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι* *συνεστρατοειδέναν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἡράκλειαν καυλόμενοι μέρεσι τῆς πόλεως*. Cavalieri (p. 86) seems to doubt.

<sup>3</sup> Another point shown to the north seems less likely.

CHAP VI. wall forsakes the line of the Hypsas. Or more truly it is here that the Hypsas, flowing from the north-west, joins the wall. Here is a noble fragment of ancient masonry, the remains of a wide bridge spanning the main ravine and connecting the later city with the nekropolis. It still bears the fitting name of the Bridge of the Dead. From that point northwards the line of wall has been variously drawn. Some make it span the ravine and meet the wall of the akropolis at its south-western corner. This would make the later city take in the steep ground immediately below the akropolis<sup>1</sup>. Others trace the wall along the west side of the ravine of Saint Leonard to the south-eastern corner of the akropolis, leaving the elder city isolated as before, joined on to the younger only by its eastern gate on the narrow neck<sup>2</sup>. This certainly seems the most likely view. It is hard to see what object could be gained by taking the steep right side of the ravine of Saint Leonard within the city. It would seem far more important to defend its other bank.

Nature of  
the ground  
within the  
wall.

The space taken in by the enclosure thus formed seems a strange one to have been covered by the buildings of a vast city. At Syracuse we are struck, not only by the general desolation of the forsaken parts of the city, but the wildness of look which some parts, say just above the theatre and the *Iatomiai* throughout, must have kept when houses had grown up thickly on both sides of them. Still, after all, the greater part of Syracuse lies on two nearly flat levels, and, bating the stoniness of the ground, there was no great difficulty in building on either of them. The forsaken hill-side at Akragas is often bare and rocky; yet, cultivated and planted as so much of it is, it is far from having the same general look of desolation as the hill-top at Syracuse. But its broken ground, its hills and ravines,

<sup>1</sup> Pal. ix. 27. See vol. i. p. 434.

<sup>2</sup> See Cavallari, p. 86, and compare his map with that of Solubring.

must have been far less suitable for the laying out of continuous streets. The outer town of Akragas must have taken the shape of a crowd of hill-villages, each with its steep sides leading up to its own little akropolis. That the whole or the greater part of the ground within the extended walls was fully occupied is abundantly shown by the large remains of ancient roads and ancient buildings of various dates scattered over its whole surface. Here we follow a wheel-track; here we light on a fragment of wall, on a bath, on the foundation and pavement of an ancient house, on a small temple, on a nameless building with a rich cornice<sup>1</sup>. Most or all of these are of much later date than the time of Thêrôn. But all help to show how, in the days of Thêrôn and long after, the vast extent of Akragas was covered with all that comes of the crowded occupation of a great city.

The tombs of the dead are in these ages of course to be looked for without the walls, in the nekropolis on the western side. Compared with the vast store of primitive tombs at Syracuse, but few places of burial of the earlier inhabitants are found within the wall of Akragas. But the singular appearances in the southern wall, in the inner face of its eastern half, are among the most remarkable things in the city. Tombs cut in the native face of the rock that forms the wall are in no way wonderful. But here we not only see a number of tombs cut in the ground, and a special group partly cut in the ground and partly hewn in the rock<sup>2</sup>; for a considerable distance the wall—the wall here being the native rock—has been thoroughly honeycombed by holes of all shapes and sizes, what have been commonly and reasonably thought to be

The nekropolis.

Tombs in the southern wall.

<sup>1</sup> I mean the round building within the precinct of the monastery of Saint Nicolas. Hard by is the small temple which goes by the strange name of the Chapel of Phalaris. See Dennis, 213; Cavallari, 87.

<sup>2</sup> Those known as the Catacombs of the Frangapani; Cavallari, 88.

CHAP. VI. sepulchral, but about which other opinions have been risked. Specially strange is the effect of this burrowing at those points where the rock which was used as a wall was cut into the shape of a tower. Now these holes cannot be older than the fortification of the enlarged city; they are not cut in the untouched rock but in the wall that was shaped out of the rock. It is past belief that such tampering with the defences of the city could have been allowed in times when these walls still defended it. The unavoidable inference is that all these holes are, what those which are cut in the ground certainly are, Christian, or, if any one pleases, Mussulman, burying-places of later days. By those times Roman Agrigentum had again shrunk up within the old akropolis, and neither Saracen nor Norman Girgenti overleaped that boundary. The walls of the outer city were no longer walls in any military sense; they were open for any one that chose to burrow in them. A village population may well have nestled under the forsaken bulwarks, and more of the temples than one may have been turned into churches or mosques or both in turn. The chances certainly are that these very striking cuttings have nothing to do either with Greek Akragas or with Sikan *pro-Akragas*. They most likely belong to Christian Agrigentum or to Mussulman Girgenti<sup>1</sup>.

Their late  
date

Water-

Temples and walls moreover were not the only works with which the munificent tyrant of Akragas adorned and strengthened his city. Water was a thing of special need in the great circuit which he laid out. For, unless we count the rivulets which may trickle down some of the ravines, there is none within its bounds. At Akragas then, as at Syracuse, an elaborate system of water-courses was needed; and they can hardly fail to have been made at the time of the extension of the city. And we know for certain that that extension was accompanied by great works of

<sup>1</sup> See Cavallari, p. 29.

drainage. For these too the captives of Himera cut the stone as well as for the temples. Of these great drains, which bore the name of their engineer Phaiax, traces are said still to be seen<sup>1</sup>. And we can at least see the site of the great artificial fish-pond, seven stadia round and twenty fathoms deep, with its fish and its swans and its other water-fowl<sup>2</sup>, whose neglect and choking-up the native historian of Sicily laments<sup>3</sup>. We look down on it at the south-western corner of the wall, from the neighbourhood of the most western of the range of temples. In short Thérôn designed to make his city one of the greatest cities of the world, and he succeeded. What the tyrant began the democracy that followed him went on with. Akragas became a city hardly inferior to Syracuse, perhaps at the time greater than Syracuse, in extent and splendour, though she always lagged behind Syracuse in point of external dominion. And, if the growth of Greek colonial cities was quick, their life was often short. Rich and mighty doubtless from the beginning, according to the standard of an earlier time, Akragas, at the age of a hundred years,

CHAP. VI.

The fish-pond.

Greatness of Akragas.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 25; ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὑδάτων τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκροὰς ὑπόθετοι κατασκευάσθησαν. He enlarges on their size, and adds, ἐπιστάτης δὲ τῶν ὑδάτων τῶν ἔργων δὲ προσαγορευόμενος Φαίαξ, διὰ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος ὑπόθετον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κληθῆναι τοὺς ὑποδρόμους φαίαντας. I will not give up the subject of watercourses to Schubring, who discourses in full on the matter at p. 31. He suggests that the φαίαντες were not called after Phaiax, but that Phaiax was the ἐπώνυμος of the φαίαντες. There is certainly something odd in Diodorus' words ὁ προσαγορευόμενος Φαίαξ. Still Phaiax is a real name, as we shall find somewhat later in our story.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xi. 25; ἐκ τούτων ἐπαγομένον ποταμῶν καὶ πρηνέων ὑδάτων, ἰχθυοτροφείον ἐγένετο, πολλοὶ παρέχοντες ἰχθῦς εἰς τροφήν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν. In the other account (xiii. 82), where he calls it λίμνη ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως χαμνοκήτος, he says that the fish were ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων ἐστιάσεων. Athenaios (xii. 59) oddly quotes Diodorus as making the fishpond a work of Gelôn—can he mean Thérôn?—and adds that the fish were ἐκ τῆς τροφῆς καὶ ἀπόλαυσις τῇ Γέλωι. The swans are mentioned in both accounts, the other birds in the later one only.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. xi. 25; ἀλλ' αἴτιη μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἑσπερίοις χρόνοις ἀμειψθεῖσα συνεχώσθη, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου κατεφθάρη. Cf. Athenaios, u. s. The site is still plain enough, but it is now a garden without swans or fish.

CHAP. VI. began to wax far richer and mightier. Seventy-four years later she was, for the first but not for the last time, swept with the besom of destruction.

### § 3. *The Reign of Hieron.*

B. C. 478-467.

Dynasties  
of tyrants  
grow  
worse.

Gelon,  
Hieron,  
and Thra-  
syboulos.

Character  
of the reign  
of Hieron.

His vic-  
tories in  
the games.

The rule that a tyranny showed its worse features under the prince who inherited, as distinguished from him who acquired, dominion, did not fail to come true in the case of the dynasty of the Deinomenids. In the case of a son born, as the phrase is, in the purple, it was almost naturally so. But Gelon was succeeded, not by a son but by a brother, a brother whose fortunes had risen along with his own, and who had been his comrade in the most glorious day of his life. Still there is a marked fall at each succession among the Deinomenid brothers. There is a fall from Gelon to Hieron; there is a fall again from Hieron to Thrasyloulos. Gelon has nothing of the tyrant about him except the way in which he rose to power. Had he been born to be a lawful king, he would have no need for the crimes of his early career. We should have heard only of his good rule over his people, and of the victory won by him on behalf of a wider world than his own people. Hieron, who did not seize power for himself, but succeeded to an established dominion, shows in his internal government every characteristic of the tyrant<sup>1</sup>. He is not indeed charged with the frightful excesses of some other tyrants; still his rule is the rule of a tyrant, suspicious, greedy, and cruel. He won his chief fame by the same course by which other tyrants in later times have won theirs. He made himself a name by splendid victories in the games of old Greece, and those victories were commemorated in the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 218, note.

laureate strains of Pindar and other poets. And he gathered round them all that was brilliant in the opening intellectual world of Sicily and of all Hellas. He has had his reward in the praises of those who best knew how to bestow abiding praise. The Augustan age of Rome, the Medicean age of Florence, were forestalled in the few years' reign of Hierôn over Syracuse and Ætna. The horse-loving king the father of strangers, holy as being the hereditary hierophant of the awful rites from which he took his name<sup>1</sup>, lord of Syracuse, founder of Ætna, defender of Lokroi, victor of Kymê, stands forth in the poetry of Greece with a blaze of glory such as never gathered round the name of Gelôn. When the panegyrist goes on further to speak of the ruler mild to his citizens and envying not the good, we have to make up our minds whether it is the voice of simple flattery or a voice of gentle warning taking its shape<sup>2</sup>.

And yet there is another side to him. Whatever we say of the lord of Syracuse and founder of Ætna, the defender of Lokroi, and still more the victor of Kymê, fully deserves all the praises which the songs of the poets have heaped upon him. Hierôn had fought at Himera; he had shared the glory of his brothers; and, little as there is to be said to his honour in his own household, in his own city, or in his own island, when we once step beyond those bounds, the Hierôn of universal history is fully in his place as the comrade and successor of Gelôn. Among the songs of his poets, those where we listen to the clearest ring of truth, those where we are least tempted to suspect some undercurrent of censure or warning, are the strains which tell how through Hierôn's deeds the maidens of Lokroi could

CHAP. VI.

His patronage of poets.

His better side in universal history.

<sup>1</sup> Pind. Ol. i. 35; *Συρακούσιον ἱεροχάρμαν βασιλῆα*. Pyth. iii. 125; *ξεῖραι δὲ θαυμαστέα τανύη*. This last epithet and some others come together in the Hyporchema of Pindar (Bergk, i. 408) addressed to him as *(αἰθέριον ἱερὸν ἀμύμονε πάτερ κτίστον Αἴτναν*. 'Ιέρων was clearly called from the ancestral *ἱερά*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*; *βασιλεὺς πρῶς ἑταροῖς, οὐ φθόνειν ἀγατοῖς*. See Appendix XXVII.

CHAP. VI. dwell safely in their homes<sup>1</sup>, or that more stirring voice which sang how the Phœnician and the Etruscan ceased from troubling, when they had once felt the might of the lord of Syracuse, first at Himera and then beside the shore of Kymê<sup>2</sup>. The second son of Deinomenês has, like the first, his place among the champions of Hellas, the champions of Europe. As such, let him enjoy his honours. And we may add that his actual recorded misdeeds do not seem in number or in blackness to have outdone those by which his brother became lord of Gela and of Syracuse. But he had not his brother's gift of making an unworthy rise to power be forgotten in a worthier use of it. In the city which he had made his by force and guile Gelôn was in life honoured as a king, and in death worshipped as a hero. Neither the praises of his poets nor the real merits of one side of his acts can avail to lift Hierôn out of the class of tyrants.

His Hel-  
lenic cham-  
pionship.

Compari-  
son of  
Gelôn and  
Hierôn.

Suspicious  
nature of  
Hierôn's  
govern-  
ment.

His mer-  
cenaries.

The chief characteristic of the government of Hierôn was suspicion. His authority rested on the spears of mercenaries. So in some sort had that of Gelôn; but the mercenaries by whom Gelôn had been served in his rise to power had passed into the ranks of citizens. As such, they no longer answered the purposes of Hierôn, who accordingly gathered fresh hirelings from all parts, as a

<sup>1</sup> Pindar, Pyth. ii. 35 :

σὲ δ' ὃ Δεινομένειε παῖ, Ζεφυρία πρὸ δόμων  
Ἀερκίς παρθέναι ἄπται,  
πολεμίων παμάτων ἐξ ἀμεχάνων  
διὰ τοῦτον δόναριν δρακῆος' ἀσφαλεί.

See below, p. 240, and Appendix IX.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. i. 136 ;

λίσσομαι ναῦσαν, Κρούϊον, Ἡμερων  
ὄφρα πατ' οἶκον ὃ Φοίνιξ ὃ Τυρσανῶν τ' ἀλαλατόι  
ἔχῃ, ναυσίστατον ὕβριν ἰδὼν  
τὸν πρὸ Κίμρας  
ὅλα Συρακοσίων ἀρχῇ δαμασθέντες πάθον,  
ἀκυστῶσαν ἀπὸ ναῶν ὃ σφιν ἐν πόντῳ βάλεθ' ἀλυσάν  
'Ελλάδ' ἐξέλεον βαρείας δουλίας.



needed support of his power<sup>1</sup>. If the dialogue among the writings of Xenophón which bears his name contains any relics of genuine tradition and is not a mere ideal picture of tyranny, Hierón could trust none, neither citizen nor friend nor wife nor beloved one. The tyrant could never be certain that any of these served him from love rather than from fear<sup>2</sup>. He was guarded by strangers rather than by citizens, by barbarians rather than by Greeks<sup>3</sup>. This is, to be sure, a general picture of tyranny; but it proves something that Hierón should have been picked out as the representative of tyranny; one can hardly fancy such a picture being drawn of Gelón.

On the purely domestic side of Hierón's character, there is some ground to think that this picture is exaggerated. There are at least anecdotes which show that he lived on terms of the closest confidence with one at least of his wives. Of these he had three. A daughter of Nikoklés of Syracuse was the mother of his son Deinomenês<sup>4</sup>. She was followed by the daughter of Anaxilas of Rhêgion<sup>5</sup> and

CHAP. VI.  
The Hierón  
of Xeno-  
phón.

His wives.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 48; *αὐτὸς δὲ ξενολογῶν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν σέσημα ξένων παρασκαύζων, ἐπελάμβανεν ἰσχυρῶς καθέξειν τὴν βασιλείαν*. Of the proverb preserved by Zénobios (τ 88); *Ξικλὲς στρατιώτης παροιμιῶδες ἐπεὶ ξένους ἐχρῶντο στρατιώταις, οὐ καὶ πολλοὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἰέρωνι*. I suppose this means the first Hierón; but among these late collectors we cannot expect Ξικλὲς and Ξικελιώτης to be distinguished.

<sup>2</sup> The whole of the Dialogue between Hierón and Simónidēs is devoted to setting forth the wretchedness of the tyrant from the confessed experiences of one of the class. The first chapter is largely employed in showing how little the tyrant can enjoy love, friendship, or anything else, because, as nothing can be denied to him, he cannot be sure that anything is given to him willingly. The name of Dallochos in c. 31 must come from some contemporary source. Cf. the fragment in Athen. x. 30 (Bergk, i. 425), with the names of Chimæros and Agathôn.

<sup>3</sup> Xen. Hier. vi. 5; *ἐν δὲ ξένους μὲν μᾶλλον ἢ πολίτας πιστεύειν, βαρβάρους δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ Ἕλλησιν*. He adds, with a clear reference to the changes of population at Syracuse and elsewhere; *ἐπιθρομῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρους δοῦλους ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ δοῦλους ἀναγκάζεσθαι ποιεῖν ἐλευθέρους*.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Pind. Pyth. i. 112. He quotes Philistea and Timæon.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 211.

CHAP. VI by the niece of Thêrôn of Akragas<sup>1</sup>. But as regards his  
 His spies. general government, there is distinct evidence to show its  
 specially suspicious character. The Greek tongue in its  
 Doric form was enriched by new words to describe the  
 spies of both sexes whom the lord of Syracuse employed  
 to make their way into every social gathering of his sub-  
 jects, and to bring their report to their master<sup>2</sup>. This  
 we may believe. It is going too far when a late writer  
 tells us that Hierôn forbade the people of Syracuse to open  
 their lips at all, and that they therefore took to the lan-  
 guage of gestures<sup>3</sup>. But there is no doubt that Hierôn's  
 reign was a reign of violence; the days of Gelôn, with  
 his mild rule and frank demeanour, had passed away. It  
 was also a reign of heavy exactions. Hierôn, like the  
 Conqueror of England, had fallen into covetousness, and  
 greediness he loved withal<sup>4</sup>. And his disputes with the  
 worthiest of his own kindred form no small part of the  
 history of his time.

Hierôn  
 and Poly-  
 zêlos.

Of the Greek tyrant it is specially to be looked  
 for that his foes should be they of his own household.  
 The special object of the jealousy of Hierôn was his  
 own brother Polyzêlos. Entrusted by Gelôn with the  
 charge of his young son, the third son of Deinomenês had  
 further won the love which the people of Syracuse refused

<sup>1</sup> This is perhaps the wife of whom Plutarch tells the story, *Apophth.*  
*Ἱεράωνος*, 3; λαθροθεῖτε ἐπὶ τινες εἰς τὴν δυσωδίαν τοῦ στόματος, ἀνῆλθε τὴν  
 αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα μηδέποτε περὶ τοῦτου φράσειςαν ἢ δὲ εἶπεν φμην γὰρ τοιοῦτον  
 ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀνδρας ὄξω. This would seem to be the same wife who asks  
 a question of *Σιμόσιδης*.

<sup>2</sup> *Arist. Pol.* v. 9. 3; καὶ τὸ μὴ λαθάνειν περιῆσθαι ὅσα τυγχάνει τι  
 λέγων ἢ πράττων τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀλλ' εἶναι κατακείμενοι, οἷον περὶ *Χυρ-  
 κουσίους* αἱ πυταγωγίδες καλαύμεναι καὶ τοὺς *ὠτακουστὰς*, οὗς ἐξέτεμεν ἐ  
*Ἱέραν*, ἔπον τι εἰς συνουσίᾳ ἢ σύλλογοι. The names seem coined for the  
 occasion, like the names coined to describe doings of *Tiberius* of another  
 kind.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix XXVII.

<sup>4</sup> *Diod.* xi. 67; ἦν καὶ φιλαργυροὶ καὶ βίαιοι, καὶ καθύλου τῆς ἀσέλγητος  
 καὶ καλοκαγαθίας τάδελοφῶ ἄλλοτριώτατος.

to their actual ruler<sup>1</sup>. The friendship too of Thêrôn of Akragas passed on the death of Gelôn, not to Gelôn's successor in the dominion of Syracuse, but to the new husband of his own daughter Damareta. A brother who was dangerous to the tyranny in so many ways needed to be got rid of or to be made harmless. In a distant and dangerous foreign service he might be got rid of easily and quietly. The arts by which the fate of Uriah had been compassed among the kinsmen of the Phœnician were not unknown in the policy which sought to find out what words every man in Syracuse spoke to his fellow. The errand on which Polyzêlos was sent marks a chief difference between the policy of Hierôn and that of Gelôn. Except so far as dealings with the lord of Zanklê were necessarily dealings with the lord of Rhêgion, the warfare and policy of Gelôn do not seem to have reached beyond his own island. He guarded Syracuse and Sicily; but he sought for no dominion beyond their waters. He made no conquests, he planted no colonies, beyond their bounds. He meddled with the affairs of no prince or people out of Sicily except as matter of sheer self-defence. But the policy of Hierôn was that of later lords of Syracuse, with whom one great object was the winning of dominion, or at least of influence, in other lands than Sicily, and above all in the neighbouring land of Italy. In the affairs of that land he had at this moment an honourable opportunity for interfering. The Krotoniats were carrying on a war against that feeble remnant of mighty Sybaris which still kept on a precarious life as an independent state. Hierôn did at least take the side of the weaker party, and Polyzêlos was bidden to lead an army to the defence of the Sybarites. He was sent, so men said, in the hope that he might be slain by the sword of the men of Kroton. The story is told in various ways. In one

CHAP. VI.

Hierôn's  
devices  
against  
his brother.Foreign  
policy of  
Hierôn;  
contrast  
with  
Gelôn.Hierôn de-  
fends the  
Sybarites  
against  
Kroton.<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXIII.

CHAP. VI. version Polyzélos declines or evades the dangerous command; in another he wages the war with such success as still further to arouse his brother's jealousy. In a third tale the enemies against whom he is sent are not Greeks in Italy, but Sikels in their own island<sup>1</sup>. In all versions the brothers become open enemies, and Polyzélos seeks shelter at the hands of his father-in-law at Akragas.

War between  
Hierôn and  
Thêrôn.  
B.C. 478-  
476.

Mediation  
of Simô-  
nidês.

Kapys and  
Hippokratês.

Thrasy-  
daïos at  
Himera.

The friendship between the lords of Syracuse and Akragas was now broken for a season, and was perhaps never again restored so firmly as it had stood in the days of Gelôn. Hierôn at once declared war against the protector of his exiled brother. In one version Thêrôn enters the dominions of Hierôn, and marches as far as the river Gelas; but actual warfare is hindered by the mediation of the poet Simônidês<sup>2</sup>. And this story seems to have got mixed up with a tale of the two kinsmen of Thêrôn, Kapys and Hippokratês, who are said to have revolted against him, and to have joined some enemy of his, perhaps Hierôn, perhaps the Carthaginians<sup>3</sup>. In another account Hierôn is made to win back the friendship of Thêrôn by a singular deed of treachery. The lord of Akragas and Himera, who left behind him so honoured a memory at Akragas, could hardly have won much good will at Himera. That city could have gained nothing by driving out its former tyrant Térillos when Thêrôn entrusted its rule to his son Thrasydaïos. As usual, the worst features of tyranny came out in the second generation. The son of Thêrôn walked not in the ways of his father. His rule at Himera was oppressive, and drew on him general hatred. Under the yoke of Térillos the men of Himera had called in Thêrôn as a deliverer; under the yoke of Thêrôn's son they held it useless to appeal to his father, deeming that

<sup>1</sup> On all these points see Appendix XXIII.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XXIII.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix XXIII, and above, p. 147.

from him they would have no fair hearing. Was this a general common-place of human nature, or does it point to a weak side in Thêrôn's character, the common weak side in the character of princes? Under the usual delusion that any change of masters must be for the better, the men of Himera betook themselves to the lord of Syracuse. They offered to give up their city into his hands, and to join him in an attack on the lord of Akragas. Hierôn, it would seem, thought that any immediate gain that would come to him from the very distant possession of Himera was of less moment than the common cause of rulers against their subjects. He betrayed his Himeraian suppliants to Thêrôn. Instead of giving them any help, or seemingly any answer, he sent a secret message to the lord of Akragas to say what was going on. Between the two tyrants a peace was easily patched up. Hierôn, widowed of his Syracusan and his Rhegine wife, took Thêrôn's niece in marriage<sup>1</sup>, and the present husband of Damareta was restored to his honours at Syracuse. But a frightful vengeance fell on the discontented party in Himera. Thêrôn, so mild at Akragas, sent, perhaps went in person, to the city where he had won his highest fame, and there let slay all who had spoken or acted against him, who were many in number<sup>2</sup>.

CHAP. VI  
The Himeraians offer themselves to Hierôn.

He betrays them to Thêrôn.

Vengeance of Thêrôn.

In another version Thrasydaïos and Polyzêlos are brought more closely together. Thrasydaïos, from what motive is not explained, stirs up Polyzêlos against his brother, and promises him help in any enterprise against him. Simônides steps in and, in some way not very clearly described, reconciles the contending princes<sup>3</sup>. In these accounts Himera seems to be forgotten; but we have other dark notices of disturbances there<sup>4</sup>, and we have one more

Other versions.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 236, and Appendix XXVI.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XXIII.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix XXIII.

<sup>4</sup> The Scholiasts on Pindar, Ol. xii, the one addressed to Ergotolês of

CHAP. VI.  
Thérôn's  
settlement  
of Himera.

distinct statement as to its affairs. The year after the massacre, which seems to have seriously lessened the number of the citizens of Himera, Thérôn found it expedient to send fresh colonists thither. Himera had been from the beginning a city of mixed race, a Dorian element having been mingled with the Chalkidian majority<sup>1</sup>. The lord of Doric Akragas, in inviting settlers from all parts, sought specially to strengthen this Doric element in Himera<sup>2</sup>. It may be that now Ergotelês of Knôssos in Crete, Ergotelês sung of by Pindar, when driven from his native city by some civil broil, received the citizenship of Himera. But the victory which Pindar sang belongs to a later time when Emmenids no longer ruled in Himera.

Action of  
Hierôn in  
Italy.

The version of this story which makes the quarrel between Hierôn and Polyzêlos arise out of warfare in Italy falls in with the other notices which set Hierôn before us as playing an active part in Italian affairs. As sometimes happens with men of mixed character, he plays a far more honourable part at a distance than he does nearer home. He steps in both to save Greek Italy—and Sicily too—from barbarian invasion, and also to save particular Greek cities from oppression at the hands of their Greek neighbours. We have seen him step in to save the remnant of Sybaris

Designs of  
Anaxilas  
against  
Lokroi.

from overthrow at the hands of Krotôn. He steps in also to save the Italian Lokroi from overthrow at the hands of the prince who reigned both in Sicily and in Italy. About the same time as the affair of Himera, Anaxilas of Zanklê and Rhêgion and his son Kleophrôn threatened the

Knôssos and Himera, of whom we shall have to speak again, refer vaguely to disturbances in the latter city. See Appendix XXIII.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> *Diod. xi. 49* (it is a comfort to get back to him after the Scholiasts): *Θήρων, μετὰ τὴν Ἱμεραίων σφαγὴν, ὁρῶν τὴν πόλιν οὐλομένην, συναμίμνεν εἰς ταύτην τοὺς τε Δωριεὺς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς βουλευμένους ἐπολιτογράφου*

independence, perhaps designed the utter overthrow, of Lokroi. Anaxilas, as we have seen, had, since the battle of Himera, acknowledged some kind of superiority on the part of the lord of Syracuse<sup>1</sup>. An embassy from the overlord was enough. Chromios, the comrade and brother-in-law of Gelôn and Hierôn, was sent to announce his mighty kinsman's will. Anaxilas ceased from troubling Lokroi, and to this interference Hierôn owed one of the most genuine pieces of praise ever bestowed on him by his poets<sup>2</sup>. This enterprise and humiliation were the last recorded events of the life of Anaxilas. He died the next year. His son Kleophrôn, or Leophrôn, who seems to have acted as his representative in Zanklé, must have died before him<sup>3</sup>. He left his power to two other sons of tender age under a guardian named Mikythos son of Choïros, a faithful steward, of whom we shall hear again, and who discharged his trust better than Gelôn had discharged his trust towards the sons of Hippokratês<sup>4</sup>.

CHAP. VI.

Mission of  
Chromios  
deliverance  
of Lokroi.  
B.C. 477.Death of  
Anaxilas.  
B.C. 476.His sons  
succeed  
under the  
care of  
Mikythos.

The wholesale transportation of the inhabitants from one city to another has, under the rule of the tyrants, become as familiar among the Greeks of Sicily as it had always been among the despots of the East. We have seen what Gelôn did in this way in his own birth-place

Transport-  
ations of  
inhabit-  
ants.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> The verses of Pindar, Pyth. ii. 34, have been quoted already (see above, p. 231). The story is told by several scholiasts. Anaxilas is at war with Lokroi, and Chromios is sent with the message. In another version (Pyth. i. 98) the designs of Anaxilas seem to go further; *Δόκρουσ ἠθέλησεν ἄρδην ἀπολέσσαι*. (See Appendix X.)

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix IX, X.

<sup>4</sup> Clinton fixes the death of Anaxilas to B.C. 476. Mikythos is mentioned by Herodotus, vii. 170; *ὁ δὲ Μίκυθος, οἰκίτην ἔχων Ἀναξιλέω, ἐπύρροπος Ἐργίου καταλέλειπτο*. Diodôros (xi. 48) is fuller; *τὴν τυραννίδα διδάξατο Μίκυθος πιστευθεὶς, ὥστε ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς τέκνοις τοῦ τελευτήσαντος, οἷσι νέετο τὴν ἡλικίαν*. Cf. Justin, iv. 2. 2. See Appendix XXIX.

CHAP VI.

Hierôn of  
Ætna.Eruption  
of Ætna.  
B. C. 475.

and elsewhere, and we have seen what Thêrôn did at Himera after a deal of blood such as is nowhere laid to the charge of Gelôn. Forced migrations of this kind, helped on by other migrations which were not forced, had caused not a few to exchange the citizenship of their native city for that of some other to which they belonged only by adoption. We have heard Ergotelês of Knôssos described to assembled Hellas as Ergotelês of Himera, and two men more famous than Ergotelês were presently to be described in the like sort by the names of cities which were not theirs by birth. Hierôn himself, by birth of Gela, received the poet's tribute both as Hieron of Syracuse and as Hierôn of Ætna<sup>1</sup>. Chromios too, so nearly allied to him in every way, once, like him, of Gela, then of Syracuse, was also proclaimed in the games of Nemea by the same local description<sup>2</sup>. The right of either so to describe himself, the right of Ætna to rank among the cities of Hellas, had been won in a strange fashion. The cloud-capped mountain whose abiding snow struck men from Old Greece as a thing of wonder was busy in Hierôn's day sending forth its rivers of fire to lay waste the fields of fruitful Sicily<sup>3</sup>. So sang both Pindar and Æschylus, and Pindar's trade laid on him the task of recording, not only the physical revolutions of the mountain, but the political

<sup>1</sup> On the dates, see Appendix XXVII.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix X.

<sup>3</sup> See the description of Ætna in Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 33, beginning

νῦν γὰρ μὲν  
ταῖς δ' ἐνδὲρ Κίμωσ ἀλειφόμεναι ὄχθαι  
Σικελία δ' αὐτοῦ πείθει στίβον λαχόντα,

and mark the skill with which Kymê is brought in here to lead up to the mention of Hierôn's victory at Kymê further on. Compare the kindred passage in Æschylus, *Prom.* 363, of which see below, p. 179. The reference in both passages is clearly to the great eruption of 475. It is clearly fixed to that date by Thucydides, iii. 116. It was fifty years before B. C. 425. The Parian Chronicle (Müller, i. 550, Flack, 14, 25) places it in the same year as the battle of Platais (479), τὸ πῦρ ἐρρόη αὐτῶν, ἐν Σικελίᾳ κατὰ τὴν Αἰτναίαν ἢ Αἰτνῆν, or whatever is the right filling up.



revolutions of the city to which it was so dangerous a neighbour. In the days of the Pious Brethren it was the lands of Katanê on which the fire-flood spread itself, they were now the lands of Katanê no longer. CHAP. VI.

It fell in short to the lot of the laureate of tyrants to tell, as gently as a laureate could, the deeds of the man who took to himself the name of a founder on the strength of wiping out the name of a Hellenic city and driving forth its people from their homes. Naxos, eldest of Sikeliot cities, formed part of the dominion which had been won by Hippokratês, and which had passed from him to Gelôn and to Hierôn<sup>1</sup>. Of Katanê we have heard nothing during all these changes; but it is now spoken of in a way which implies that it too was among the possessions of the lord of Syracuse. The year before the eruption, Hierôn had, in the full wantonness of despotism, caused all the inhabitants of Naxos and Katanê to transport themselves to Leontinoi<sup>2</sup>. The empty Katanê he peopled afresh with five thousand settlers from Peloponnêsos and five thousand more from Syracuse, making thus a city of a myriad citizens. Among them he parted out both the former land of Katanê and much other land in the neighbourhood, the rich plain between the two cities, once called after Leontinoi and afterwards after Katanê<sup>3</sup>. The sending forth of colonists from Syracuse is to be noted. Widely as the city had spread beyond its old bounds, the increase in the number of the citizens would seem to have been in still greater proportion. By a kind of fiction—a legal fiction we can hardly call it—Katanê, peopled by new citizens, was held

Hierôn  
drives out  
the people  
of Katanê  
and founds  
Ætna.  
B.C. 476.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xi. 49; τοὺς Νεξίους καὶ τοὺς Καταναίους ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων ἀναστὰς θέντας μεταμίσεν εἰς τοὺς Λεοντινοὺς, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐγγυρίων προσέταξε κατοικεῖν τὴν πόλιν.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.; τὴν χώραν εὖ μόνον τὴν Καταναίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴν τῆς ὁμόρου προσθεὶς κατεκληρούχησε, μυρίους πληρώσας οἰκητορας.

CHAP. VI. to have become a new city, and to be entitled to a new name. That new name it took from the great mountain, and for a while Katanè was officially named *Ætna*. It was specially placed under the protection of *Ætnean Zeus*, and an *Ætnean* feast was held in his honour<sup>1</sup>. Of the city thus founded Hierôn was held to be the founder. And both himself and his friend Chromios, once men of Gela, then men of Syracuse, took to themselves yet a new description, and were enrolled on the list of citizens of *Ætna*.

Hierôn  
founder of  
*Ætna*.

Policy of  
Hierôn  
in the  
founda-  
tion.

Two motives are said to have led Hierôn to this act. One was a plain motive of policy. *Ætna* was to be a bulwark of his dominion over Syracuse, a city of refuge in case his dominion over Syracuse should ever be overthrown. Hierôn knew well enough how liable to overthrow such a power as his always was; nothing would strengthen it better than to have a stronghold at hand peopled by men who were bound to him by other ties than those of simple fear. How wisely he reckoned in this point of view we shall presently see when the evil day did come, not indeed on himself, but on his house and his dominion. With this politic aim was joined a more sentimental feeling. He longed for the honours which had fallen to the lot of his brother in life and death. Founder of a myriad-peopled city, he hoped that he might one day receive the same heroic worship which was paid to Gelôn at Syracuse<sup>2</sup>. But the two cases were wholly different. Whatever we call Gelôn at Megara or Eubœia or his native Gela, at Syracuse he really was a founder. To the new city on the mainland and to its citizens he was well nigh as true a

Gelôn and  
Hierôn as  
founders.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Ol. vi. 162; ἐν τῇ Αἰτνῇ Διὶ Αἰτναίου ἑτάλμα ἱέρεται καὶ ἐστὶν Αἰτναία καλεῖσθαι. Could this have gone on at *Indus* or anywhere in the scholiast's time?

<sup>2</sup> Diodoros (xl. 49) couples the two motives; τοῦτο δ' ἐπράξε σπεύδων ὅμα μὲν εἶχεν βοήθειαν ἐτοίμην ἀξιόλογον πρὸς τὰς ἐπιούσας χρεῖας, ὅμα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς γενομένης μυριάδου πόλιν τιμῆς εἶχεν ὁρμήσας.

founder as Archas was to the elder city in the island. If CHAP. VI.  
 he had not called Achradina into being, he had welded  
 Achradina and Ortygia into one whole, and had given the  
 enlarged Syracuse the fresh life of a new city. And he  
 had founded the new without disturbing the old, save by  
 bringing back again those who had been already driven  
 from their homes. He had made Syracuse the head of  
 Hellenic Sicily, mightier than any city of the older lands  
 of Hellas. To his new Ætna Hierôn had given nothing  
 but a new name and new inhabitants, planted and enriched  
 at the cost of the old citizens and their neighbours.

Yet it is plain that this so-called foundation of Ætna  
 was looked on by Hierôn as the most glorious exploit  
 of his life<sup>1</sup>. His ears were before all things tickled  
 when his poets called him the renowned founder of an  
 illustrious city, a city which bore the name of the fiery  
 mountain which Zeus had chosen as his Sicilian throne.  
 Of that city he was founder and citizen, but he was not to  
 be king or tyrant in his own person. Foreseeing perhaps Deino-  
menês king  
of Ætna.  
 a firmer rule for his house in his new foundation than in  
 Gela or in Syracuse, he ordained Ætna, as we learn from the  
 strains of his poet, to be the kingdom of his son Deino-  
 menês<sup>2</sup>. The royal title is given to him in so marked a  
 way that one is tempted to believe that there was some  
 formal proclamation of kingship in Ætna. And such pro-  
 clamations are at least more likely in the new-founded city  
 than in the elder commonwealth of Syracuse. In Ætna Guardian-  
ship of  
Chromios.  
 the young Deinomenês was to reign, under the guardian-  
 ship of his uncle Chromios, as his Mayor of the Palace<sup>3</sup>.  
 But in the eyes of the poet at least, the King of Ætna  
 was to be a constitutional king. Pindar sang of the god-  
 built freedom of the new city, where kings and citizens were  
 to dwell in unity by the banks of Amenanos, where a king

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXVII.<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XXVII.<sup>3</sup> See Appendix X and XXVII.

CHAP. VI. of the Hylleid tribe was to reign according to the laws of Hyllos, like his Hērakleid fellows in more ancient Sparta<sup>1</sup>. But it would seem that even the flatterer, in looking forward to the glories of the son, could not wholly shut his eyes to the real deeds of the father. Father and son alike needed covert warnings and exhortations to rule justly, to keep their hands from base gain, and to make Cræsus the model of their rule rather than Phalaris<sup>2</sup>. Hierôn himself, having set his son on his new throne, falls back on the Syracusan name. But the new creation is not forgotten. It is still the Ætnean host who welcomes the minstrel to his home by the fount of Arethousa<sup>3</sup>.

Our notices of Hierôn in his character of founder of Ætna come chiefly from the odes in which Pindar sings the praises whether of Hierôn of Ætna or of Hierôn of Syracuse. To the order of those odes, to the victories of Hierôn at Olympia, Pythô, and elsewhere we shall come presently. But in connexion with the Olympic fame of Hierôn there is a strange story which so oddly forestalls an incident in the life of a later lord of Syracuse that one is tempted to doubt whether the tale has not wandered out of its place, according to the general law that any story of any Syracusan tyrant may be freely told of any other. Yet we are told on fairly decent authority that at one Olympic festival, seemingly the first after the flight of Xerxês and the death of Hamilkar, the tyrant Hierôn sent horses to contend in the games, and caused a costly tent to be set up for those who had come on his errand. But Themistoklês made a speech to the assembled Greeks, bidding them tear down the tent of

Hierôn's  
alleged  
exclusion  
from the  
Olympic  
games.  
B.C. 476.

Speech of  
Themis-  
toklês.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXVII.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix VII and XXVII, and above, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Pind. Pyth. iii. 120 ;

*καὶ σὺν ἐν ταῖσιν μέλιν' ἰοίαν τίμωρ θέλασσαν  
'Αρίστοναι ἐπὶ κρήναι παρ' Αἰτναίων ἴδον,  
ὅς Χερσίδεσσιν εἴμει βασιλεία.*

the tyrant and hinder his horses from taking their chance CHAP. VI.  
in the race<sup>1</sup>. Here no special motive is assigned; it seems to be taken for granted that to be a tyrant is of itself a crime to be punished by being shut out from Hellenic fellowship. A later version makes Themistoklēs, amid general applause, give as a reason for the course which he counselled that Hierôn, who had stood aloof from the great struggle of Hellas, was unworthy to take a part in the common Hellenic festival<sup>2</sup>. It is hardly possible that this particular charge could have been brought against a man who had played his part against the Phœnician at Himera, while the fame of that great day was still fresh. But we have seen from various accounts of the embassy to Gelôn that this is exactly the kind of reason which was likely to attach itself to the story a generation or two later<sup>3</sup>. The suggestion of a modern writer is far more Motives  
of Themis-  
toklēs.  
likely, that, if anything of the kind happened at all, the wrath of Themistoklēs and the assembled Greeks was stirred up by men from Naxos and Katanê, fresh from their forced migration, who could tell assembled Hellas, above all its Ionian portion, how two Hellenic and Ionian cities, one of them the eldest child of Hellas on Sicilian ground, had fared at the hands of the man who sought after Hellenic honours in so boastful a guise<sup>4</sup>. But the tale is so like a tale of Dionysios told on better witness that it is only with fear and trembling that we can admit

<sup>1</sup> Plut. Themist. 23; *Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ βασιλείας ἱστορεῖ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα νέμμεντον εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν Ἰέρωνος ἱπποῦς ἀγωνιστὰς καὶ σκηρὴν τινα κατεσκευασμένην πολυτιλῶς στήσαντες, εἰπεῖν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι λόγον, ὅτι χρὴ τὴν σκηρὴν διαρπάσαι τοῦ τυράννου καὶ καλύσαι τοὺς ἵππους ἀγωνίσασθαι.* This is dangerously like the story of Lysias and Dionysios, Diod. xiv. 109. See more below, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> This comes from *Allian*, Var. Hist. ix. 5; *Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἰέρωνα ἔκαστα εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν Ὀλυμπίαν ἀγομένην ἵππου ἀγὼνα εἶρε τῆς ἀγωνίας, εἰπὼν τὸν μὴ μεταλαμβάνειν τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν κινδύνων τῶν παρηγορίαν μεταλαμβάνειν μὴ δεῖν· καὶ ἐπινέθη ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς.* This late compiler fancies Hierôn to have come in person, which is most unlikely.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 243.

<sup>4</sup> Lloyd, pp. 127-131.

CHAP. VI. the tradition of Hierôn's dishonour at Olympia to even a doubtful place in our history.

Hierôn's  
action in  
Italy.

Advance of  
the native  
races.

Growth of  
Kymê

Haven of  
Dikai-  
archia.  
B.C. 528.

But the most honourable field of Hierôn's personal action, as distinguished from the one great day on which he was his brother's comrade, is again to be found in Italy. We have twice seen him stretching forth a hand to help Greek cities there against Greek enemies; he now stands forth as the champion of Hellas against barbarians no less distinctly than Gelôn had stood forth at Himera. We have come to the first mention which at all concerns our Sicilian story of that form of barbarian advance which in the end overcame the Greeks of Italy, and which has to be, partly compared, partly contrasted, with the forms of barbarian advance against which Sicily and Old Greece had to strive. The pressure of the native races of Italy on the Greek settlements in that peninsula, the pressure which led to the mournful holy day of barbarized Poseidônia<sup>1</sup>, had now begun. It has not yet taken the shape which it took a little later; and, according to some theories, we ought not to speak of the native races of Italy as the invaders of the Greater Hellas during the struggle of which we have just now to speak. For the enemies of Greece against whom Hierôn stepped in to defend his Italian allies were the sea-faring Etruscans. Kymê, oldest and most advanced outpost of Hellas on Italian soil, though now beginning to draw towards the term of its Hellenic being, was as yet advancing in wealth and power. The lonely hill-city had now won for itself a haven on the gulf, sheltered by the Misenean headland and the islands anchored by its side, as yet Greek Dikaiarchia, to be more famous in after-times as Latin Puteoli<sup>2</sup>. It was the head of a group of Greek

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, v. 4. 5, calls Dikaiarchia *ἐνταῦθα Κυμαίων ἐν' ὁρίων Ἰσχυρίων*, and it seems to be referred to by Dionysios (vii. 3) when he speaks of Kymê as *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποτόκων τῶν περὶ Μισυρίαν ἐκτισμένων*. But see Bun-

cities on the Campanian gulf, a centre of Greek influence in that region, which marked it out for the jealousy of its more powerful barbarian neighbours. CHAP. VI.

This brings us to a series of memorable events in the early history of Italy. In the first, of which we have to speak, more strictly Italian nations are said to have taken part, but it was essentially an enterprise of Etruscan Campania against dangerous Greek neighbours. The attack, a land B.C. 524. attack of an Etruscan power dominant from the Campanian gulf to the borders of Gaul, was beaten back<sup>1</sup>, and the next Etruscan warfare in which Kymê played a part was one in which Greeks and Latins significantly fought as comrades. Call it as we will, by its old name of the war with Porsena Battle of Aricia. B.C. 503. or by the more scientific description of the revolt of Latium against Etruscan rule, there seems no reason to doubt the truth of that fight of Aricia in which the victory of Kymê and her Latin allies broke the Etruscan power asunder, made room for the growth of the Latin city by the Tiber, and gave the Greeks of Italy a breathing-space<sup>2</sup>. Less Tyranny of Aristodêmos at Kymê. B.C. 503 happy in its results within the walls of Kymê, the fame that Aristodêmos won as leader of the Kymaian force enabled him to rise to the dominion of his native city. He overthrew what seems to have been an oppressive, while a vigorous, oligarchy; and he set up in its stead a tyranny which, unless he be greatly slandered, outdid in crime and bloodshed anything that Sicily ever saw, at all events between Phalaris and Agathoklêas<sup>3</sup>. At the court of Aristodêmos the banished Tarquin was said to have found a

bury (Diet. Geog., Puteoli) on the possible Samian element. "Samii Dicomarchiam condiderunt, quam nunc Puteolos vocant," says Eusebius under A.C. 529 or 531. So Steph. Byz. in *Περὶ πόλεως Ἀρκαδικῆς*. See Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 89.

<sup>1</sup> The account, largely legendary, is given by Dionysios, vii. 3, 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 5. Cf. Liv. ii. 14. Anything beyond the merest outline of these matters I must leave to the special historians of Rome.

<sup>3</sup> See the whole story of his rise to power and his use of it in Dionysios, vii. 6-9.

CHAP. VI. shelter, when Lars Porsena of Clusium and the Tusculan Mamilius had alike failed to bring him home<sup>1</sup>.

Naval at-  
tack of the  
Etruscans  
on Kymê.  
B.C. 474-

The tyranny of Aristodêmos was overpast, and now, in the days of Hierôn, free Kymê was again threatened with an Etruscan attack<sup>2</sup>. This time, since the day of Aricia, the enemy could no longer march unopposed along the whole southern coast of Italy. The invaders had now to come by sea, and it has been most commonly thought that the fleets of Etruria and Carthage joined their whole might for the destruction of the Hellenic city<sup>3</sup>. But the

No concert  
between  
Carthage  
and  
Etruria.

few words of prose narrative, the few words of exulting minstrelry, from which we get our whole knowledge of the event do not necessarily imply this alliance, otherwise likely enough in itself, of the two enemies of Hellas in the West. The Phœnician, even after the day of Himera, is still dangerous; the Etruscan is dangerous also; but we cannot infer for certain that they acted in concert<sup>4</sup>. But there is no doubt that Kymê, hard pressed by the Etruscan enemy, prayed for help from the lord of Syracuse, whose interference on behalf of Lokroi and the remnant of the Sybarites may have gained him the reputation of the general defender of oppressed Italian cities. If Hierôn stepped in to rescue Greeks from Greeks, how much more should he step in to rescue Greeks from barbarians. The cry was not unheeded; the ships of Syracuse sailed to join the ships of Kymê, and the invading armada was overthrown

Hierôn  
sends  
help to  
Kymê.  
Defeat of  
the Etrus-  
cans.

<sup>1</sup> Dion. vii. 2. 12; Liv. ii. 21, 34.

<sup>2</sup> For its overthrow see Dion. Hal. vii. 9-11. One is sorry to hear of the un-Hellenic use of torture.

<sup>3</sup> See Busolt, ii. 275; Grote, iv. 306.

<sup>4</sup> It is certain that the short account in Diodôros (xi. 52) has no mention of Carthaginians, neither has the votive helmet of Hierôn. The notion of an union of Carthaginians and Etruscans seems to come from the words of Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 136 et seqq., as understood by his Scholiast, l. 137. But the poet himself most likely only meant to couple the overthrow of the Phœnicians at Himera and that of the Etruscans at Kymê as deliverances of Hellas from the barbarian. See above, p. 234.



with utter overthrow<sup>1</sup>. Not a detail of an event in Hierôn's life second only to his presence at Himera has come down to us. But our own land contains a memorial of it, which would find a more fitting home at Syracuse, at Olympia, or on whatever spot of Campanian ground may best claim to be the heir of Kymê. Among the treasures of the British Museum a strange chance has placed the helmet once dedicated at Olympia, which told, in archaic speech and letters, how Hierôn son of Deinomenês and the Syracusans offered the gift to Zeus as spoil won from the Tyrrhenians before Kymê<sup>2</sup>. CHAP. VI.  
Hierôn's helmet.

It marks the wide-reaching character of Hierôn's policy that he was not satisfied with the deliverance of Kymê and with the heavy blow which he had dealt to the Etruscan power. He further designed to plant an outpost, most likely of Syracusan dominion, certainly of Syracusan influence, in the region where he had been warring. The island which has at various times been known as Pithékousa, Ænaria, and Ischia, seems to guard or to threaten the gulf of Kymê like a vessel anchored at its mouth. Hierôn marked the island as a site for a colony. He was not the first to plant a Greek settlement on the spot. Pithékousa had been already occupied by an Eretrian colony, which flourished for a while through the fruitfulness of the soil and the gold mines which the island con- His colony at Pithékousa or Ischia.

<sup>1</sup> The account in Diodóros, xi. 51, is short but emphatic; *οἱ τῶν νεῶν τοῦτων ἡγεμόνες ἐπειδὴ κατέκλυσαν εἰς τὴν Κύμην, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἰγχοπέων μὲν ἐναυμάχησαν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρῆνοισι, πολλὰς δὲ ναῖς αὐτῶν διαφθείραντες καὶ μεγάλην ναυμαχίαν νικήσαντες, τοὺς μὲν Τυρρῆνοισι ἐπαπέκλυσαν, τοὺς δὲ Κυμαιοὺς ἡλευθέραν τῶν φόβων καὶ ἀνέκλυσαν εἰς Συρακοῦσας*. He does not speak of the colony of Pithékousa.

<sup>2</sup> The legend is *ΗΙΕΡΟΝΟΔΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΕΩΣΧΑΙΤΟΙΣΥΡΑΚΟΤΙΟΙΓΟΙ-ΔΙΤΥΡΑΝΗΟΚΥΜΑΙ*. To one to whom Greek comes most commonly in the form of modern printed books there is something really startling in the look of such an inscription as this, to say nothing of the actual shapes of the letters. One would like to see an autograph of Pindar. The document is useful in another way, as the only instance of the style of a tyrant of those days. Cf. the inscription of Alexander in Arrian, ii. 16.

- CHAP. VI. tained. But the frequent earthquakes and the other phenomena of the volcanic regions, the outbursts alike of fire and of water, drove them away. Hierôn now sent colonists to the spot thus left empty. We are led to think of the probable position of such a settlement under a tyranny. Hierôn's colony was not likely to enjoy any higher measure of freedom than the metropolis from which the settlers went forth. It would doubtless take the form of a Hellenic city, but it would be a city which served the lord of Syracuse as an outpost of his dominion. His colony or garrison occupied the island, and built, if not a town, at least a fortress. But the same wonders of nature which drove away the Eretrians drove away the Hieronian settlers also.
- Nature of the settlement. The colony was abandoned before it was well set up. Pithêkoussa was not fated to be a possession or a daughter of Syracuse; but it was fated to become a Greek city. The Greeks of the Campanian Neapolis, to whom the blazing fires and the boiling waters were less strange and frightful, occupied the island and kept it<sup>1</sup>.
- Its failure. Though Hierôn's victory by Kymê did not lead—and the men of Kymê would hardly regret that it did not lead—to a lasting Syracusan settlement in that region, there is no doubt as to the greatness of the victory and its results. It is held to mark an epoch in Italian history, as leading to another stage of decline in the Etruscan power<sup>2</sup>. There can be little doubt that it did much to extend Greek influence in Campania, and that Hellenic life was fast taking root even in non-Hellenic cities when the blow came which checked Hellenic advance in those regions for ever<sup>3</sup>. The general pressure of the Opican nations on the Italiots has
- Importance of the victory of Kymê.

<sup>1</sup> The story is told by Strabo, v. 4. 9. The Eretrians are driven out *ἐνὶ σεισμῶν καὶ ἀνὰ πύρρον καὶ ἐνὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ ἐνὶ πυρρῶν ὕδατων*. In the like case the Hieronian settlers *ἔβλεπον τὸ ἀντασπασθὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ρεῖχος*. He largely quotes Timaios for the phenomena of the island. See also Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> See Holm, i. 215.

<sup>3</sup> Busolt, ii. 278.

as yet hardly begun; but the victory of Hellas over the Etruscans was followed in the very next year by a grievous defeat of the men of two Hellenic cities at the hands of Italian neighbours. And the victors in this case were a people of whom we more commonly hear either as peacefully yielding to Greek influences or as giving way to Greek warlike attack, than as overthrowing the forces of two allied Greek commonwealths in battle. Taras was said to have been planted as a woe to the Iapygians<sup>1</sup>, and a woe to the Iapygians the Greek commonwealth had constantly shown itself. Its territory had been steadily advancing at their expense, and Tarantine victory had sometimes at least been marked by every refinement of cruel mockery<sup>2</sup>. But one class at least of Iapygian mercenaries were thought worthy of being sought for service in Greek warfare<sup>3</sup>; and at the present moment, as sometimes at later times, the inhabitants of the heel of the boot could show themselves dangerous enemies to the Greek intruders. Yet when we hear of warfare arising out of a dispute about boundaries<sup>4</sup>, we seem to be dealing with a people who have made some advances towards equality with those intruders. We hear of such disputes between Greek Selinous and Elymian Segesta. We do not hear of them between Syracuse and her Sikel neighbours. Plunderings on both sides followed, and then open war; and the Iapygian

Taras and  
the Iapy-  
gians.

<sup>1</sup> So the oracle in Strabo, vi. 5. 4;

Σατάρειν τι δάνα, Τάραντά τε πόνα δήμεν,  
ολεῖσθαι καὶ πῆμα Ἰαπύγισσι γενέσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> See the account of the taking of Carbina and its punishment copied from Klearchos in Athenæus, xii. 23. Tarantine offerings for Iapygian victories appear in Pausanias, x. 10. 6, xiii. 9, with a story of an Iapygian king.

<sup>3</sup> Thuc. vii. 33, where Iapygians and Messapians are distinguished.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. xi. 52; *περὶ ὁρίων χώρας ἀμφισβητούμεναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους*. He goes on to describe the plundering and the guerrilla warfare which went before the great expedition. The words of Herodotus (vii. 170, *τὰς δὲ Ταραντίνας . . ἐφαιστώμεναι προσέντασαν μεγάλως*), are not very clear.

CHAP. VI.  
Defeat of  
Taras and  
Rhégion by  
the Iapy-  
gians.  
B.C. 473.

forces were so threatening that Taras craved help from Mikythos of Rhégion<sup>1</sup>. Help was granted, and the Iapygian host was met by the combined forces of Taras and Rhégion. The men of Rhégion, we are told, were forced into the service by Mikythos against their will<sup>2</sup>. The barbarians won the day; in no fight that Herodotus knew of had the slaughter of Greeks been so frightful. Three thousand men of Rhégion, seemingly the whole force sent, fell in the battle; of the men of Taras more were slaughtered than any man could number<sup>3</sup>. It is at least harder to believe that the victorious Iapygians chased the flying Rhéginas through the whole length of what then was Italy, and made their way into the city along with the trembling crowd<sup>4</sup>. There is no sign of any foreign occupation of Rhégion, of any change in the government of Rhégion, where Mikythos still remains in power.

Mikythos  
founds  
Pyxous.

The example of Hierón in his attempted settlement at Pithékousa did not go without followers. Mikythos also was stirred up to win for his city and for himself—or for the youths in whose name he ruled—the fame which ever followed on the foundation of a new Hellenic city. On the west coast of Italy, about due north of Rhégion, at the point where the narrow peninsula of which Rhégion guards the further end begins to widen and turn to the west, Mikythos founded his colony of Pyxous, known in after

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xl. 52; τοῖς τε πολιτικοῖς στρατιώταις ἤθροισαν καὶ Ῥηγίων συμμάχων ὄντων πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐλάβοντα.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. vii. 170; οἱ δὲ Μικύθου τοῦ Χοίρου ἀναγκάζονται τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ ἀπειρόμενοι τιμωροὶ Ταραντίνουσι.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.; φάναι Ἑλληνικὰς μέγιστος ὄψας δὴ ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, αὐτῶν τε Ταραντίνων καὶ Ῥηγίων, οἱ . . . ἀπέθανον τρισχίλιοι ὄντες, αὐτῶν δὲ Ταραντίνων οὐκ ἐπέην ἀριθμός.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. xl. 52; οἱ τοὺς Ῥηγίονους διώκοντες ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπιλοτιμῆθησαν ὥστε συνεισπεσεῖν τοῖς φεύγουσιν εἰς τὰ Ῥήγιον, καὶ τῇ πόλει κορυεῖσθαι. Has the wild story in Justin, iv. 2. 3, anything to do with this? It seems modelled on much later events. See Grote, vii. 176.

days as the Roman Buxentum. The evidence of coins CHAP. VI. shows that the new settlers were not the first Greeks who had occupied the site<sup>1</sup>; but they most likely found the site empty, as they are not spoken of as supplanting any other possessors. The plantation of Mikythos was a little more successful than the plantation of Hierôn, but it was not long-lived. Before long the mass of the settlers forsook the place, leaving only a feeble remnant of whom history has nothing to tell us<sup>2</sup>. At Taras on the other hand the effects of the defeat were politically important. The slaughter of the aristocratic party was so great that, after this battle, democracy, but seemingly of a moderate kind, got the upper hand in the city<sup>3</sup>.

It is remarkable that Hierôn, who on other occasions Relations  
between  
Hierôn and  
Rhégion. appears as the champion of endangered Italian cities, gave no help to Taras against her barbarian enemies, and does not seem even to have been asked for help. The explanation of this fact is perhaps to be found in the relations between the tyrannies of Syracuse and Rhégion. We have seen that, at one of the times that Hierôn showed himself as a deliverer in Italy, it was to save Lokroi from Rhegine aggression. Whatever may have been the debt of gratitude which Anaxilas owed to Gelôn<sup>4</sup>, whatever may have

<sup>1</sup> On the earlier coins, see Bunbury, *Diet. Geog.*, art. Buxentum. Head, *Hist. Num.* 69. They give us an archaic form of the name, ΠΥΘΟΞΞ.

<sup>2</sup> The foundation of the colony is recorded by Diodóros, xi. 59, without any details. Strabo (vi. 1. 1), who describes Mikythos as ὁ Μεσσηνίης ἄρχων τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οἱ ἱερωνίδης ἀδελφῶν.

<sup>3</sup> *Arist. Pol.* v. 2. 8; ἐν Τάραντι κτηθέντων καὶ ἀπολεμένων πολλῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερωνίδων μικρὸν ὑστερον τῶν Μεσσηνίων δημοκρατία ἐγένετο ἐκ πολιτείας. Πολιτεία, one is to suppose, is to be taken in Aristotle's own special and misleading sense, as meaning what other Greek writers call δημοκρατία, while he applies the name δημοκρατία to something else. But in vi. 3. 5 he gives a picture of the Tarantine constitution at some time, seemingly his own, in which moderate aristocracy and moderate democracy seem to be beautifully blended. But see Grote, v. 320.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 211.

CHAP. VI. been the outward effect of Hierôn's marriage with a daughter of Anaxilas, there could have been little friendly feeling between the two dynasties. Gelôn may have forgotten the conduct of Anaxilas in the war of Himera; but to Hierôn, seeking after Italian power and influence, the power of Rhêgion must have seemed distinctly to stand in his way. An Italiot ruler holding a Sikeliot town was something not to be encouraged. Any jealousy that Hierôn felt towards Anaxilas would assuredly pass on to Mikythos. And, after Hierôn's third marriage, any influence of the domestic connexion would pass away. Or rather, it might, when convenient, be remembered. Under the rule of Mikythos, jealousy of Rhêgion on the part of the lord of Syracuse could be veiled under care for the interests of his young brothers-in-law the sons of Anaxilas.

#### § 4. *The Relation of Hierôn to Literature and Philosophy.*

Hierôn and Thêrôn in relation to the games.

The Italian policy of Hierôn and the way in which it was commemorated, the votive helmet at Olympia, and the general relations in which he and others in Sicily stood to the festivals of Old Greece, bring us straight to one memorable side of his reign and age. At the victories of Hierôn and Thêrôn in the games, at the minstrelsy by which those victories were recorded, it has been impossible to keep ourselves from glancing from time to time; for, with our very slender narrative materials for the history of the time, the poetical allusions of Pindar come to rank among our chief authorities. But this whole side of Hierôn's character, his relation to the growing art, literature, and philosophy of his time, call for a fuller and more direct examination, as opening a new side of Sikeliot, and even of Hellenic, life. The two great tyrannies of Sicily

Hierôn's relation to poetry, philosophy, &c.

were now in the fulness of their power and glory, though CHAP VI.  
the end of one of them was fast drawing near. The  
masters of both took a special pride in encouraging the  
growing literature and art of the age; they rejoiced in the  
glory which they won from the songs of poets and from  
the general spread of their reputation for splendour and  
bounty. They were not the first tyrants who had won for Like re-  
lation of  
earlier  
tyrants.  
themselves credit in this way. Periandros of Corinth was  
not only the friend of minstrels and philosophers, but passed  
himself for a poet and, notwithstanding his oppressions,  
for a philosopher also. Polykratês at Samos, Peisistratos  
and his sons at Athens, won honour of the same kind.  
Gelon, as we have seen, is painted to us as having no tastes  
of an intellectual kind, as even lacking the ordinary  
accomplishments of an educated Greek<sup>1</sup>. A strange tale, Tale of  
Hierôn's  
sickness.  
told by a late writer, speaks of Hierôn as being in his  
early days no better in these matters than his brother.  
His tastes were changed in some mysterious way as the  
result of a dangerous sickness, which turned one of the  
most unlettered of mankind into a character exactly  
opposite<sup>2</sup>. As the patron of poets, Hierôn came at a  
lucky time. As has been already pointed out, he belongs  
essentially to the same class as so many Italian rulers  
of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of our æra, in  
whom the patronage of art and letters has been held to  
be full atonement for trampling on every political and  
moral law. But Hierôn had one great advantage over the  
Borgias and the Medici with whom he has so much in  
common. They had to deal only with the artificial works The poets  
of Hierôn's  
day.  
of a *Renaissance*; the art and letters which Hierôn fostered

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> *Ælian*, V. H. iv. 15; 'Ιερωνά φασι τὸν Σικελίας τύραννον τὰ πρῶτα  
ιδιώτην εἶναι καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀμουσώτατον, καὶ τὴν ἀγροικίαν ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ κατ'  
ὀλίγον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διαφέρειν τοῦ Γέλωνος· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ συνεχέχθη νοσήσαι,  
μουσικώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο, τὴν σχολὴν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀβραστίας εἰς ἀκού-  
σματα πεπαιδευμένα καταθέμενος.

CHAP. VI. were the true offspring of the native genius of Hellas in one of the most fruitful of its seasons of fresh and living outpouring. Next in good luck to the unrecorded heroes who may have heard their own deeds or the deeds of their forefathers sung by the voice of Homer, was the prince at whose court Simônidês, Pindar, and Æschylus came to enjoy his bounty and to sing his praises.

Bounty of  
Hierôn and  
Thêrôn.

The bounty of tyrants is an easy virtue. Such as it is, it is said to have been displayed by both Thêrôn and Hierôn in the highest measure. Pindar sang of Thêrôn as the most open of hand of all mankind<sup>1</sup>. Of Hierôn it was proverbially said that he gave faster than his friends could ask of him<sup>2</sup>. And some at least of those who gathered around him were not slow at asking.

Simônidês.  
N. O. 556-  
467.

Simônidês of Ioulis in the Ægean island of Keos stands out among the poets and philosophers of the age as the man to whom gain was most acceptable, and his is the name which is most closely bound up with the name of Hierôn. It was only in his later days that he came to Sicily; but he had already learned the ways of tyrants and their courts in the most renowned city of Old Greece. From his own island, where his father Leôprepês had a name for wisdom before him<sup>3</sup>, he was tempted to Athens, along with Anakreôn and others, by the gifts of Hipparchos son of Peisistratos<sup>4</sup>. He could write the epitaph of the daughter of his benefactor's brother and the implied praises of her father<sup>5</sup>, as he could speak of descent from

His early  
poems.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 146, and below, p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Ælian, V. H. ix. 1; *Ἰερόν τε φασὶ τὸν Συρακούσιον φιλέλληνα γενέσθαι καὶ τιμῆσαι ποσείων ἀνδρείοντα. καὶ οἱ ἦν προχαιρότατος ἐς τὰς εὐεργεσίας λέγοντι προθυμότερον γὰρ φασιν αὐτὸν χαρίζεσθαι ἢ τοὺς αὐτῶντες λαμβάνειν.*

<sup>3</sup> A story in Ælian, V. H. iv. 24, shows Leôprepês as at least a searcher after wisdom. On Ioulis, one of the four towns of Keos, see Strabo, x. 5. 6; Himerios, xxix. 3; Steph. Byz. in *Ἰουλίς*; Dict. Geog. art. *Ceos*.

<sup>4</sup> Ælian, V. H. viii. 2.

<sup>5</sup> In the epitaph of Archodikê (Thuc. vi. 59; Bergk, iii. 465), where



other tyrants as a matter of honour<sup>1</sup>. And when his patron fell beneath the stroke of the sword wreathed in myrtle, his lyre was ready to tell of the light which had burst upon Athens through the slaying of the tyrant<sup>2</sup>. CHAP VI.

It may be that love of freedom was stronger in the heart of the poet than gratitude; we may at least give him credit for speaking from the heart in the many poems in which he rejoices at the victories of the Greek over the barbarian at Marathôn, at Salamis, at Plataia, and, where we have already met him, at Himera<sup>3</sup>. And the very spirit of the opening chapters of Herodotus breathes in the verses in which he tells of the blows which Asia tholed at the hands of Europe in the two fights by the Eurymedôn<sup>4</sup>. He wrote the boastful inscription on the tripod of Pausanias, which the elders of Sparta caused to be struck out<sup>5</sup>. But he also bade the ambitious chief remember that he was

His poems  
on the  
Persian  
war.

Hippias is *δὲ ἢ ἀριστέος ἐν Ἑλλάδι*. Yet the word *τέρας* is applied to him and his kin, and it is implied that kindred with tyrants was likely to lead to *ἀποσθάζειν*.

<sup>1</sup> See the epitaph in Bergk, iii. 465, on a certain Xanthippé, a descendant of Periandros.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. 131 (187); Bergk, iii. 477. Cf. Pausanias, l. 8. 5, and the Parian Chronicle, 70.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 206. The pieces of Simonidæ on the victories in Greece and Asia are simply endless. Bergk's collection begins (iii. 383) with the strophe and antistrophe over the dead of Thermopylai. And they go on throughout.

<sup>4</sup> Fr. 142, Bergk, iii. 487; Diod. xi. 62

ἐξ οὗ τ' Εὐρώπην Ἀσίας ὅλα πάντος ἔναιμεν  
καὶ πόλιν θνητῶν θούρης Ἄρης ἐφέπει,  
οὐδενὶ ποὶ κάλλιον ἐπιχθονίῳ γένει' ἀνδρῶν  
ἔργον ἐν ἡμίρῃ καὶ κατὰ πάντων δημοῦ.  
οἶδε γὰρ ἐν γαίῃ Μήδων πολλοὺς ὀλέσαντες,  
Φοινίκων ἑκατὸν ναῦς ἔλαον ἐν πελάγει  
ἀνδρῶν πληθύνοντας μέγα δ' ἔστανεν Ἀσίᾳ ἐν ἀνῶν  
πληγῶν δ' ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶ κρήναι πολέμου.

This piece is twice quoted by the rhetorician Aristidæ, xlv. 156 and xlix. 380. But in the former of the two orations there is a good deal in the style which Plutarch forbids, Reip. Græc. Præc. 17, where the Eurymedôn is specially barred

<sup>5</sup> Thus. i. 132, Bergk, iii. 483.

CHAP. VI. mortal, a warning which is said to have come back to his memory in his last hour in the brazen house of Athênê<sup>1</sup>.

Anecdotes  
and  
miracles.

But Simônîdês was more than all this. Singer of hymns to the gods, singer of the loveliest and saddest lyric strain that Greek mythology ever called forth<sup>2</sup>, he was a special favourite of the gods, who more than once stepped in with timely warnings for the saving of his life. The discharge on his part of one of the corporal works of mercy, the bestowal of funeral rites on an unburied corpse, was rewarded by an apparition of the grateful ghost, which kept him back from undertaking a voyage in the company of men who were doomed to shipwreck<sup>3</sup>. The poet of the babe Perseus was also favoured by other sons of Zeus. Simônîdês, like Pindar, sang, for due rewards, the praises of victors in the games; and, like Pindar, he was driven to relieve the natural barrenness of his subject by episodes taken from the national mythology. So when he sang the victory of Skopas of the Thessalian Krannôn, the merits of Skopas himself filled a smaller place in the ode than the exploits of Kastôr and Polydeukês<sup>4</sup>. Skopas wounded Simônîdês in the tenderest point when he said that for such an ode he would pay only half the promised price; for the rest Simônîdês might go to his Tyndarids<sup>5</sup>. The Great Twin Brethren did not fail to pay their votary, if not in gold, yet in something more precious. Notwithstanding the niggardliness of Skopas, Simônîdês did not refuse to

Story of  
Skopas.

<sup>1</sup> *Ælian*, V. H. iv. 41.

<sup>2</sup> I mean of course the fragment on Danaë (*Bergk*; iii. 404); but there are others.

<sup>3</sup> We get this story in the *επίχρησες* of John Tzetzes (*Chil.* i. 623), who quotes *Aristeidês*, see *Bergk*, iii. 474.

<sup>4</sup> On this poem see *Plat. Prot.* c. 26-28, and *Bergk*, iii. 365. From it comes the well-known phrase of the *τετραγώνος δρεν φόνου*.

<sup>5</sup> The story is told, among others, by *Cicero*, *De N. D.* ii. 86. *Sonidas* gives it from *Kallimachos*.

be present at his feast of victory. Presently a message CHAP. VI.  
came to the poet that two young men without wished earnestly to speak with him. He went forth and found no man. The princely pair had done their errand; and no man saw them more. But when Simonidês went back to the hall of Skopas, he found his host and his fellow-guests crushed under the ruins of the building<sup>1</sup>. And other poets sang in later times that all the wealth of Skopas and his house, all their flocks and herds that grazed on the rich plain of Krannôn, could never have kept their names from oblivion, had they not been handed down to remembrance in the notes of the Keian lyre<sup>2</sup>.

The ill repute of Simonidês as a man greedy of gain is Avarice of  
Simonidês.  
barely touched in this story. It followed him into our island, and there some of the stories which most strongly illustrate it are laid. He was old when he came to Sicily. The "good old-gentlemanly vice" had grown stronger upon him; it suited, he said, a time of life when pleasure could no longer be sought. Plutarch, who tells the story, thought otherwise. Even in the decay of Greece, the affairs of the community were still the fitting care for the old<sup>3</sup>; but Simonidês, at the courts of so many tyrants, had left the local interests of Keos behind him. His voyage to Sicily supplied him with a metaphor; there was an insatiable Charybdis into which all things came, virtue

<sup>1</sup> This story brings in Simonidês' remarkable gift of memory, of which he boasted in old age; Bergk, III. 496; this again is from Aristaidês, xlix. 379. So the Parian Chronicle (70) makes him the inventor of the art of memory; ὁ τὸ μνημονικὸν εὗρων. He is also said to have invented the letter Ω and the later use of Η; J. Tzetzes, Chil. v. 836. The story itself has something in common with that of Gêlon in p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> So says Theokritos to the later Hierôn (xvi. 66).

<sup>3</sup> Plut. An Seni sit ger. Resp. 5; ὁ δὲ Σιμωνίδης ἔλαγε πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλόντας αὐτῷ φιλαργυρίας, ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεστερημένος διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἰδούσης, ἐνδ' αὐτῆς ἔτι γηροβασκίῃ τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ κερδαίνειν. Plutarch adds, ἢ πολιτεία καλλίστα μὲν ἡδονὰς ἔχει καὶ μεγίστα.

CHAP. VI. and wealth among them<sup>1</sup>. It may have been at the same stage that Anaxilas of Rhêgion and Zanklé bargained for an ode to commemorate the victory of his mules. When the tyrant named only a small price, the poet answered that the successes of mules were a subject unworthy of his minstrelsy. When the offer was raised, the daughters of storm-footed horses were freely greeted in the verse of Simônidês<sup>2</sup>. At the happy hearth of Hierôn he was loaded with gifts and favours. Scandal added that he sold what he did not himself need, and gave as his reason, that thereby he made the bounty of the giver more widely known<sup>3</sup>. There must have been a sarcastic turn in his answer, when the wife of Hierôn, his last Akragantine wife, asked of the poet whether wealth or wisdom were the better. Wealth, said Simônidês, for we see the wise haunting the doors of the rich, but never the rich haunting the doors of the wise<sup>4</sup>. But graver questions were some-

His ode  
on the  
mules of  
Anaxilas.

His inter-  
course with  
Hierôn

<sup>1</sup> Bergk, iii 407.

πάντα γὰρ μίαν λαβεῖναι δυσπλήτη Χάρυβδιν,  
αἱ μεγάλαι τ' ἄρεται καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος.

<sup>2</sup> The story, with the line

χαίρει' ἀλλοτρώδων θύγατρες ἴσταν.

is told by Aristotle, Rhet. iii. 2, without the name of ὁ νικῆσας τοῖς ἀρεῖσιν. The name of Anaxilas comes from Hērakleïdês of Pontos on the Constitution of Rhêgion (C. Müller, ii. 219), who gives the story rather another turn; νικῆσας Ὀλύμπια ἡμῶσις, εἰστίλας τοῦτο Ἑλλήνας· καὶ τις αὐτὸν ἐτί-  
σκειν εἰπών· Οὗτοι τί ἂν ἔποιε νικῆσαι ἴσταν;

<sup>3</sup> Athenaios (xiv 73) tells the story after Chamaileôn of the Pontic Hērakleïa. Simônidês was κμβίξ καὶ αἰσχροκερδής. Of the gifts of Hierôn, πολλὰν τὰ πλείω ὁ Σιμωνίδης τῶν παρ' ἐστίνου περιποιέωντα αὐτῷ μισρὸν μέρος ἀπετίθει. His reason was, ὅτις ἢ τε ἱέρανος μεγαλοπρέπεια καταφανὴς ἢ καὶ ἢ ἐμὴ ποσμότης. Just before comes another story about Hierôn at dinner giving the flesh of the hare—still perhaps a Zanklaïna delicacy (see Appendix IX)—to everybody else before Simônidês, and his improvised verse

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' εὐρύς περ ἰὼν ἔφικετο δεῦρα.

One catches the cadence of a well-known Homeric line, but why εὐρύς?

<sup>4</sup> Arist. Rhet. ii. 16; τοῖς σφοδρῶς γὰρ ἐφ' ὧν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν πλουσίων θύραις διατρέπονται.

times put to him. When Hieron asked what was the nature of God, Simonidés craved for a day to think over his answer<sup>1</sup>. He then asked for two days, and then for a longer time<sup>2</sup>, till at last he had to tell the wondering tyrant, that the more he thought over the question, the harder he found it. It was perhaps in dealing with a friend whom he called on to discuss such matters that Hieron put forth the sentiment, one which sounds hardly akin to the general character of his rule, that he deemed no man out of place who spoke his mind to him<sup>3</sup>. CHAP. VI.

The intercourse between Hieron and Simonidés became almost a common-place. The dialogue of Xenophon of which we have already spoken bears witness to the abiding tradition of the close friendship between the tyrant and the poet<sup>4</sup>. But it is remarkable that, amid the vast stock of his writings, lost and extant, we know of none singing the special praise of Hieron. The only one in which his name is found is that which commemorates the joint exploit of all the sons of Deinomenês<sup>5</sup>. Pindar would seem to have been preferred to Simonidés for the work of celebrating the Olympic and Pythian victories of their common patron. Of the endless crowd of stories and sayings which have gathered round the name of Simonidés, many have no reference to Hieron or to Sicily. But it was in Sicily that he spent the later years of his life, a life prolonged at least to his eightieth year, and which saw no failure in his poetic powers down to the last. But Syracuse was not his only dwelling, nor was Hieron his only patron. We have seen him step in to mediate between Xenophon's dialogue.  
Simonidés in Sicily  
Patronage of Hieron and Theron.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. N. D. i. 22; "Rogas me quid aut quale sit deus; auctore utar Simonide, de quo cum quævisset hoc idem tyrannus Hiero, deliberandi causa, sibi unum diem postulavit."

<sup>2</sup> Ib.; "Cum sæpius duplicaret numerum dierum."

<sup>3</sup> Plut. Apoph. Hieron, i.; "Ἱέρων δὲ μετὰ Γέλωνα τύραννον ἔλεγε, μηδένα τῶν παρῆσι αἰζομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀκαρπὸν εἶναι."

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 232.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 206.

CHAP. VI. the lords of Syracuse and Akragas when they were upon the point of warfare<sup>1</sup>. Thêrôn's brother Xenokratês, commemorated in an ode of Pindar, was commemorated also in an ode of Simônîdês<sup>2</sup>. And Akragas and not Syracuse was the place of his death and burial, the site of the tomb for which his own hand had written the epitaph. It told how his song had won him fifty victories and fifty-six tripods; how his body lay in Sicilian soil, but how he left his memory to his native Keos, and his glory to all Hellas<sup>3</sup>. We must picture his resting-place somewhere in the nekropolis beyond the stream of Hypeas. We might not have wondered or complained if his tomb had perished in the general havoc wrought by the soldiers of the elder Hannibal<sup>4</sup>. But the tomb of Simônîdês had either perished already, or was spared to perish, by Greek hands. The story went that, at some unknown time, an Akragantine general, Phoinix by name, destroyed the tomb of Simônîdês to build a tower with the stones. Divine justice did not fail to punish the sacrilege; in one of the takings of Akragas the enemy entered by the tower which had been added to the defences of the city at such a price<sup>5</sup>.

His burial  
at Akra-  
gas.

Destruc-  
tion of his  
tomb.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XXIX.

<sup>3</sup> For this we again go to J. Tzetzes, Chil. i. 634;

οὗτος δ' Ἀμυνίδης μιν ἐν Σικελίᾳ θήσκει.  
ἐπιγράμμα δὲ γέγραπται τόδε τῷ τάφῳ τούτου  
ἐξ ἐνὶ πινθήκοις, Ἀμυνίδης, ἦραο νίκαι  
καὶ τριποδοί. θήσκει δ' ἐν Σικελίᾳ πεδίῳ.  
Κεῖα δὲ μνήμην λείπει, Ἑλλήσι δ' ἱερὸν  
εὐχέμετον ψυχῆς σῆς ἐπιγενομένους.

<sup>4</sup> To the Carthaginian siege of Akragas and to its bearings on Akragantine topography we shall come in another volume.

<sup>5</sup> This comes from Bouidas, Ἀμυνίδης. Ἀκραγαντίνων στρατηγὸς ἦν ὄνομα Φοῖνιξ· Ἀκρακασίαις δὲ ἐπολέμουν οὗτοι. οὐκ οὖν εἴδε δ' Φοῖνιξ διαλῦναι τὸν τάφον τοῦ Ἀμυνίδου μάλα δεηθῶν τε καὶ ἀνολέσας, καὶ ἐκ τῶν λίθων τῶνδ' ἀείσας πύργον καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον ἐβάλει ἡ πόλις. For this he quotes and mismetres a fragment of Kallimachos. This one would greatly like to have in its genuine shape, as Bouidas' story is most confused. One almost fancies that he believed that the tomb was at Syracuse, and that the

The long life of Xenophanês of Kolophôn, of whom we have already spoken as a man of another generation<sup>1</sup>, brought him again to Syracuse to meet Simônidês at the court of Hierôn. One is tempted to see some reference to questions of bounty and niggardliness in which Simônidês might be concerned, when we find the Kolophonian sage complaining that he had barely wherewithal to keep two slaves. The mythology of Homer was not to the mind of the speculative philosopher; and it passed for wit when the tyrant answered that, if Xenophanês could feed only two slaves, Homer, whom he found fault with, could feed ten thousand<sup>2</sup>. We find also that Xenophanês freely spoke his mind of Simônidês, and of his love of money<sup>3</sup>.

It was most likely through the interest of Simônidês that his sister's son Bacchylidês, a native, like himself, of Ioulis in the isle of Keos, found a place among the court-poets of Hierôn<sup>4</sup>. If we may believe the scholiasts on Pindar, a bitter enmity reigned between him and their master. Whenever Pindar has a dark saying against any envious rival, it is ever Bacchylidês who is glanced at. He is the ape whom children and only children admire. He is the crow or the jackdaw who chatters in vain against the kingly eagle of Zeus<sup>5</sup>. It is more certain that the subject of the ode of Pindar which stands first in our collection, the Olympic victory of Hierôn's chestnut horse Pherenikos,

CHAP. VI.

Hierôn and  
Xenophanês.Bacchy-  
lidês;his alleged  
enmity  
with  
Pindar.

Akragantine general destroyed it in a siege of Syracuse. This assuredly no Akragantine general ever had the chance of doing, and the last words must refer to Phœnix' own city. Kallimachos might have helped us to the date of the story. The capture referred to must surely be that by the Carthaginians; but who was Phœnix, and where was his tower?

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *Apophth. Hieron.*, 4; *πρὸς δὲ Ξενοφάνην τὸν Κολοφώνιον εἰπὼντα μάλιστα οἰκτρὸς δύο τρέφειν, ἀλλ' Ὅμηρον, εἴτεν, ὅν σὲ διασύρειν, πλείονας ἢ μυρίους τρέφει τιθνημένον*. I suppose these οἰκτρὸι of Homer are rhapsodists and others who lived by him.

<sup>3</sup> See the Scholiast on Aristophanês, *Peace*, 697.

<sup>4</sup> From Strabo, x. 5. 6; Steph. Byz. in *Ἰουλίς*, *Ælian*, V. II. iv. 15.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix XXIV.

CHAP. VI. was sung also by Bacchylidês, from whom we learn his colour<sup>1</sup>. This is the only fragment of the songs in which he sang the praises of Hierôn which has come down to us. And in the other fragments of his verse and references to it, a small store indeed by the side of the stores of his uncle, there is not much that bears on Sicily. But one there is which convicts him of heresy against all Sikel and Sikeliot belief, one that must have been sung and paid for at some spot very far from the hall of Hierôn. Bacchylidês dared to say that it was not from Sicily but from Crete that Aidôneus carried off the Korê<sup>2</sup>. From such a traitor Syracuse and her land were at least entitled to another version of the legend of Kyana<sup>3</sup>; and it is small compensation to Sicily in general to find that, before Appian, before Timaios, Bacchylidês had promoted Galateia and Polyphêmos to the rank of arch-parents of the Gauls<sup>4</sup>.

His views  
of Perse-  
phonê and  
Galateia.

PINDAR. But the hospitality and bounty of Hierôn further took in one who, for us at least, bears a greater name than all, and to whom we have to look as being, though in minstrel's guise, our earliest surviving contemporary authority for the history of Sicily. We have already had often to refer to the songs of the Theban Pindar to witness how Chromios

Historic  
value of  
his odes.

<sup>1</sup> We all know the Pindaric bit about Pherenkês, Ol. i. 18 (26). And it is the Scholiast of Pindar at the very beginning who gives us the fragment of Bacchylidês which Bergk (iii. 571) has set up,

ξανθότριχα μὲν Φερηνικῶν  
'Αλφειὸν παρ' εὐρυδίναν τῶλον διελθόμενον  
εἶδε νικάσαντα.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, as we have seen, knows nothing about Sicily in relation to Persephonê. But his Scholiast quotes Bacchylidês as placing her story in Crete. See vol. i. pp. 532, 533.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. i. p. 365.

<sup>4</sup> I quote Bergk, iii. 588; "Quod exhibet Natalia Conn. Mythol. ix. 8. p. 987, 'Dicitur Polyphemus non modo anasse Galateam sed etiam Galatam ex ea suscepisse, ut testatus est Bacchylides' qua fide sit dignum prorsus incertum." See vol. i. p. 190.



fought in the Helorine Tempê<sup>1</sup>, how Hierôn installed his son as king of new founded Ætna<sup>2</sup>, and how the victor from Stymphalos was tempted to leave his native land to seek a new home at Syracuse<sup>3</sup>. We have been stirred by the panhellenic zeal with which he sings to Hierôn of the fight of Himera and the fight of Kymê<sup>4</sup>, and we have been more gently moved as he paints for Thêrôn his wondrous picture of the happy Island<sup>5</sup>. But an account of the reign of Hierôn, and above all of the court of Hierôn, would hardly be complete without some attempt at a general view of those parts of Pindar's poems which bear directly on the story of Sicily and her lords<sup>6</sup>. It will be equally needful, in speaking of a poet of whom we have such large remains and of whom so much is recorded in one quarter and another, to keep ourselves strictly to that side of him which supplies us with not a few facts and illustrations for Sicilian history.

And, from our Sicilian point of view, it is of special moment to look at the Sicilian odes of Pindar in their right order. There is for the most part something very grievous in disturbing the order of a familiar book, in sending us for instance to wander up and down through the wilderness of some new numbering of the books of Aristotle's Politics. But it would be a real gain to historic truth to print the *Exinikia* of Pindar in chronological order, at all events for the purposes of Sicilian history. It is hard to get rid of the impression which seizes one at the first youthful glance that the praises of

Order of  
the odes.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 116, and Appendix X.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 133, 134.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 206, 250.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 147.

<sup>6</sup> Here the Scholiasts on Pindar give much help, if they are used carefully. Among recent writers who have worked at the order of the Pindaric Odes, there is Mr W. W. Lloyd, *History of Sicily*, pp. 113 et seqq; Holm, *G. S. i.* 219 et seqq; Bergk in the *Prolegomena* to his *Poetæ Lyrici Græci*, vol. i; Mezger, *Pindars Siegeslieder*, and Mr. J. B. Bury in his edition of the *Nemean Odes*.

CHAP. VI.

His first  
Sicilian  
odes not  
addressed  
to tyrants.Local  
Sikeliot  
games.Xenophôn  
of Corinth.Pindar's  
early odes.B.C. 502.  
The first  
to Xeno-  
kratês.B.C. 494-  
490.

water, of gold, and of Hierôn, which come first in our books, must needs be the beginning of something. It is, on the other hand, an important point to notice that the connexion of Pindar with Sicily was not in its beginning a connexion with Syracuse or with Hierôn, or with any prince or tyrant of any city. In the exercise of his calling as poet of the victors in the public games, Pindar was early called upon to sing the praises of successful competitors from the Sikeliot cities. The passion for these festivals, all of them, it must be remembered, acts of religion, was now at its height. The rich men of the flourishing Greek cities of Sicily sought for fame in the games of Old Greece, and the Sikeliot cities had games of their own to which competitors from Old Greece sometimes found their way. Syracuse, child of Corinth, had her Isthmia after the pattern of her parent, and Hierôn, founder of Ætna, set up local Nemes in his new city. One citizen of Corinth at least, Xenophôn by name, who at last reached the honours of an Olympic victory and an ode from the Boiotian poet, had already won many prizes in local contests, both in Old Greece and among the rich and fair cities beneath the height of Ætna<sup>1</sup>. The special reference must be to the Hieronian Nemes; but a Corinthian athlete, seeking honour in Sicily, would assuredly not leave out the Isthmia of Syracuse.

But thirty years before the Olympic victory of Xenophôn, Pindar had been called on to take the praises of Sicily, her cities and her citizens, into his mouth. His first effort, at the age of twenty, was to do honour to a Thessalian victor<sup>2</sup>. His second, perhaps eight years later, was to celebrate the victory of an Emmenid of Akragas<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXV.<sup>2</sup> The tenth Pythian, placed by Bergk in 490, by Bosckh and Meuser in 502. The difference hardly concerns us.<sup>3</sup> See Appendix XXVI.

But it was before that house had given the city a tyrant, CHAP. VI.  
 unless Telemachos in an earlier generation is to bear that  
 name<sup>1</sup>. The wealth of the Emmenids, while still only  
 private men, is shown by the fact that the contest in  
 which Xenokratês, son of Ainêsidas, had won the prize  
 was nothing short of the chariot-race in the games of  
 Pythô. Four of the renowned horses of Akragas, Akragas  
 between its rivers, had won glory for Xenokratês and the  
 wealthy house of the Emmenids<sup>2</sup>. The young son of Thrasyl-  
boulos.  
 Xenokratês, Thrasylboulos, had in some way won honour  
 also. To him the ode is directly addressed, as is a far later  
 poem, when the Emmenid house, then not yet risen to its  
 full greatness, had fallen from it<sup>3</sup>. Neither poem tells  
 us much directly about the affairs of Akragas or of Sicily.  
 But in the later ode we have a glowing picture of the Second ode  
on Xeno-  
kratês;  
c. B.C. 471.  
 virtues of the dead Xenokratês. The poet sings of his  
 mildness and courtesy, his bounty to citizens and strangers,  
 his devotion towards the gods, and how he loved to keep  
 horses for the common festivals of Hellas<sup>4</sup>. In the year  
 of his former victory Akragas was lucky, and we are lucky  
 in her good luck. For another of her citizens, Midas, son  
 of a nameless father, won the prize with the flute<sup>5</sup>. He

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Pyth. vi. 5;

ὀλβίους Ἐμμενίδαις  
 ποταμῶν τ' Ἀκράγαντι καὶ μὲν Ξενοκράτει.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix XXVI.

<sup>4</sup> Isthm. ii. 35 or 51;

. . . . . ἔσον ὄργῳ  
 Ξενοκράτης ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων γλυκεῖαν  
 ἴσχετο. αἰδοῖας μὲν ἦν ἀστοῖς ὀμιλεῖν,  
 ἱκετροφίας τε νομίζων ἐν Πανελλήνων νόμῳ·  
 καὶ θεῶν δαΐτας προσέτρυνε πᾶσαν οὐδὲ ποτὶ ξείναν  
 εὖρεσι μνηεύσας ἐπέσειλ' ἰστίον ἀμφὶ τράπεζαν.

<sup>5</sup> This is the twelfth Pythian, addressed to Midas of Akragas, victor at Pythô, according to the Scholiast, both in 494 or 490 and in 494 or 496. Mezger (196) places the ode in 494. Both Lloyd and Mezger find a good deal to say about Midas. I am hardly concerned with the Scholiast's story about his breaking his flute.

CHAP. VI therefore gave Pindar an opening for praise indeed of the goodly city on the height. *La Magnifica* she was even before she came down from her akropolis, and *La Magnifica* she remains now she is again shut up within it<sup>1</sup>.

Pindar's  
odes to  
princes.

Alexander  
of Mace-  
donia.

Arkesilas  
of Kyrênê

His first  
ode to  
Hieron  
'Pyth. 2)  
and Thêrôn  
(Ol. 2).  
B. C. 476.

The ode to  
Hierôn not  
Pythian.

Possible  
connexion  
with the  
story of  
Themis-  
toklêa.

It was most likely among the lords of the Sikeliot cities that Pindar began to practise his calling as the laureate of princes. We know not at what time it was that he sang the praises of the Argeian king of Macedonia, that Alexander who was able both to prove his Greek descent and to show his good will to Greece<sup>2</sup>, but whom Pindar congratulated on bearing the same name as a son of Priam<sup>3</sup>. The Greek kings of Kyrênê he was not called on to celebrate till he had well practised his skill on the lords both of Syracuse and of Akragas<sup>4</sup>. Those two, Hierôn and Thêrôn, he was called on to magnify for the first time in the same year. Thêrôn had won the nobler victory, that in the chariot-race at Olympia. The song in honour of Hierôn, though placed among the Pythian odes, has clearly nothing to do with Pythô. The victory which it commemorates was won in some local contest, very likely at Pindar's own Thebes<sup>5</sup>. One cannot help connecting this fact with the story which we have already heard, how Hierôn was hindered by Themistoklêa from contending in the games of Olympia<sup>6</sup>. That event, if it happened at all, must have happened in this year. It suggests the thought that the four colts of Hierôn which were designed to strive at

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 430, note 1. I had not then noticed the early date of the ode.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. v. 12, vii. 173, ix. 45, 140.

<sup>3</sup> The fragment (Bergk, i. 418) comes from the Scholiast on Nenn. vii.

ὁλβίαν ὀμνέμεν ἀρδικειδῶν  
καὶ θρασύμηδες Ἀμύρτα.

<sup>4</sup> The fourth and fifth Pythians addressed to Arkesilas do not come till the year 466 B.C. On the dates of the odes addressed to Hierôn and Thêrôn see Appendix XXVII, XXVIII.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix XXVII.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 247.

Olympia, shut out from that nobler field, were taken to display their swiftness at a festival of less account in a city where the charge brought against Hierôn would be less keenly felt. It is certain that it was from Thebes that the ode was sent, and that it was in some way connected with the worship of the Dioskouroi, though their names are not mentioned in the poem. It is this ode which begins with that splendid address to Syracuse one word of which we have already had to refer to more than once already<sup>1</sup>.

The laureate is able to praise his patron as the deliverer of Lokroi, a reference which enables us to fix the date of the poem and the victory<sup>2</sup>; keen eyes have been further able to detect in the dark sayings of the poet a further reference to the relations of Hierôn to Polyzêlos and to Thêrôn. Hierôn is hailed as lord and ruler of many fair cities and of a mighty host, but it is only indirectly that he is spoken of as king. It is noteworthy also that we here find perhaps the first classification of the three forms of government on which later Greek writers have so much to say. And it is more noteworthy still that, in speaking to the lord of Syracuse, the word *tyranny* is used in a sense perfectly colourless<sup>3</sup>.

CHAP. VI

Character  
of the  
poem.

Of the two Olympic odes to Thêrôn, the first seems to be strictly the *epinikian* song, while the second was to be sung at the home festival of the Theoxenia. To the former we have had to refer more than once. If nothing else, the picture of the happy island would make the poem

The odes  
to Thêrôn.  
B.C. 474.

<sup>1</sup> Pyth. ii. 1. Of the word *μεγαλοπόλις* and the *ποταμίας ἕδος Ἀρτέμιδος* I have said something in vol. i. p. 352, and above, p. 139. But the whole opening is noteworthy;

*μεγαλοπόλις δὲ Συράκοσαι, βαθυπόλεμον*

*τέρμεναι Ἀρεος, ἀδερῶν ἑσπερ τε σιδαραχαρῶν θαυμάσια τροφοί.*

Mesger's comment is strange; "Syrakus bestand aus fünf Städten, Ortygia, Achradina, Neapolis, Epipolis, und Tyche." One would think he had confounded the two Hierôns. But this writer's notions of Syracusan topography are wonderful throughout.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 241.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix XXVII.

CHAP. VI.  
Praises of  
Thêrôn.

His  
enemies.

immortal<sup>1</sup>. The earlier history of the forefathers of Thêrôn is glanced at<sup>2</sup>; and he himself is praised without stint. He is the flower of his house, the bulwark of Akragas; but above all things he is the hospitable man and the bountiful. For a hundred years past there has been no man like him<sup>3</sup>. His good deeds to others outnumber the sands by the seashore<sup>4</sup>. Yet he has his enemies and slanderers, perhaps his discontented kinsmen, Kapys and Hippokratês, of whose enmity and perhaps revolt we hear vague stories<sup>5</sup>. In the second piece, dedicated specially to a feast of hospitality, the same line is taken up yet more strongly. What water is among the elements, what gold is among the metals<sup>6</sup>, that the virtues of Thêrôn are among men. They reach to the pillars of Hêraklêa, and the wise go no further<sup>7</sup>.

Of both these poems the theme is the glory of the Emmenid house and not only the personal glory of Thêrôn. The year was for them at once lucky and unlucky. It

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 78, and the *Ἐγκώμιον* (Bergk, i. 417) preserved by the Scholiast.

<sup>3</sup> OL. II. 90 (164);

ἐπὶ τοῖς

<sup>4</sup> Ἀκράγασι τανύσαις

αὐθάσσομαι ἐνὸρκιον λόγον ἔλαθεῖ νόφ,

τεκεῖν μὴ τιν' ἑκατόν γε ἐτέον πόλιν φίλοις ἄνδρα μάλλον

εὐεργέτω τραπίσιον ἐφθονέστερόν τε χίρα

Θήρωνος.

<sup>5</sup> OL. II. 98 (179);

ἐπεὶ ψάμμος ἀριθμὸν περιτέφωγεν,

καὶ κείνος ὅσα χάσματ' ἄλλοις ἔθηκεν,

τις δὲ φράσαι δύναται;

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix XXVI.

<sup>7</sup> OL. III. 42 (75);

εἰ δ' ἀριστέα μὲν ἔδωκ κτεάνων δὲ χρυσὸν αἰδοισσάμενον.

<sup>8</sup> OL. III. 43 (76);

οὐκ ἔστιν ἑσχατὶον Θήρων ἀρεταῖσιν ἰσίων ἀπτεται

οἰκουμένην Ἡρακλῆος σταλῶν.

A Phoenician of Gades might have smiled at the bounds of Greek navigation.

was now that Xenokratês, brother of Thêrôn, already CHAP. V.  
 Pythian victor, won his victory in the chariot-race at the The ode  
 Isthmus, but, as we have seen, his victory was soon followed on Xeno-  
 by his death, and it was not celebrated till the Emmenid kratês.  
 house had ceased to be a ruling house<sup>1</sup>. The next Sicilian B. C. 474.  
 odes of Pindar carry us back to Hierôn, but not alto-  
 gether in his Syracusan character. An ode of uncertain The third  
 date, but written about the time of the Theban victory of Pythian  
 Hierôn and the Olympic victory of Thêrôn, commemorates (c. B. C. 474),  
 an early victory won by Pherenikos at Delphoi when his to Hierôn  
 master was still only Hierôn of Syracuse, as yet tyrant no- in sickness.  
 where<sup>2</sup>. By the time the ode was written, Hierôn had, by  
 his new foundation, entitled himself, in his own eyes at  
 least, to be spoken of as Hierôn of Ætna, and so he is  
 called, though not in the formal heading, in the third  
 Pythian<sup>3</sup>. But the man of Ætna is also a man of Syra-  
 cuse; it is by the fountain of Arethousa that he dwells, and  
 not only dwells, but reigns as a king, a king displaying  
 every princely virtue towards citizens and strangers<sup>4</sup>, but  
 who, it seems, could also be spoken of without offence by  
 the name of tyrant. The poem contains no further his-  
 torical matter; but it has a personal interest, as being in  
 fact a letter of condolence addressed to Hierôn in one of  
 the fits of his grievous sickness<sup>5</sup>. Sickness suggests the  
 healers of sickness; to the bodily pains of Hierôn we owe  
 Pindar's tale of the birth of Asklêpios.

In this ode the kingship of Hierôn is distinctly asserted.  
 It is a kingship over Syracuse, vested in Hierôn alike of  
 Syracuse and of Ætna. In the next ode, little, if any

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXVII.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XXVII.

<sup>3</sup> It is *Ἱέρων Συρακούσιος* in the heading

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix XXVII.

<sup>5</sup> Pyth. iii. 73 (129);

*εἰ κατέβαν ὕγιατον ἔγωγε χρυσίαν, κ.τ.λ.*

So the Scholiast at the beginning, *τὸ δὲ προοίμιον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἱέρωνος νόσον ἰστίην· κατεύχεται γὰρ ἀναβιβῆσαι τὸν Χείρωνα καὶ ὑγιάσαι τῆς νεοῦ τῆς λειθουργίας τὸν Ἱέρωνα.*

CHAP. VI.  
The first  
Pythian.  
B. C. 474.

Celebrates  
Ætna and  
the king-  
ship of  
Deino-  
menēs.

Notes of  
warning.

later, the Syracusan kingship of Hierôn is content to veil itself before the Ætnean kingship of his son. The so-called first Pythian ode, the price, it would seem, of a golden lyre of Hierôn's gift<sup>1</sup>, is, like the third, really Pythian. It commemorates the victory won by Hierôn in the Pythian chariot-race, when he was declared, not as Hierôn of Syracuse, but as Hierôn of Ætna<sup>2</sup>. This ode has already supplied us with not a few references to the main facts of the Sicilian history of the time. Here comes the great picture of Ætna the mountain, suggested by the great outpouring which still was recent<sup>3</sup>. And here too are the most marked references to the foundation of Ætna the city, and to the kingship of the son of Hierôn within its walls. Deinomenēs is distinctly greeted as King of Ætna. He is to be the constitutional king of the new city, according to the laws of the Dorians and the example of Sparta. To the father no special royal title is given; he is a man of Ætna, but seemingly not its king<sup>4</sup>. It is here that we listen to the thrilling references to the work of deliverance wrought by the Deinomenid brothers, to the special work of deliverance which the ruler of the Syracusans had wrought at Kymē<sup>5</sup>. But even among such glories a warning voice is still needed. It is in the last lines of this ode that Hierôn and his son are bidden

<sup>1</sup> I do not quite understand the words of one of the Scholiasts at the beginning: γέγραπται μὲν ὁ ἐνὶ νῆσσι Ἰέρων, λέγεται δὲ ὁ Πύθιαρος οὗτος ἐπιβεβλήσθαι κατὰ Ἀρτέμωνα τὸν ἱερομειδῶν, ὅτι δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰέρων χρυσὴν ἐπέσχετο κούρην. He surely had some more substantial reward.

<sup>2</sup> The heading now is Ἰέρων Αἰτναίης. One Scholiast at the beginning records the foundation of Ætna, and adds, Αἰτναίης αὐτοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας νικῶν ἀνεκρήρυξεν.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. I. p. 71. The description goes on:

ταῖς ἐρείγονται μὲν ἀσάλας πυρὸς ἀγρόταται  
ἐν μυχῶν πυγαί, &c. &c.

On this eruption, see above, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 215. The father is simply Ἰέρων where the son is Αἰτνας βασιλεὺς. Afterwards he is Συρακοσίων ἐπὶ χεῖρ.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 234.



to take Croesus and not Phalaris as the model of their rule<sup>1</sup>. CHAP. VI.

Lastly we come to odes which are held to have been written by Pindar, not only in honour of Sicilian victors, but when he was himself actually a guest on Sicilian soil. It is said that Pindar for a while refused the pressing invitations of Hierôn to visit him in Sicily. He liked better, Pindar in Sicily. B.C. 474 he is reported to have said, though hardly to Hierôn himself, to be his own master<sup>2</sup>. In the end he went and made a stay in Sicily of perhaps four years. He The first Olympic ode. B.C. 473. saw Hierôn at his own happy hearth at Syracuse, the hearth of the king rejoicing in horses<sup>3</sup>, for whom the swiftness of Pherenikos had won glory in that Olympic contest which stood forth among the games of Greece, like gold among metals or water among the elements<sup>4</sup>. As a king, Hierôn had reached the highest point to which man could reach<sup>5</sup>. He adorned his rank with every virtue<sup>6</sup>; it was his right to have his praises sung at his own table by all the bards who sat around it<sup>7</sup>, but most of all by him who does not shrink from proclaiming himself as the foremost of his craft among the Greeks<sup>8</sup>. In this ode, really the last of the series, but which we are tempted to look on as first, there is no mention of Ætna, no mention of Hierôn's victories in war; there is little that is even

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 76, and Appendix VII.

<sup>2</sup> This comes from Πινδάρου Ἀποφθέγματα, Boeckh, ii 10; ἱερωνθεὶς πάλιν διὰ τί Σιμανίδης πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς Σικελίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ θέλει· ὅτι βούλομαι, εἶπεν, ἱερωνῶ ζῆν, οὐκ ἄλλω.

<sup>3</sup> Holm (i. 420) gives the date of his coming as earlier than the usual date 473, because he holds that he must have seen the eruption of 475. On the passage Ol. i. 11 (16) see above, p. 230.

<sup>4</sup> Ol. i. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Ol. i. 112 (181); τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφαῖται βασιλεύει. See Appendix XXVII.

<sup>6</sup> Ib. 11 (19); see Appendix XXVII.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix XXVII.

<sup>8</sup> Ib. at the end;

ἐμὲ τε τοσσάδε νικηφόροις  
ὀμλεῖν πρόφαντον σοφίᾳ καὶ Ἕλληνας ἔοντα παντῶ.

CHAP. VI. distinctively Syracusan, save so far as the poet, by dwelling on the Olympic victory as won by the banks of Alpheios, might seem to suggest those banks as the fitting place for success to be won by him who reigned where Alpheios appeared again<sup>1</sup>. But the special reference to Syracuse as the breathing-place of the wearied Alpheios does not come in this ode to Hierôn of Syracuse, but in one of those to Chromios of Ætna<sup>2</sup>. The house of Chromios at Syracuse as well as that in newly-founded Ætna both received the poet as his guest<sup>3</sup>. The founder of Ætna is again celebrated by that title in an *hypocheîma* of the poet, some of whose allusions we have no means of understanding, but in which we have a distinct allusion to the name of Hierôn, called from the holy things of which he was the hereditary minister, and where Sicily seems to be spoken of as the special land of the chariot<sup>4</sup>. In the Olympic ode itself the poet hopes that his patron will one day win the crowning glory of the chariot-race at Olympia<sup>5</sup>; but Hierôn

Odes to  
Chromios.

Fragments  
to Hierôn.

<sup>1</sup> παρ' Ἀλφειῷ (20 or 32), Ἀλφειῷ πόρῳ (92 or 149).

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 363. and Appendix X.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix X.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 238. I do not profess to expound the lines in Athénaios, i. 28 (Bergk i. 409),

Νομήδουσι γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ εἰλῶται Στράτων,  
ὃς ἀμαξοφόρητον οἶκον οὐκ οἶσται.

But over the page we find a list of the best things from different places, among which Sicily has its share:

Ἰοῦλα δ' αὖτ' ἄργεον ἔρμα Θηβαίων· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἐγλαυκέρου  
Σικελίας ὄχημα δαιδάλειον ματεύειν.

Bergk quotes from a scholiast on Aristæides the saying, very like a scholiast, Βασχελίδης καὶ Πίνδαρος Ἴερωνα καὶ Γάλακτα, τοὺς Σικελίας ἀρχόντας, ἐμνήσαντες καὶ πλείους θαυμάσαντες ἐν ἱερῇ λαοίᾳ, πρὸς χάριν αὐτῶν εἶπον, ὡς Σικελιώται πρώτοι ἔρμα ἐξεύρου. But here ἔρμα is distinguished from ὄχημα, and, if we may only translate ὄχημα δαιδάλειον by "painted cart," the clause is preeminently true in Sicily to this day. See vol. i. p. 94. Directly after there is a reference to the ὄχος Σικελίας.

<sup>5</sup> (108 or 173);

... αἱ δὲ μὲν ταχὺ λίπον,  
ἔτι γλυκντέρων κὲν ἔλτομαι  
ἐν ἔρματι θεῷ κλεῖψεν εὐκτατον εὐρὺν δόδον λίγαν,  
παρ' εὐδαίμονι ἐλθὼν Ἑρόων.

seems to have had to be satisfied with the success of his CHAP. VI. chariot at Pythô and of his single horse by the banks of Alphaïos.

Whether Pindar visited Akragas as well as Syracuse Alleged rivals of Pindar and Ætna does not appear. His stay in Sicily is said, as we have already heard, to have been marred by the enmity of rivals who knew better than he how to win the tyrant's favour<sup>1</sup>. He did not, like Simônîdês, find his latest home His death. B.C. 442. in the island; but died by what was deemed a specially blissful death at Argos<sup>2</sup>. But another poet, even greater than himself, was to make himself yet more thoroughly at home on Sicilian soil, and to find there, like Simônîdês, a tomb, not in either of the princely seats of Hierôn, but in the native city which he had forsaken.

It is somewhat hard to fix the exact number of the visits Visits of Æschylus to Sicily. B.C. 500. which Æschylus paid to Sicily. One story makes him come early in life, before he had won the name which he prized above all names, that of the man who fought at Marathôn<sup>3</sup>. In another version he sought the court of Hierôn, because Simônîdês was judged to have better sung the praises of those who fell in the great fight than their countryman and comrade<sup>4</sup>. In another version he left Athens, for B.C. 469. a while at least, because, not the ordinary judges, but Kimôn and his colleagues in the glories of Eurymedôn, had declared the veteran warrior and poet less worthy of the prize than the young Sophoklês<sup>5</sup>. Others tell how, later

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 265, and Appendix XXIV.

<sup>2</sup> See the account in his *Life in Sicily*. To the Theoxenos of Tenedos there mentioned he addresses a passionate skolion, part of which is preserved by Athénaios; Bergk, iii. 421.

<sup>3</sup> On the visits of Æschylus to Sicily see Lorenz, *Leben und Schriften des Koers Epicharmos*, 81. This first visit, if it ever happened, hardly concerns us.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita Æsch.* ἐν τῇ εἰς τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι τιθέντος ἐλεγείῳ ᾠσθηθεὶς Σιμωνίδου. The biographer thinks that Simônîdês was likely to have done better in elegy.

<sup>5</sup> *Plut. Cim.* 8. The mention of the archôn Aphepsôn fixes the date.

CHAP. VI  
B.C. 458.

Two visits,  
perhaps  
more.

Oresteia  
acted.  
B.C. 458.

again, after the acting of the great trilogy of the *Oresteia*, the poet, either wrathful at a charge of impiety<sup>1</sup> or dissatisfied with the general state of things at Athens, betook himself to Sicily, never to go back<sup>2</sup>. It is perfectly possible that Æschylus may have found his way to Sicily once, twice, thrice, or four times. What seems certain is, that he was received at the court of Hierôn, at Syracuse or at Ætna, that plays of his, both on Sicilian and other subjects, were acted in Sicily at Hierôn's bidding; that he died in Sicily, not at Syracuse but at Gela, some years after the death of his patron. These facts imply two sojourns in Sicily; they do not shut out more. He was in Sicily in the days of Hierôn; he ended his days in Sicily some time after the death of Hierôn; but the date of the performance of the *Oresteia* shows that his stay was not continuous, that he was again at Athens after his first Sicilian visit<sup>3</sup>. It was his first stay in Sicily which most distinctly connects his works with the history and traditions of the island, which enables us to speak of him as the poet of Ætna, the poet of the Palici, the poet of Héraklēs as winner of the soil which his children Pentathlos and Dôrieus strove in vain to win back as his heritage.

We have already seen something of the effects of his Sicilian sojourns on the poet himself. The land and all that was in it so deeply impressed him that he could be

But Plutarch seems to have thought that he never came back; *cf.* *εἰχέσθαι δ' ὀργὴν εἰς Σικελίαν, ὅπου καὶ τελευτήσους περὶ Γέλαν τέβαιται*. Lorenz rejects this journey on the ground that Æschylus brought out the *Seven against Thebes* at Athens in B.C. 467.

<sup>1</sup> This seems referred to by Aristotle, *Eth.* iii. 1. 15, but he does not connect it with going to Sicily. *Cf.* the story in the *Life of Æschylus* on the effects of the acting of the *Eumenides*.

<sup>2</sup> This was the notion of O. Müller, *Eumenides*, 116 (Eng. Tr.), which made a great impression years ago. But there seems no distinct evidence for it.

<sup>3</sup> The Hypothesis to the *Agamemnon* fixes this date to B.C. 459.

spoken of as having himself become a Sicilian<sup>1</sup>, and as filling his verse with Sikeliot, perhaps Sikel, words, which were not clearly understood by his hearers elsewhere<sup>2</sup>. The greatest of all the wonders of the island deeply impressed him, and he, as well as Pindar, has painted for us that great outpouring of the fiery powers which happened in the days of both, perhaps before the eyes of both as sojourners on Sicilian ground<sup>3</sup>. We have seen how Pindar could turn the eruption of Ætna to the glory of the founder of Ætna. Æschylus could give a nobler turn to the wonders of the fire-flood. Old Ocean warns Promêtheus of the danger of withstanding Zeus by the example of Typhôn crushed beneath the weight of Ætna; he goes on to tell how Hêphaistos keeps his furnace in the highest peak; and he foretells how one day the rivers of fire shall burst forth to lay waste with wild jaws the corn-lands of fruitful Sicily<sup>4</sup>. Some have argued, needlessly perhaps, that this passage, of no special interest, it is said, at Athens, points to a Sicilian representation of the Bound Promêtheus<sup>5</sup>. There are stronger grounds for asserting a Sicilian performance—a repetition and not a first performance—of the intensely Athenian play of the Persians<sup>6</sup>. Such a performance would fall in with the temper alike of Hierôn and of Æschylus. The trilogy of which the Persians

CHAP. VI

Sicilian references in Æschylus.

Ætna

The Persians.

<sup>1</sup> "Vir ntiqne Siculus," says Macrobius, v. 18. 17.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. I. p. 489.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 242

<sup>4</sup> The description (Prom. 366) winds up with Hêphaistos at work;

κορυφαῖς δ' ἐν ἄκρῳ ἤμινος μαδρονυστὴ  
Ἡφαίστος, ἐνθεν ἐκρηγῆσονται ποταμοὶ  
πυρρὸς θάνοντες ἀγρίαις γνάθαις  
τῆς καλλιῆρπον Σικελίας λευροῦς γῆας.

<sup>5</sup> Holm, i. 231

<sup>6</sup> The Scholiast on Aristoph. Frogs, 1026, distinctly quotes Eratosthenes for the statement that the Persians were acted at Syracuse at the bidding of Hieron (ἡδιδάχθαι ἐν Συρακούσαις σπουδαστῶτος Ἱέρωνος). But the representation at Athens in 473 came first; παρὶς τοῦ Ἱέρωνος ἀμεινότερα ἀναδιδάξαι τοὺς Πέρσας ἐν Σικελίᾳ λίαν εὐδοκίμησεν. So says the fragment following the Life. See Appendix XX.

CHAP VI. formed a part had the play of Glaukos as one of its  
 Glaukos. members. It is from that play that we have the fragment which describes Hēraklēs as making his way from Eryx to lofty Himera<sup>1</sup>. That subject would allow of easy reference to the later glories of Himera. Such a play as this would well fit in with that which told of the victory won on the self-same day in the narrow seas of Attica, and the prince who had fought at Himera might look on from his seat of honour in the theatre of Syracuse or Ætna while the poet who had fought at Salamis told the tale of his own deeds in strains which make us long for the like record of the kindred victory. Let us for a moment fancy to ourselves the sacrifice of Hamilkar told in the verse of Æschylus.

The  
 Ætnean  
 Women.

It is with but scant sympathy that we have seen how Hierōn won for himself the honours of a founder and a hero by driving the people of Katanē from their homes. If anything could make one look kindly on the tyrant in his character of lord of Ætna, it would be that the foundation of Ætna was recorded, that blessings were implored on its prince and people, in the tragedy in which we have found our earliest notice of the special gods of the Sikel<sup>2</sup>. The play of the Ætnean Women, the play which recorded the birth of the Palici, was the choicest gift of Æschylus to Sicily, the choicest fruit of his Sicilian sojourn. Written and acted in Sicily on a subject purely Sicilian, it would be gladness indeed to the historian of Sicily to have the tragedy in its fulness instead of a few small fragments. But one of those fragments is enough to show that, even in singing the praises of Hierōn of Ætna, Æschylus did

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 414.

<sup>2</sup> So distinctly in the *Life*, ἐλθὼν εἰς Συρακίας, ἱέρωνος τότε τὴν Αἰτνὴν κτίζοντος, ἡρεδείσατο τὰς Αἰτναίας, οἰκιστὴν βίον ἀγαθὸν τοῖς συναιέουσιν τὴν πόλιν. The *Θορσίδης* seem to be claimed as Sicilian simply on the strength of the word *δοχίθυρος*. See vol. i. p. 489.

not forget the older folk and the older gods of the land. CHAP VI.  
 Æschylus, in his first Sicilian sojourn, was the guest of  
 Hierôn at Ætna; he may, when he came for the last time,  
 have been the guest of Ducetius at Menænum.

The only place where we can see Æschylus with any His death  
at Gela.  
B.C. 456.  
 certainty in his last Sicilian sojourn is the place of his  
 death, Gela. He would seem to have chosen that city as  
 an abiding dwelling-place, as its name is found in an  
 epitaph of his own writing. In that epitaph the only His  
epitaph  
 one of his exploits, warlike or poetic, which he deemed  
 worthy of record was that the short-cropped Mede had  
 felt his might at Marathôn<sup>1</sup>. He left it to others to tell  
 how he built the lofty rime<sup>2</sup>, and to imply that his death  
 in another land was caused by the envy of his own citizens<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It is given in the Life;

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναίων τόδε κεῖσθαι  
 μῆμα παταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας.  
 ἄλκην δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθῶνιον ἄλσος ἂν εἴποι  
 καὶ βραχυχαιτήεις Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος.

Pausanias (i. 14. 5), after mentioning Marathon, adds; φρονήσου δ' Ἀθη-  
 ναίους ἐπὶ τῇ εἰσῇ ταύτῃ μέλιστα εἰσέζω· καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰσχύλος, ὡς αἱ τοῦ βίου  
 προσεδόκατο ἡ τιλευτή, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐμνημόναιεν οὐδενός, ἐξέτης ἐς τοσοῦτον  
 ἦεν ἐπὶ παύσει καὶ πρὸς Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ ἐν Ἑλλάδι ναυμαχήσας. ὁ δὲ τό τε  
 ὄνειμα πατρίθεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔγραψε καὶ ὡς τῆς ἀνδρίας μάρτυρας ἔχει τὸ  
 Μαραθῶνι ἄλσος καὶ Μῆδων τοὺς ἐς αὐτὴ ἀπεβάντας. Cf. Frogs, 1292;

τί τὸ φλαττέσθαι τοῦτ' ἔστιν; ἐκ Μαραθῶνος.

<sup>2</sup> The epitaph by Antipatros in the Anthology brings us back to an old  
 subject and supplies another Aristophanic reference;

ὁ τραγικὸς φῶσημα καὶ ὑφραύεσσαν ἀειδὴν  
 πυρρώσας στιβαρῇ πρώτος ἐν ὥπτιά,  
 Αἰσχύλος Εὐφορίωνος Ἑλευσινίας ἐκδὲ αἰγῇ  
 κείται πιδάλασ σήμετι Τρινακίην.

Some commentators have troubled themselves to read Τρινακίην. The  
 second line of course comes from the Frogs, 1002;

ἅλλ' ἢ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πύργωσας ῥήματα σεμνά.

<sup>3</sup> The other epitaph is used by O. Müller for his purposes;

Αἰσχύλον ἥδη λέγει ταφὴν λίθος Ἰνδάδε κείσθαι  
 τὸν μέγαν οἰκείας τῆδ' ἀπὸ Ἑκαρπείης.  
 Αἰνὰ Γέλα Σικελῶν παρ' ὕδατα τίς φθόνος ἀστῶν  
 Θεσείδης ἀγαθὸν ἔγκοτος αἶψα ἔχει;

One can almost forgive this last bit of spite in return for the doubtless

CHAP. VI.  
Story of  
the eagle.

Of the manner of his death a strange tale was told. As he sat, perhaps writing, in an open place outside the walls of Gela, an eagle, taking the poet's shining bald head for a stone, let fall a tortoise which he held in his claws in order to break its shell<sup>1</sup>. One is not bound either to believe or to disbelieve. We may even, if we please, hold that a tale which brings in the bird of Zeus and the reptile out of whose shell Hermès carved the lyre points in some dark way to the apotheosis of one who played so skilfully on its strings. One might be more inclined to ask what led Æschylus to Gela as his chosen Sicilian home. His princely friends had passed away<sup>2</sup>. If it be true that he left Athens through dislike of democratic changes, the state of free Syracuse may have been no more to his liking than the state of his own city. But we know too little of the internal politics of Gela at this time to risk any answer to the question.

Epicharmos, B.C. 540-480, inventor of Sicilian comedy.

If Sicily had to borrow her lyric and tragic poetry from Keos, Thebes, and Athens, her comedy at least was her own. Epicharmos passes with some for the inventor of comedy<sup>3</sup>; at all events we may accept him as the inventor of its special Sicilian type. The Sikeliots were reckoned, both now and in much later times, as a people given to gibes and merriment of every kind<sup>4</sup>; and this temper found

accidental phrase *Λευκὸν Γέλα Σικελῶν παρ' ὕδατα*, waters so preeminently Sikel.

<sup>1</sup> John of Stoboi, xcviii. 9, quotes a string of remarkable deaths from Sôladês, one of which is

*Ἀισχύλος γράφοντι ἐκπετώμεναι χελώνη.*

(Cf. Soudas in *χελώνη μυϊών*.) Valerius Maximus (ix. 12. Ext. 3) tells the story more fully. The eagle was "*aluna splendore capitis; erat enim capillis vacuum*." The Lf'e tells the story with the addition that Æschylus had an oracle *οὐράνιον σε βέλος κατακτενεί*.

<sup>2</sup> The Biographer confuses the dates when he says, *σφόδρα τῷ τυράνῳ Γέροντι καὶ τοῖς Γελαίοις τιμῆς, ἐπιζήσας τρίτον ἔτος ὡς γηραιὸς ἐτελείοντο*.

<sup>3</sup> On some points in the life of Epicharmos, see Appendix XXIX.

<sup>4</sup> On this head I shall have more to say presently; but it is worth



its special exponent in one whom some make out to have been a native of the island, others to have been brought there at so early a stage of life that he must have looked on Sicily as his country. The version which makes him a native gives him a birth-place where we should certainly not have looked for him, in the Sikan town of Krastos. This account has been perhaps a little too unceremoniously cast aside; still the balance of authority is in favour of the belief which brings Epicharmos the son of Elothalês of Kôa to the Sicilian Megara at the age of three months<sup>1</sup>. His father passes for an Asklepiad practising the art of Asklêpios. His son seems to have been one of those lucky inhabitants of Megara whom Gelôn did not sell, but promoted to Syracusan citizenship. And this would seem to imply that Elothalês had been received into the ranks of the Megarian oligarchy<sup>2</sup>. Syracuse was certainly his dwelling-place in his later life; it was the place of his burial; but his epitaph skilfully avoids any claim to his birth on the part of the city<sup>3</sup>. One side of him brings him across the formidable name of Pythagoras. He was said to have been a disciple of the Samian sage, and on the strength of this connexion a short Life has been devoted to him among the Lives of the Philosophers<sup>4</sup>. It is darkly hinted that he spoke of his master as having been received to the citizenship of Rome, and that, it would

CHAP. VI

His birth-place  
Krastos.

Brought from Kôa as a child;

at Syracuse.

His relations to Pythagoras.

noticing that the κομῶδες ἀνὴρ, Ἰσάν Σικελὸς τις ἢ Ἰταλῆς, whom Plato (Gorgias, 47) brings in to make etymological jokes, ought to be in strictness, not a Greek, but a native. And may there not have been a Sikel element in the Sikeliot comedy?

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXIX.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 131, 132

<sup>3</sup> Diog. Laert., viii. 3;

εἰ τι παραλλάσσει φαίθων μέγας ἄλιος ἄστρας  
καὶ πόντος ποταμῶν μέγαν ἔχει δόναμον,  
φαρμὶ τοσούτων ἐνδὲ σοφία προίχεται Ἐπίχαρμον  
ὃν παρὶς ἱσπεφάνωσ' ἔδε Συρακούσιον.

<sup>4</sup> Diog. Laert. viii. 3. He follows Empedoklês. The epitaph comes from the Life.

CHAP. VI. seem in the reign of his own school-fellow Numa<sup>1</sup>. He  
 His philosophical and medical writings. is said, in his philosophic character, to have left physical and moral writings, and, as became an Asklêpiad of Kôa, treatises on medicine. And he was not above the fancy of beginning the successive divisions of a treatise with letters which, when read together, made up his own name<sup>2</sup>.

The philosopher and the comedian the same man. His long life. Some indeed have doubted whether Epicharmos the philosopher and Epicharmos the comic poet were the same person; but there seems no good reason for dividing the only recorded man of the name into two<sup>3</sup>. A man, like so many others whom we come across, of unusually long life<sup>4</sup>, he, like Pindar and Æschylus, outlived the tyranny by a good many years, and some sides of him may be better spoken of when we come to paint Sicily in the later days of his life. We may speak of him now as one of those who gathered round the hearth of Hierôn.

Epicharmos and Aristophanes. The thought of Greek comedy at once suggests the name of Aristophanês; and his name at once makes us thankful for the light which his writings throw on the political history of Athens in his day. It does not appear from the many, but mostly short, fragments of Epicharmos which have come down to us that his comedies, if we had as great a number of them as we have of those of Aristophanês, would have thrown anything like the same light on the politics of Syracuse either under the Deinomenid dynasty or after its fall. Some references to contemporary affairs they did contain. In one play of Epicharmos the embassy of Chromios to Anaxilas on behalf of Lokroi was spoken of<sup>5</sup>. And if the play was written in the time of Hierôn,

Historical references in Epicharmos' poems.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Numa, 8, quotes it among the arguments for a connexion between Numa and Pythagoras that Πυθαγόρας τῇ πολιτείᾳ Ῥωμαίοι προσέγραψαν, δι' ἱστορήσεν Ἐπίχαρμοι δ' αὖτε ἐν τῇ λόγῳ πρὸς Ἀντήνορα γεγραμμένον, παλαιὸν δὲ τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς διαμβύης μετεσχηματίσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XXIX.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix XXIX.

<sup>4</sup> Ninety years (B.C. 540-450) according to Diogenês. Lucian (Macrob. 25) gives him seven years longer.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Pind. Pyth. i. 98, where the designs of Anaxilas (see above,

it could hardly have been spoken of jestingly. But on the whole, though we have drawn from the fragments some valuable notices as to the forms of Sikeliot language<sup>1</sup>, we learn very little from them as to Sikeliot history. It is for the details of Sikeliot cookery that Epicharmos seems to have been more quoted than for anything else. Many of his plays dealt with the received mythology treated in a comic shape. The conception of Hêraklês as a lover of good cheer is familiar to us from one of the most pathetic tragedies of Euripidês. It seems to have reached its highest point in the comedy of Epicharmos which bore the name of the Wedding of Hêbê. The details of the feast supplied collectors for ever with the names of Sicilian fish and other dainties<sup>2</sup>. Nearer to us in geography is a fragment of another play which bore the name of Hêraklês. We may be loth to believe that the wrestler of Eryx, the canonized guest of Agynum<sup>3</sup>, one day to be the special patron of Syracuse in her hour of need, was ever brought on a Sicilian stage as a captain of pygmies riding, after the fashion of Trygaios, on beetles. The beetles, to be sure, were of a large size, and they came from somewhere in the neighbourhood of Aëtna. The name of another play, the *Persians*, suggests an unpleasant thought. Did Epicharmos venture to make Æschylus a subject of mockery<sup>4</sup>?

CHAP. VI.

His comic treatment of mythology.

p. 241) against Lokroi are recorded on his authority *ιστορεῖ καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Νάροις*. It is also *Ἐορὰ καὶ Νάροι*. There may have been another historical reference in the *Ἀρωαί*; δὲ δὲ Σικελία νέωσχι. (Rtym. Mag. in *πένωσχι*.) May one hope that the play of Bousiris had any reference to Phalaris?

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 489.

<sup>2</sup> See the fragments in Lorenz, 230.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. i. p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> Aristoph. *Peace*, 73

*εἰσὶ γὰρ Αἰτναίων μέγιστον κένθρον,  
κάνικτα τοῦτον λαοκομῆν μ' ἠράκλειον.*

On this the Scholiast has preserved a precious fragment of Epicharmos (see Lorenz, 241);

*Πυγμαρίων λοχαγὸς ἐκ τῶν κενθάρων  
τῶν μεγάλων, οὗς φαντι τὰς Αἰτνας ἔχει.*

CHAP VI.  
Epichar-  
mos and  
Hierôn.

Of the personal relations between Epicharmos and the founder of Ætna we have one or two anecdotes. It must have been the comic poet, not the Pythagorean philosopher, who made some unseemly remark in the presence of Hierôn's wife, which her husband punished with a fine<sup>1</sup>. Another story can hardly be told in any tongue but the original; the point of it turns on the different meanings which a cunning modulation of the voice may give to the same words. It falls in with that side of Hierôn's character at which Pindar but darkly hints; for the tyrant appears as putting several of their common friends to death and presently inviting Epicharmos to supper. The poet's answer matches that of the bishop who was consulted as to the fitness of putting Edward the Second to death. His evasion did not commend itself to the honest soul of Plutarch<sup>2</sup>.

Phormos.

It seems clear that at the same time with Epicharmos there flourished at Syracuse a comic poet named Phormos or Phormis, who is even spoken of as joint inventor of comedy with Epicharmos himself<sup>3</sup>. But it is hard to believe that he can be the same as the Arkadian Phormis, the friend and soldier of Gelôn, of whom we have already heard<sup>4</sup>. Another comic poet, Deinolochos, whom we have had already to thank for a fragment of language<sup>5</sup>, appears in different accounts as the pupil, the son, and the rival of Epicharmos<sup>6</sup>. Of the rhetorician Korax, who, according

Deino-  
lochos.

<sup>1</sup> Plat. Apophth., *Ἱέρατος*, §; *Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ τὸν παμφροσυνιδὸν, ὅτι τῆς γυναίκας αὐτοῦ παρούσης εἶπε τι τῶν ἀπρεπῶν, ἐξημίωσε.*

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *Adul.* et *Am.* 27: *Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ οὐκ ὀρθῶς, τοῦ Ἱέρατος ἀνελόντος ἐλίουσιν τῶν συνήθων, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας καλέσας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον, ἔφη, θίγειν τοὺς φίλους οὐκ ἐκάλεσας.* This is like Adam Orton's "*Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est.*"

<sup>3</sup> Soudas in *Ἐπίχαρμος*; Arist. *Poet.* 5. See Appendix XXXIX.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 133, and Lorenz, 84, 85.

<sup>5</sup> See vol. i. p. 489.

<sup>6</sup> Son or scholar is the choice in Soudas; *Δεινόλοχοι, ἀνταγωνιστῆς*. See Lorenz, 87.

to some accounts, was great at the court of Hierôn, and who has been looked on as one of the enemies of Pindar<sup>1</sup>, we shall find more to say when we come to the history of the democracy.

To men of all these classes the hearth of Hierôn stood open. It doubtless stood open to guests of many other kinds. But it can only be by a confusion of the wildest kind that Hierôn has been made to receive at Syracuse the man who was said to have hindered his horses from contending for the prize at Olympia. When we are told that Themistoklês, banished from Athens, fled to Syracuse, that he asked for a daughter of Hierôn in marriage, and promised to put all Greece under Hierôn's power, it would seem as if, not only Themistoklês and Pausanias, but the lord of Syracuse and the Great King, had got jumbled together in the narrator's brain<sup>2</sup>. It is perhaps hardly worth while to point out that Hierôn died before the flight of Themistoklês to Asia<sup>3</sup>.

Story of  
Themisto-  
klês and  
Hierôn.

The mention of the poetry of this age brings us back to the topography of Syracuse. There, among the princes of the Deinomenid house, it is Gelôn, not Hierôn, who has left his works behind him. The love of Hierôn went forth rather to his own Ætna, where, after all that later Catania has undergone, it might be hard to find any traces of his hand. But in one of the great monuments of

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXIV.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. Them. 24, εἴτ' οὐκ αἰδ' ἔπειτ' ἐπιλαθόμενος ταύτας ἢ τὰν θερμοστοκλέα πρῶτον ἐπιλαθόμενον πλεῦσαι φησὶν [Στησίμβροτος] εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ παρ' Ἱέρανος αἰτεῖν τοῦ τυράννου τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον ὑποσχόμενον αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπακούουσιν ποιεῖν, ἀποστρεφόμενον δὲ τοῦ Ἱέρανος οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπῆλθαι. Ptolemy adds very discreetly, ταῦτα δ' οὐκ εἰκός ἐστιν οὕτως γενέσθαι, and goes on to tell the story of Themistoklês at the Olympic Games (see above, p. 247). The offer is clearly modelled on the letter of Pausanias to Xerxes in Thuc. 1. 128.

<sup>3</sup> The flight of Themistoklês to Admêtos and thence to Asia is fixed in B.C. 466, the year after Hierôn's death.

CHAP VI.  
The  
theatre of  
Syracuse,  
whether  
at all a  
work of  
the first  
Hierôn.

Story of  
Dēmoko-  
pos.

Position  
of the  
theatre.

Syracuse the hand of the first Hierôn has been traced, and perhaps with good reason. The famous theatre, as it stands, suggests the second Hierôn rather than the first; but it is not unlikely that the work of the second was a work of restoration rather than of original building<sup>1</sup>. And truly no man is more likely than the patron both of Æschylus and of Epicharmos to have been its first founder. Its architect, if that is the right word, is said to have been a certain Dēmokopos, who received the odd surname of Myrilla from the gifts of ointment which he made to the citizens on the completion of his work<sup>2</sup>. That work, like the wall of Thêrôn at Akragas, like the western wall of Achradina, was but partly a work of the building art. Hewn in the rock, with the winding street of tombs above it, no object in Syracuse has a more striking site. Few have a nobler outlook, though we must remember that buildings sometimes gain by partial destruction, and that a perfect *scenæ* would go some way to shut out the view<sup>3</sup>. The theatre has become the head of a group of objects of various dates, among which the great altar and the amphitheatre mark stages in the later history. As yet the neighbouring *latomia* and the deep holes in the rock above the theatre concern us more. We must remember that we are here, in Hierôn's day, still outside the walls even of the enlarged city; but we can see that here too, in what presently took the name of *Neapolis*, the *Newtown* of Syracuse, the same process was going on which we have

<sup>1</sup> See Holm, *Topographia*, 188; Lupat, 106.

<sup>2</sup> I hardly know what value to set on the strange story of Eustathios, *Od.* iii. 68 (see Lorenz, 91). He is speaking of masculine names ending in  $\alpha$ ; καὶ Συρακοσίῳ τὸ ὁ Μυρίλλα· οὗ μνησθῆναι λέγει τὸν Πάφροντα ἱστορῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ Συρακοσίῳ τοῦτον κύριον, Δημόκοπον, ᾧν ἀρχιτέκτων, ἐπεὶ ἐὰν τελεσιουργήσας τὸ θέατρον, μῆρον τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις δίδεναι, Μυρίλλα ἐνικλήθη. The tale certainly proves nothing as to date.

<sup>3</sup> I write, or copy, this with fear and trembling, as there seem to be theories afloat, though not yet fully developed, according to which the true Greek theatre had no stage, and perhaps no *scenæ*.

marked on the hill-side of Achradina. The dwellings of men CHAP VI.  
 and the public buildings of a great city were fast spreading  
 themselves among the traces of earlier times and races.  
 The contrast which we spoke of above<sup>1</sup> never comes to us  
 more forcibly than when we look up from the regular and  
 finished work of the theatre to the rude burrowings in  
 the hill just above. We would fain see the acting of <sup>The</sup> that play of Æschylus in which he brought in the tale of <sup>Sicilian</sup> plays of  
 the native gods of Sicily, and the small living fragments <sup>Æschylus.</sup>  
 of which show how deeply his mind has been struck by the  
 worship of the awful yet kindly Palici<sup>2</sup>. We would fain  
 see the play of the Ætnæan Women acted, as it may well  
 have been, in Hierôn's presence, with the rude monuments  
 of the native worshippers of the deities of the piece looking  
 down on the works of conquerors of the Sikel who still  
 held the gods of the Sikel in honour.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. I. p. 527.

## CHAPTER VII.

SICILY FREE AND INDEPENDENT <sup>1</sup>.

B.C. 472-433.

Divisions  
of the  
story.

WE have now reached a time when it is singularly hard to mass our story in satisfactory chronological divisions. We have felt the difficulty already. From some points of view it would have been easier to make the time of the domination of the Deinomenid house a single period by itself. But in the general history of the world, the joint attack on Hellas by Persia and Carthage holds so great a place that we have been driven to split the reign of Gelôn asunder, and to treat the first Carthaginian invasion, the invasion when the barbarian was beaten back from Himera by Syracuse and Akragas, as one of the great landmarks of our story. And after that there is in truth no other such till we come to that second Carthaginian invasion when the fate of Himera, Syracuse, and Akragas, was so different from what it was in the first. But between these two comes the best known event in Sicilian history, the event which in many minds makes up the whole of Sicilian history, the Athenian invasion of Syracuse. The tale of that invasion has been told as no other tale ever was told; and it would be

Position  
of the  
Athenian  
invasion.

<sup>1</sup> For this whole period we have the continuous narrative of Diodorus, in his eleventh and twelfth books. Herodotus does not touch this period, and Thucydides does not begin till the next. We have the usual illustrative sources, perhaps not quite so rich just now as at some other times. For the earlier events of the time we still have some notices in Pindar, and for the career of Empedoklés of Akragas we have his Life by Diogenes Laertius and some quotations from Empedoklés' own poems. And we now begin to feel the full value of the most direct sources of history, contemporary documents, in this case graven on stone.



hard to exaggerate its importance in the history of Athens, and thereby in the general history of Greece. But in the history of Sicily, even in the history of Syracuse, it is little more than a wonderful episode. Had it been successful, it would doubtless have altogether changed the destinies of Sicily; it might have changed the destinies of the world. But as things actually were, it is only a wonderful episode. Its real importance to Sicily lay in its giving a wider field to a tendency which had been busily at work for some years already. This is the increasing connexion between Sicily and Old Greece. The interest of the great invasion recorded as a nearly continuous tale in the sixth and seventh books of Thucydides is so overwhelming that we are apt to forget the earlier action of Athens in Sicilian affairs, the record of which is scattered up and down several of his earlier books. But it is this earlier action of Old Greece, of Old Greece practically embodied in Athens, in Sicilian matters, which really marks off a period. The great invasion is simply the crowning event of that period, the highest carrying-out of its tendencies. We are thus able to set up two lesser landmarks between the two great ones, between the unsuccessful invasion of the earlier and lesser Hamilkar and the fearfully successful invasion of the earlier and lesser Hannibal. There is the fall of the tyrants; there is the beginning of Athenian interference in Sicily. These two landmarks will make three periods of Sicilian history between the first and the second Carthaginian invasion. Of the first, taking in the great events of the reign of Hierôn, above all his defeat of the Etruscans at Kymê, we have already treated. As a victory of Hellas over barbarian powers, the day of Kymê follows naturally on the day of Himera. Then comes the fall of the tyrants itself, a period rather than an event, taking in the various steps by which, first the Emmenid dynasty at Akragas, and then the Deinomenid dynasty at Syracuse,

CHAP. VII.  
Its importance  
Athenian  
rather than  
Sicilian.

Increased  
connexion  
between  
Sicily  
and Old  
Greece.

Land-  
marks;

the fall  
of the  
tyrants,  
the begin-  
ning of  
Athenian  
inter-  
ference

Three  
periods.  
1. Hierôn  
(already  
dealt with)

2. The  
cities free  
and inde-  
pendent;

CHAP. VII. were swept away. Then comes the result of the struggle, the time of the highest freedom and independence of Greek Sicily. No city is ruled by a tyrant; none is subject to any outside dominion, Greek or barbarian. This central time, the fall of the tyrants and the years which followed their fall till the beginning of Athenian interference, is the subject of our present chapter. The third period, the time when Sicily was largely mixed up in the affairs of Old Greece, till the second Carthaginian invasion brought back all thoughts to Sicily itself, must be kept for another volume.

3. The  
Athenian  
inter-  
ven-  
tion.

### § 1. *The Fall of the Tyrants.*

B.C. 472-466.

Tyrannies  
commonly  
short-lived.

The tyrannies of Greece were never long-lived<sup>1</sup>. Here and there a tyrant might be found whose power rested on some other foundation than that of simple fear. So it assuredly was both with Gelôn at Syracuse and with Thérôn at Akragas. If they were not loved by a whole people as either a lawful king or a popular leader has often been loved, they were much more than endured by a whole people, and they were actively loved by particular classes. Each had in some sort succeeded—Thérôn had directly overthrown—an oligarchy after whose rule the dominion of the single lord was felt as a relief. Each had in every sense made his city great; Gelôn had raised Syracuse to a place among the foremost cities of the earth. And in Gelôn's case at least a large

Special  
position of  
Gelôn.

<sup>1</sup> See the discussion of this point by Aristotle, *Politics*, v. 12. 1. He notices three exceptions, the Orthagorids at Sikyon, the Kypselids at Corinth, and the Peisistratids at Athens; and he gives special reasons for the long duration of each. (*Ælian*, V H. vi. 13, for the Peisistratids substitutes τῆν τῶν Δεσμίων κατὰ Βίοντορον.) The longest-lived, that of the Orthagorids, lasted a hundred years, a time quite exceptional among tyrants, though certainly not long among lawful kings.

part of the citizens owed to him their citizenship, their place in the commonwealth, and what, under the rule of a tyrant, was more precious than a place in the commonwealth, the lots of land with which such citizenship was commonly accompanied. Add to this that the tyrant's temptations to oppression were so great that in him mere abstinence from oppression seemed meritorious. A government even moderately just, a government under which the lives, property, and honour of the citizens were not flagrantly outraged, won for him the reputation of a benefactor. A tyrant was so likely to do evil that to a tyrant who did some good all the evil that he might have done but did not was reckoned as a kind of positive merit. But this toleration or acquiescence in the tyrant's position was purely personal; it might last for his own lifetime; it might enable his power to pass quietly to his son or to some other kinsman. But it could do no more. Among lawful kings, the sentiment attaching to the kingly line, the grateful memory of the reign of some beneficent and beloved prince, has often secured a kingdom to some generations of unworthy successors. With the tyrant this could never be. The merit of the father could at most hand on his dominion to his son; the son could keep his father's dominion only by merit of his own<sup>1</sup>. And such merit was commonly lacking. The man who rises to power, if he has not virtue, must at least have vigour; the man who simply succeeds to power is often lacking in both. The temptations which beset those who are born to wealth and power have commonly a worse effect on those whose wealth and power are new than on those with whom wealth and power are of long standing.

Failure of  
hereditary  
succession  
among  
tyrants.

Sons of  
tyrants.

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle (Pol. v. 12. 4) notices as the cause of the duration of the Kypselid power at Corinth that *ὁ μὲν Κυψέλος δημογῶνός ἦν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσεν ἀδουρόφρονας, Περικλῆς δ' ἐγένετο μὲν τυραννικὸς ἀλλὰ πολέμας*. Cf. Nic. Dam. vii. 58, G. Müller, iii. 392.

CHAP. VII. The son of the upstart is a character almost proverbial. Every tyrant in the second generation was the son of an upstart, and he commonly displayed the characteristics of his class in their worst form. His power therefore, having no foundation in either traditional or personal sentiment, was hardly ever lasting. It could endure only by brute force; it commonly gave way at the first touch of ill success. The tyranny is overthrown; the tyrant is lucky if he escapes with his life. All traces of the reign of unlaw are, as far as may be, wiped out from the memory of the commonwealth. The image of Gelôn is allowed to survive. The images of other tyrants are broken in pieces.

Yet it not uncommonly happened that the effects of the tyranny could not be wholly swept away; the state of things that was before the tyranny could not be brought back in its fulness. And, contrary to the poet's rule, it was often the good that the tyrant had done that lived after him. When he had risen to power on the ruins of an oligarchy, that oligarchy could seldom be brought back again. When he had risen to power with the good will of a part of the people, his rule had commonly wiped out earlier distinctions, or at least had made it impossible to restore them in their fulness. His rule had brought with it equality, if only equality in submission; his fall brought with it equality in freedom. In other words, his fall led

to the establishment of democracy. The case was more difficult where the question was not simply between different classes of fellow-citizens, but where the rule of the tyrant had been established or supported by foreign mercenaries, above all, where those mercenaries had been rewarded with citizenship and grants of land. Even in this case the old citizens commonly prevailed. But their struggle to win back their own had sometimes to be carried on for some while after the tyrant was gone against those whom he had brought in as the bulwarks of his power.

All this is now to be illustrated in the fall of the powerful and splendid tyrannies of Akragas and Syracuse. We are not surprised to hear that both Thêrôn and Hierôn kept their power for life; we are as little surprised to hear that those who came after them failed to keep the place to which they had succeeded. There is indeed this difference, that Deinomenid rule in Syracuse lasted through two undisturbed reigns, while Emmenid rule in Akragas fell as soon as power passed out of the hands of the man who had first won it. On the other hand, Emmenid rule fell in the second generation, while Deinomenid rule can hardly be said to have reached a second generation. That Hierôn kept his power for life is not wonderful. He was a brother and not a son. He had not been born in the purple; he had been Gelôn's partner and fellow-worker in the course by which he rose to power. And with all its heavy faults, his rule had much about it, not only of dazzling brilliancy, but even of solid merit. When his power passed to another brother whose only claim to endurance was that he had followed his elders to Himera, the power of the dynasty gave way. The tyranny at Akragas gave way yet sooner, because the man on whose personal position it rested died sooner at Akragas than at Syracuse. The tyranny was safe as long as Thêrôn lived, and no longer. Whatever men thought of him at Himera, at Akragas the memory that he left behind him was a good one. He died eight years after the great victory of Hellas in which he had shared. The remembrance of a rule which had done so much for the greatness of his city won for Thêrôn the honours of a hero<sup>1</sup>. His real tomb, destined to a strange fate, stood in the burying-place of Akragas, on the hill beyond the western ravine, approached by the

CHAP VII.  
Continuation of the  
Deinomenid and  
Emmenid  
dynasties.

Their fall  
on the  
deaths of  
Thêrôn  
and  
Hierôn.

Death of  
Thêrôn.  
B.C. 472.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xl. 53; ὁ μὲν οὖν Θέρων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπεικῶς διατετιχὼς καὶ ζῶν μεγάλῃς ἀποδοχῇ ἐτύχωνε παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τελευτήσας ἡρώεων ἔτυχε πμῶν.

CHAP VII Bridge of the Dead<sup>1</sup>. But his name has been handed down to modern memory by the accident of being attached to another tomb outside the southern wall of his building. But that tomb belongs to a later age than his, and doubtless covers the ashes of some man of far less renown.

Succession  
of Thrasy-  
daïos at  
Akragas,  
B.C. 472.  
Tyranny  
of Thrasy-  
daïos.  
B.C. 472.

His oppres-  
sion.

His mer-  
cenaries;

In such a case as that of Thêrôn it followed as a matter of course that his power passed to his son. It followed, almost equally as a matter of course, that his son's power presently passed away from him. Thrasydaïos son of Thêrôn had already in his father's life-time shown, in his government of Himera<sup>2</sup>, what his rule at home was likely to be. Once in possession of his father's power, he ruled as a tyrant in the worst sense. He trampled under foot the laws of the commonwealth, which Thêrôn had respected, at least when they did not interfere with his own power<sup>3</sup>. He soon felt that side of tyranny which the Hierôn of Xenophôn so feelingly sets forth to Simônides. No man trusted him; all hated him; many formed conspiracies against his power and his life<sup>4</sup>. To strengthen himself against his domestic enemies, Thrasydaïos took a large force of mercenaries into pay, a fact which looks as if Thêrôn had not needed to rely on support of that kind. And, perhaps to call off the thoughts of the citizens from his oppressions and to give them employment of another kind, he aimed, like his father and his Syracusan contem-

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 434. His own tomb suggests his dealing with the tomb and relics of another. I know not at what stage of Thêrôn's reign we can place the restoration of the bones of Minôs to the Cretans. Diod. iv. 79: συνέβη τὸν μὲν τάφον καθαιρεθῆναι, τὰ δὲ ἑστᾶ τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐποδοθῆναι, Θήρασος δυναστεύοντος τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> The description of him in Diodôros as reigning *παράνομος καὶ τυραννικῶς* seems to point to observance of the laws on the part of Thêrôn, who is called *δυνάστης* and his dominion *ἀρχή*—colourless words.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. xi. 53, *ταχέως ἀπιστηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὑποταγμένων διετελεσεν ἐπιβουλεύμενος καὶ βίαν ἔχων μισούμενος*. These words might pass as an abridgement of Xenophôn's dialogue.

poraries, at conquest and military glory. He levied a CHAP. VII. large citizen force from the two cities under his rule, a force over whom his mercenaries might act as watchers and spies<sup>1</sup>. The host thus formed is said, between horse and foot, to have numbered twenty thousand. What ground His war with Hieron. of quarrel Thrasydaios had against Hieron we are not told; but the first enterprise which the new lord of Akragas undertook with his army was an expedition against Syracuse. But the movements of Hieron were the swifter<sup>2</sup>. He marched against Akragas, and met its tyrant in a pitched battle at a place whose name has not been handed down to us. We heard not long ago of a fight in which more Greek blood was shed than in any earlier fight<sup>3</sup>, but that was a fight between Greeks and barbarians. We are now Defeat of Thrasydaios. told that never before had so many men fallen in any fight of Greeks against Greeks<sup>4</sup>. With the loss of two thousand men of their own force, the Syracusans—so the motley host of Hieron is called by our historian—kept possession of the place of slaughter. They had more than four thousand dead bodies of the soldiers of Thrasydaios to give back to the herald of the defeated army. We should be glad to learn on what part of that army the loss had fallen most heavily, on the hirelings or on the citizens of Akragas and Himera.

Such an issue as this to his schemes of conquest might Fall of Thrasydaios. have shaken a throne more firmly fixed than that of Thrasydaios. A power like his could not outlive such a defeat for a moment. We should gladly have more details, especially as to the part played by the mercenaries of the

<sup>1</sup> *Diod. xi. 53; πολλοὺς μισθοφόρους ἀθροίσας καὶ τῶν Ἀκραγαστίνων καὶ Ἱμεραίων προσκαταλέξας.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.; μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ πολεμεῖν τοῖς Συρακοῦσιν. Ἱέρων δὲ βασιλεὺς παρασκευασάμενος δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκράγαντα.*

<sup>3</sup> *See above, p. 254.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.; γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς πλείστοι τῶν παραταξαμένων Ἑλλήνων τρὸς Ἕλληνας ἔπεσον.*

CHAP. VII. tyrant. Men of their class did not commonly remain untouched by revolutions such as that which now happened. But we hear only that Thrasydaïos was driven from Akragas and from all Sicily, and that he sought shelter in Old Greece. Of the fate of the Emmenid house generally we have no distinct mention. Thêrôn's brother Xenokratês was dead; he had died seemingly about the same time as Thêrôn himself. The son of Xenokratês, Thrasyboulos, lived, and an ode of Pindar was addressed to him after the death of his father and the fall of his house<sup>1</sup>. But its language is vague and dim, and we cannot see distinctly whether Thrasyboulos was still at Akragas, possibly looking for a revival of power in his house, or whether the whole Emmenid house was banished, leaving others behind them to plot such schemes<sup>2</sup>. But we know the end of Thrasydaïos himself, and a strange end it was. On what ground or by what process we know not, he was condemned and put to death at the elder Megara<sup>3</sup>.

Xenokratês and Thrasydaïos.

Thrasydaïos put to death at Old Megara.

Such a notice as this raises curiosity. The words used imply some kind of trial, and a trial at Megara could have been only by a Megarian court. Was the justice of Megara set at work by instances from Akragas, or was Megarian feeling against tyrants so strong that Thrasydaïos was looked on as an enemy of mankind who might be brought to justice anywhere? To these questions we can give no answer. We read only that a free constitution was now established at Akragas, and that the new government asked for peace of Hierôn, and obtained it<sup>4</sup>. Akragas was thus the first among those Sikeliot cities

Commonwealth of Akragas;

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXVI.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> *Diod. xi. 55; Θρασυδαῖον μὲν ταπεινωθεὶς ἐξέλειπον ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ, καὶ φονγὴν εἰς Μεγαρίᾳ τοὺς Νισαίους καλουμένους, ἐκείνους θανάτου καταγνασθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν.* It needs a moment's thought to see that by these Nisæian Megarians are meant the people of the old Megara on the Isthmus, as opposed to the Hyblæan Megara in Sicily.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib., οἱ δ' Ἀκραγαντίνοι κομισάμενοι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, διαπρασθενόμενοι πρὸς Ἱέρωνα τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐτυχον.*



which had been under tyrants to win back its freedom, CHAP. VII.  
 There seems no reason to think that that freedom was qualified by any superiority on the part of Syracuse<sup>1</sup>. We may perhaps wonder that Hierôn, after such a victory, did not attempt either to establish his own dominion over Akragas and Himera, or at least to put them under the rule of some tyrant or tyrants in his own interest. But such an attempt would have been hazardous; and, however dangerous to the general interests of tyranny the late revolution at Akragas might be, there was no fear of the new commonwealth marching to attack the ruler of Syracuse.

A revolution like that of Akragas happened, we may be sure, in Himera also. Its connexion with Akragas depended on nothing but subjection to a common master. Two distant cities could not form a single commonwealth, nor were the Akragantine people likely, at such a moment, to claim any dominion over Himera. We hear no details of anything that happened at Himera immediately after the downfall of Thrasydaïos. A few years later we find the city acting as an independent power. And an ode of Pindar introduces us to one of its adopted citizens. We have seen how Ergotelês of Knôssos in Crete, driven from his native city by some civil broil, received the citizenship of Himera<sup>2</sup>.

Ergotele  
 of Knôssos  
 and  
 Himera.

<sup>1</sup> See Grote, v. 309. But there seems no ground for this belief beyond the words of Diodôros in xi. 76, where he says that, after the deliverance of Syracuse and the restoration of Katané, all who had been subject to Hierôn recovered their freedom and restored their constitutions; *τούτων δ' ἦσαν Γελῶνα καὶ Ἀκραγαντίνων καὶ Ἱμεραίων* (xi. 76). This must surely be a mere confusion, not at all unlikely in Diodôros when giving a list of names. It is not to be set against his distinct statement that Akragas, and by implication Himera, recovered its freedom on the fall of Thrasydaïos.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 240. The scholiasts on Pindar, Ol. xii (the one addressed to Ergotelês of Knôssos and Himera), refer to something in the latter city; but it is hard to make out what. One says that Ergotelês, driven from Crete to Himera, *καταλαβὼν πόλιν τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ πράγματα σπασισζόμενα πρὸς Γέλανος καὶ Ἱέρανος, ἐκδεξάμενος εἰρήνην ἐνίκησε*. The other says that Ergotelês *τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ Κνωσοῦ στασιαζομένης ἀπήρκεν εἰς Ἱμέραν πόλιν Σικελίας, ἐνθα καὶ ἑτέραν στάσιν εὐρὺν Γέλανος καὶ Ἱέρανος ἐκτεταταμένην τῆς μάχης εἰρήνην*

CHAP. VII. He won fame for his new home, his delivered home, by victories at the Isthmus, at Pythô, and at last at Olympia itself. Proclaimed as a citizen, no longer of Knôssos, but of Himera, Himera on whose new freedom he invokes the blessing of Eleutherian Zeus<sup>1</sup>, Himera rejoicing in the warm fountains of the nymphs<sup>2</sup>, the poet likens him to the bird of day, the badge on the coinage of Himera, city of the day. It is hardly in the poet's highest strain—it may perhaps teach us how hard it was for Pindar himself to find wherewithal to sing the praises of every runner or boxer—when Ergotolês is told that, owing to his happy banishment, instead of being merely cock of the walk in obscure Knôssos, the victories that he had won as a man of Himera have made him known as a true gamecock to all the world<sup>3</sup>.

Five years later we find Hierôn, by what seems to have been the last act of his life, playing a part in the

*ἔγνετο*. And in the scholion on Pyth. i. 91 we read also, *φασι δὲ τὸν Ἰέρανα καὶ πρὸς Γέλωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἰσχυρασμέναι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἵνεκα*. When did Gelôn and Hierôn ever dispute for power? One is inclined to think that the scoldmist, according to the great law that one Sicilian tyrant is as good as another, wrote Thêrôn when he meant Gelôn.

<sup>1</sup> Ol. xii. 1;

*Δίεσσαραι, καὶ Ζηνοῖς Ἐλευθερίου,  
Ἰμέραν εὐρυσθενέ' ἀμφιόλη, σῶντα Τύχα.*

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 19 or 27;

*θερμὰ Νυμφῶν λουτρὰ βαστάζεις, ἐμλίαντ παρ' οἰκίας ἑρούρας.*

<sup>3</sup> Ib. 13 or 19;

*οὐδὲ Φυλάνορος, ἦτοι καὶ τὰ κεν  
ἐνδομάχας ἀν' ἀλέκτωρ, συγγόνῳ παρ' ἱστίῳ  
δακτύλῳ τιμὰ πατεφυλλορόησε ποδῶν,  
εἰ μὴ στάσῃ ἀστάντιρα Κνωσίας σ' ἄμπερ πᾶντα.*

He goes on to give the list of Ergotolês victories, two at Pythô and at the Isthmos. Pausanias (vi. 4. 11) adds Nemea. He tells the same story as Pindar of his banishment from Knôssos and reception at Himera. Mr. Lloyd (349) puts them in chronological order. Ergotolês comes to Himera in 478 and wins his Olympic victory in 472. Others (Meager, 192) put his coming as early as 490. That does not greatly concern us. The point is that the ode supposes the freedom of Himera.

The parable of the cock surely refers to the coinage of Himera, and the choice of the badge surely shows that even the *Ἰμέρα* and *ἡμέρα* had much the same sound.

affairs of another tyranny which, like that of Thêrôn, bore rule over two cities. His young brothers-in-law, the sons of Anaxilas of Rhêgion and Zanklâ, were now growing up. He sent for them; he gave them great gifts; he reminded them of the good deeds of Gelôn towards their father<sup>1</sup>, and counselled them to demand of Mikythos an account of his stewardship. One hardly knows what to make of this action on Hierôn's part. Personal jealousy of Mikythos is likely enough; but personal jealousy of Mikythos would only be part of a general jealousy of the Rhegine power, and it is hard to credit Hierôn with any unselfish zeal for the interests of the sons of Anaxilas. As an attempt to discredit the administration of Mikythos, Hierôn's dealings failed. As an attempt to break his power, and in the end the power of the Rhegine state, they certainly succeeded, though their final results did not come in Hierôn's day.

CHAP. VII  
Hierôn  
and the  
sons of  
Anaxilas.  
B.C. 467.

His policy  
towards  
Zanklâ  
and  
Rhêgion.

The immediate result of Hierôn's scheme is singular, and is in any case most honourable to Mikythos. It marks the difference between his rule and that of Thraasydaïos that the power of Mikythos still remained unshaken six years after the great defeat at the hands of the Iapygians. The young tyrants went back to Rhêgion, and made the demand which Hierôn had suggested. Mikythos was ready to meet them. He got together the friends of the house of Anaxilas, and was able to give such an account of his stewardship as satisfied all who heard it of his strict integrity. Splendid gifts at Olympia, thank-offerings for the recovery of a son from sickness, were clearly not looked on as any misapplication of the wealth which had passed through his hands. Statues not a few, in which the names of Mikythos and his father Choiros were coupled with the names of the two cities which had been under his vicarious rule, abode in the holy place of Zeus till the days of Pausanias<sup>2</sup>. The sons of Anaxilas were sorry that they had made any demand

Mikythos  
clears  
himself.

His gifts  
at Olym-  
pia.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XXIX.

CHAP. VII. on one so faithful. They prayed him still to keep the government of Rhêgion and Zanklê in his hands, and to manage all things as though he were their father<sup>1</sup>. But Mikythos would no longer hold an office in which he had once been suspected. He carefully handed over to the sons of Anaxilas all that he held in trust. His own goods he put on ship-board, and sailed away from Sicily and Italy amid the loudly expressed good will of the people. He crossed to Old Greece, and spent the rest of his days in honour at Tegea<sup>2</sup>.

He goes  
away and  
dies at  
Tegea.

Death of  
Hierôn.  
B. C. 467

The sons of Anaxilas now entered on the government of his two cities, but for no great length of time. Before the year was out, the great stay of tyranny in Sicily was taken away. Hierôn, ever sickly, died, after a reign of eleven years. He could hardly have been mourned at Syracuse; but on the spot where he died his name was honoured. For the life of Hierôn came to an end in the city where he had so strangely won the honours of a founder, the city of which his son was called the king, and of which he himself had been proclaimed as a citizen in the national games of Greece. Hierôn of Ætna was honoured in Ætna with a splendid tomb and with the worship of a hero<sup>3</sup>. His wish was thus fulfilled; there was one place where he was, for a while at least, deemed the peer of Gelôn.

His tomb  
and  
honours at  
Ætna.

No law of  
succession  
in tyrann-  
ies.

The one writer who distinctly gives the rulers of the house of Deinomenês the kingly title not only bestows it on Hierôn himself, but extends it in a marked way to his successor in the dominion of Syracuse<sup>4</sup>. But whether they

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXIX. <sup>2</sup> κατεβίωσεν ἐπαινούμενος, says Diodorus.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. xi. 66; Ἱέρων ὁ Συρακοσίαν βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῇ Κατάνη καὶ τιμῶν ἡρωικῶν ἔτυχεν, ὥς ἂν πρίστη γεγονώς τῆς πόλεως. The use of Κατάνη is like the use of Μεσσήνη in Pausanias' report of the gifts of Mikythos. See Appendix XXIX.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. ii. 3.; οὗτος μὲν ἄρξας ἔτη ἑνὶκαι, κατέλιπε τὴν βασιλείαν Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

were kings or tyrants, there had been no time for any definite law of succession to grow up in their house. So far as there was any, it would seem to be the rule of the Ottoman Sultans which gives the crown to the eldest male of the royal house. But the sons of Deinomenês had at least kept themselves from the open murder of brothers; if Polyzêlos was doomed to death, it was to a death at the hands of foreign enemies<sup>1</sup>. He would seem to have died before this time by some more peaceful end; but the prophecy which gave so little pleasure to the elder Deinomenês was to be fulfilled. Three of his sons were to be tyrants<sup>2</sup>. Gelôn had left a nameless son; of Deinomenês son of Hierôn we have heard already; we have heard of Chromios as the guardian of both<sup>3</sup>. It seems clear that Deinomenês kept on that kingship or tyranny of Ætna which his father had bestowed on him. It was he who dedicated the rich offerings at Olympia which his father had been unable to dedicate in his lifetime<sup>4</sup>. The Olympic victories of Hierôn were commemorated by a brazen chariot, and two horses with boys mounted on their backs, but it was not by Hierôn but by Deinomenês that they were set up<sup>5</sup>.

CHAP. VII

Death of Polyzêlos.

Gelôn's son.

Deinomenês at Ætna.

His offerings of his father's gifts.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 237.<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 122.<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 214, 245.

<sup>4</sup> These gifts are twice mentioned by Pausanias. He mentions them first in the proper place (vi. 12. 1). They were ἄρμα χαλκοῦν καὶ ἀγὼρ ἀναβεβηκὸς ἐκ' αὐτοῦ, κίλιντος δὲ ἔσται παρὰ τὸ ἄρμα, εἰς δευτέρωθεν ἔσσημα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔστων καθίσονται παῖδες. He adds, τὰ δὲ ἀσκήματα οὐχ Ἱέρων ἀπέστειλεν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀπαδοὺς τῷ θεῷ Δεινομένει ἐστὶν ὁ Ἱέρων. In viii. 42. 9 he gives the inscription;

ὅν ποτε νικήσας, Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, σεμνὸν δῶνα,  
τεθρίπῃ μὲν ἀσπὶ, μονοκίλιντι δὲ δίε,  
ἔωρ' Ἱέρων τάδε σοι ἔχαρίσατο· παῖς δ' ἀνέθηκε  
Δεινομένης πατρὸς μῆμα Σικαννοῖο.

Does the King of Ætna speak in the last word?

<sup>5</sup> This way of dealing with a position which, unless we accept the kingship, was altogether irregular, reminds one of the means taken for prolonging the power or influence of the Medici during the non-age of Lorenzo and Giovanni. The administration of Mikythos is not quite the same.

CHAP. VII.

Tyranny of  
Thrasy-  
boulos at  
Syracuse.  
B. C. 467-  
466.

His op-  
pression.

Short dura-  
tion of the  
dynasty.

B. C. 485  
466.

But Deinomenés reigned at Ætna only; the dominion of Syracuse and of the other cities which had been ruled by Hierôn did not pass to him. Neither did it, unless in some purely nominal way, pass to Gelon's son. The real successor of Hieron was, according to most accounts, his youngest brother Thrasyboulos, the last of those three sons of the elder Deinomenés whom he could not save from the tyrant's lot. But Aristotle has preserved another account, which we could wish that he had told us at greater length. His story suggests that the tyranny formally passed—so far as anything under a tyranny could be said to be formal—to the nameless son of Gelôn. Him, we are told, his uncle Thrasyboulos strove to corrupt, by leading him into excesses of pleasure, in order that he might himself reign in his name<sup>1</sup>. What is more certain is that, whether exercised in his own name or in that of his nephew, the rule of Thrasyboulos was a tyranny in the worst sense of the word. It was the rule of an oppressor defended by mercenaries against the citizens whom he plundered, slew, banished, and outraged at pleasure<sup>2</sup>. His career of evil lasted only eleven months. By that time the tyranny was overpast, and, when we come to reckon up the seasons, we are surprised to find how few years the mighty and splendid dynasty of the Deinomenids had lasted<sup>3</sup>.

The immediate occasion of the fall of Thrasyboulos is

<sup>1</sup> Arist. Pol. v. 10. 31: Θρασυβοῖλον τοῦ Ἱέρανος ἀδελφοῦ τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Γέλωνος διαμαρτυροῦνται καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὰς ἀρμώντας, ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀρχῇ.

<sup>2</sup> Diodōros xi. 67) describes his evil deeds at length; κατέβλεν δὲ μισῶν καὶ μισούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδικουμένων μισοφύρων πλήθος ἐξεναλλόγησεν, ἀντιταγὰς κατασκευάζειν τὰς πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις.

<sup>3</sup> This is the remark of Aristotle (Pol. v. 12. 6). Having named the more lasting tyrannies (see above, p. 292), he adds: τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἢ περὶ Ἱέρανον καὶ Γέλωνα περὶ Συρακούσας ἔτη δ' οὐδ' αὐτὴ πολλά διήρμαιεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ σύμβατα δυοῖν θέοντα εἶσσι. Eighteen years then was a rather long time for a dynasty.

told us but darkly. The partisans of the house of Gelôn CHAR. VII. strove in some way to save the tyranny while sacrificing Revolt of the Syracusans. the tyrant; but the friends of freedom found their oppor- B. C. 465. tunity to get rid of the tyrant and the tyranny together <sup>1</sup>.

The native population of Syracuse rose as one man, under leaders who are unluckily nameless <sup>2</sup>. Thrasyboulos strove Thrasyboulos defended by the mercenaries. in vain to win them over by fair words, and then made great efforts to defend his power by force. And in such force he was not lacking. He had the mercenaries of his predecessor at his command; the citizens also of Hieron's Ætna, the subjects of his son, proved the wisdom of their foundation by coming gladly at the call of Thrasyboulos to fight for the house of their founder. At the head of fifteen thousand men the tyrant occupied the fortified parts of Syracuse. A few years before we might have said that he occupied the whole of Syracuse; but the city had now grown even beyond the bounds given to it by Gelôn. The He occupies Ortygia and Achradina. fortified quarters of Ortygia and Achradina, each with its separate wall—the old wall of Ortygia, the wall of Achradina, carried down by Gelôn to the Great Harbour—are spoken of as no longer forming the whole of Syracuse. They are now only its strong places. In this way of speaking there may be a certain carrying back of the language of later times to earlier; but it is clear that Thrasyboulos occupied Ortygia and Achradina, and that there was still something outside for his enemies to occupy. Ortygia and Achradina were the only continuously fortified quarters; Temenitês was a detached outpost; over the rest houses were doubtless spreading, but there were as yet no

<sup>1</sup> Arist. Pol. v. 10. 31; τῶν αἰκίων συστάντων ἵνα μὴ τυραννὶς ὅλην καταλυθῇ ἀλλὰ Θρασύβουλος· οἱ δὲ συστάντες αὐτῶν, ὥς καιρὸν ἔχοντες, ἐξέβαλον ἅπαντας αὐτούς. The words are difficult, but this seems their meaning.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xi. 67; οἱ Συρακούσιοι προστησάμενοι τοὺς ἡγηρομένους ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς τυραννίδος παρρημί, καὶ σπονταχθέντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀντείχοντο τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ.

CHAP. VII. defences. It is not wonderful if the Syracusans, driven  
 The outside their own walls and compelled to besiege their own  
 citizens city, seized upon one part of the undefended area, and  
 occupy made it a permanent addition to the fortified enclosure.  
 Tycha.

This was the quarter called Tycha or Tyca, which the  
 Syracusans are now said to have occupied, and which we  
 shall see that before long they not only occupied but  
 fortified<sup>1</sup>. The name is of uncertain origin, and the extent  
 Extent of of the quarter so called is no less uncertain. But it seems  
 Tycha. well marked to the north as taking in that part of the brow  
 of the hill which reaches from the combe of the Panagia  
 to the point where the coast turns away from the hill to  
 form the low ground by the bay of Trógilon. It may  
 very possibly have gone further to the west, its extent  
 southward is very doubtful. But its general position,  
 west of the north-western corner of Achradina, is plain  
 enough. This, like other places outside the wall, was most  
 likely already inhabited. At all events they now became  
 so. For they were the only dwelling-places left to the  
 native people of Syracuse, while the tyrant and his mer-  
 cenaries held the elder quarters of the city. The Syra-  
 cusans had in short to besiege their enemy in their own  
 city, and for that work they fixed their head-quarters on  
 Tycha.

The next step of the Syracusans occupying Tycha was  
 to send messengers to all parts of Sicily, alike to Greeks  
 and to Sikels, to ask for help. The universal good will  
 with which their prayer was answered shows with what  
 dread the Deinomenid dynasty was looked on throughout  
 the island. The deliverance of Syracuse implied the de-  
 liverance of Gela. The Geloans clearly had no love for  
 the men of Gela who had made Gela secondary to Syra-  
 cuse. Gela, again a free commonwealth, sent help to the  
 patriots of Syracuse against the son of Geloan Deinomenês.

Greek and  
 Sikel help  
 to Syra-  
 cuse.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 312, and Appendix XXXI



So did the new commonwealths of Akragas and Himera. CHAP. VII.  
 So did distant Selinous, freed from its Phœnician overlords.  
 And so did the Sikel towns of the inland country; the  
 Syracusan commonwealth seemed to them a less dangerous  
 neighbour than the Syracusan tyrant<sup>1</sup>. This notice of the  
 Sikel allies has a special interest. Hellenic influences had Advancing  
helleniza-  
tion of the  
Sikels.  
 so far spread among the elder races of the island that they  
 were now for a while able to play a part in the affairs of  
 their Greek neighbours. But it is for one man's life only  
 that Sikels as Sikels stand out among the powers of Sicily;  
 and we may be sure that the career of that man had  
 already begun. The name of Ducetius is not mentioned  
 at this stage; but we may feel sure that he was the  
 guiding spirit of the Sikel share in this general movement  
 of Greek and barbarian to get rid of an enemy who  
 threatened both.

Meanwhile no allies flocked to the support of Thrasy- Thrasy-  
boulos  
besieged  
 boulos. He was left to rely on his mercenaries, together,  
 we must suppose, with the men of Ætna<sup>2</sup>. But with their  
 help he held what, though only part of the vast Syracuse  
 of later days, was a great and strong city, strong by land  
 and sea, commanding at once the Great Harbour and the  
 open sea. To dislodge him from such a post needed  
 forces of all kinds, and forces of all kinds were forth-  
 coming. The general zeal of the allies sent horsemen  
 and footmen and ships of war<sup>3</sup>. The force of free Syra- Vis-ories  
of the Syra-  
cusans.  
 cuse and her allies was stronger than the force of the  
 tyrant. The first encounter was by sea; on what point

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 68; *πρεσβυτάτη ἀπίστειλαν εἰς Γίλαν καὶ Ἀκράγωνα καὶ Σελινούττα, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις εἰς Ἰμέραν καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν Σικελῶν πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ κεμέναι, ἀγιοῦντες κατὰ τάχος συνελθεῖν καὶ συνελευθερώσαι τὰς Συρακούσας.*

<sup>2</sup> Ib.; *Θρασύβουλος ἐγκαταλιπόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχων τοῖς μισθοφόροις*

<sup>3</sup> Ib.; *πάντων προθύμως ὑπακούοντων καὶ συντόμῳ ἀποσπειλάσαν, τῶν μὲν πεζοῶν καὶ ἱππέων στρατιῶται, τῶν δὲ ναυτῶν μακρὰς κεκοσμημέναι εἰς ναυμαχίαν.*

CHAP. VII. among the waters of Syracuse we are not told. We would fain know whether the liberating fleets had been able to make their way into the Great Harbour, and whether the fight was fought on the same waves which were ennobled by the more famous struggles of fifty years later. In the sea-fight the allied fleet had the better, and Thrasyboulos was driven to flee to the Island, the centre of his naval power. He fared no better by land. The head-quarters of his land-force were naturally in Achradina. Thence he marched forth and met the besiegers in the suburbs. He was again defeated with great loss and driven back into Achradina<sup>1</sup>. Are we to understand this of a sally from the famous gate of Achradina on the lower ground, or from some opening in the elder wall far to the north? The latter would agree better with the chief position of the patriots on Tycha. The mention of a suburb on the other hand suggests the lower ground, the neighbourhood of the temple of Démêtêr and the Korê<sup>2</sup>. Whatever was the exact place of his defeat, Thrasyboulos had had enough of fighting, and he had no mind to undergo a blockade. After his second defeat, he offered terms of capitulation. Did the terms require that he should leave Sicily, or would his presence have been unwelcome to his nephew at Ætna? At all events it was not in the last possession of his house that he found shelter. He was allowed to withdraw under truce to Lokroi, a city where the name of Hierôn was doubtless still honoured. The line of the tyrants of Syracuse, so far at least as Syracuse was concerned, was now at an end. Thrasyboulos himself, by a marked contrast to the fate of Thrasydaïos, spent the rest of his days, few or

Thrasybou-  
los with-  
draws to  
Lokroi.  
B. C. 466.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 68: *παραγὰν ἐκ τῆς Ἀχραδίνης . . . ἡττημένον πάλιν ἐς τὴν Ἀχραδίνην ἀποχωρήσας*. This is opposed to the sea-fight when *ἐνέφουγεν ἐς τὴν Νῆσον*.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 113.

many, in the Italiot city which he had chosen as his place of shelter<sup>1</sup>. CHAP. VII.

Syracuse was thus, to all seeming, free under her newly restored democracy. The other cities which had been under the rule or influence of the tyrant of Syracuse established democracies also<sup>2</sup>. Of Ætna we know that, a little later, it was still held by its Hieronian citizens as an independent power, and a power hostile to Syracuse. Of its internal government we hear nothing; but the natural inference is that Deinomenês still reigned there. In any case all the cities became independent; and, if Ætna did not become free as well as independent, it stood alone as the one seat of tyranny or kingship. Deinomenês at Ætna.

A time of renewed prosperity for Syracuse and for the whole body of the Sikeliot cities now began. Yet materials for civil disputes were not lacking, either at Syracuse or elsewhere. In the first burst of delight at newly-won freedom, an assembly, the same, it would seem, which decreed the democratic constitution<sup>3</sup>, decreed all kinds of thankofferings to the gods who had granted such a boon. Zeus Eleutherios was to be honoured with a colossal statue. The Feast of Freedom, the Eleutheria, was to be kept yearly on the day on which the tyrant's power had been broken. On that day four hundred and fifty bulls were to be slaughtered to provide at once an offering for the gods and a feast for their thankful worshippers. It B.C. 466-433.  
Deities of the Syracusan commonwealth.  
The Eleutheria.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 68; *φυγὸν εἰς Ἀκρόαδς ἀναστὰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἰσχυροῦσαν κατεβίωσαν*. In one of these battles Agêsias of Stymphaios seems to have been slain. See Appendix XIV.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* xi. 71; *ἄρτι καταλελυμένην τῆς ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις τυραννίδος καὶ πασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον πόλειαν ἡλευθερωμένην, πολλὴν ἐτίθεισιν ἐλάμβανεν ἢ συμπᾶσα Σικελία*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*; *καταλύσαντες τὴν Θρασύβουλου τυραννίδα συνήγαγον ἐκκλησίαν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας δημοκρατίας βουλευσάμενοι πάντες ὁμογνώμονες ἐψηφίσαντο Διὸς μὲν ἡλευθερίον κολοσσιῶν ἀνδράντα κατασκευάσαι, κ.τ.λ.* This should surely be in 466; yet it is placed in 463. On the chronology see Busolt, ii. 292.

CHAP. VII.  
The great  
altar.

was for the better celebration of this more than fourfold hecatomb that the Hierôn of a later day, king rather than tyrant, reared that mighty altar whose remains still speak for themselves among the wonders of Syracuse<sup>1</sup>. The feast now ordained, or its remembrance, must have lived through all later tyrannies. But even this impressive rite failed to bring perfect unity within the state.

Position of  
the new  
citizens.

The newly-won freedom did not necessarily carry with it perfect equality of rights among all the inhabitants of Syracuse. According to Greek notions it was not likely that it should. The tyranny must have wiped out all distinctions older than the tyranny. We hear no more of the *Gamoroi* or of the *Démoe* which welcomed Gelôn. They have become one body in opposition to those citizens of Syracuse who had been brought from various parts by the tyrants, and whose citizenship was the gift of the tyrants. Ten thousand such citizens had been enrolled by Gelôn, of whom seven thousand, we are told, still remained<sup>2</sup>. What was the position of these men in the first stage of the new democracy? Our one informant tells his story with a good deal of chronological confusion. As his dates go, we have to choose between two suppositions either of which is a little hard to believe. Either the proclamation of the democracy and the vows of thanksgiving to the gods did not happen till three years after the fall of Thrasyboulos, or else the new citizens were at first admitted to the full privileges of the new commonwealth, and were deprived of them three years later. Of these two alternatives the second is certainly the less difficult. In the first gush of delight measures were taken which later feelings would not look on with the same eyes. At some stage therefore of the

B. C. 466-  
463.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 72; *ὅθεν δ' ἐς τοῦ ἀγῶνι τοῖς θεοῖς ταύρας τετραπλοῖον καὶ πεντήκοντα, καὶ τοῖσιν ἑκατόμβη ἐς τῆς τῶν τολμάτων εὐχίας*. The previous baiting, enforced by municipal law in many English towns, was not thought of. Syracuse had not yet an amphitheatre.

<sup>2</sup> The number comes from Diodorus.

process of change, the new democracy decreed that the Gelonian citizens should not be eligible to magistracies, but that all offices of honour and trust should be confined to those whose citizenship was older than the tyranny<sup>1</sup>.

CHAP. VII.  
The new  
citizens  
shut out  
from office.

In this seeming exclusiveness there was nothing wonderful. The excluded class was not like a body of newer citizens who had gradually grown into a plebeian order alongside of the older patrician body. Such was the old Syracusan *Dēmos* before the tyranny, a body of men who had become in all habits and feelings as truly Syracusan as the *Gamoroi* sprung from the comrades of Archias. But the new citizens who had now to be dealt with were men whose presence at Syracuse was a badge of humiliation and something more. Brought together from all parts, strangers to Syracusan feelings and traditions, many perhaps not even Greeks, the largest class among them consisted of the actual mercenaries of the tyrants. They were the men whom the patriotic Syracusans and their allies had overcome in those battles by land and sea which had sealed the fate of the tyranny. Such men could not be trusted. They might any day conspire to bring back the power to which they owed everything<sup>2</sup>. They might, according to Greek notions, think themselves well off that they were not driven out, perhaps sold into slavery. It was high favour indeed to let them keep land and citizenship; office and honour should surely be confined to men

Estimate  
of the act  
of exclu-  
sion.

<sup>1</sup> The account in Diodorus (xi. 72) is distinctly placed in 463; but it forms part of the same story, without the slightest break, as the proclamation of democracy and the institution of the Eleutheria; and the formal decree, τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπὸς τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις ἀνεμεν, τοὺς δὲ γένους τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Γέλονας πολιτευθέντας οὐκ ἔξιεν μετέχειν ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς, reads like part of the same vote as the four hundred and fifty bulls.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus (xi. 72) gives as the reason for this exclusion; εἴτε οὐκ ἄξιον κρινάσθαι εἴτε καὶ ἀπιστοῦντας μὴ ποτε συνταραμμένοι τυραννίδι καὶ μονάρχει σπασιστρατευμένοι νεωτερίζειν ἐπιχειρήσωσιν· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι. Nothing else could have been expected. He adds, οὗτοι τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίρεσι τῆς τιμῆς ἀπελαυνόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἔφερον.

CHAP. VII. who were true-born children of Syracuse, and who had helped to win freedom for their parent. The old citizens only, the men who were citizens, *Gamoroî* or *Démos*, on the day when Gelôn entered Syracuse, were to enjoy all the honours and powers that Syracuse had to bestow<sup>1</sup>.

Resistance  
of the new  
citizens.

The tyranny then had at least wiped out all older distinctions, however needful it might be thought to set up new ones. But the new rule, however sound in principle, was one which it was easier to put forth in the shape of a decree than to carry out in practice. The native Syracusans were the more in number, and could vote what they thought good. But the new citizens, so largely made up of the old soldiers of Gelôn and Hierôn, were not likely to sit down quietly under a vote of exclusion. And they were very likely to have the better, if it came to a trial of physical force. The state of things that had been during the last days of Thrasyboulos came back again. The new

They  
occupy  
Ortygia  
and Achra-  
dina.

citizens—it is easier to call them the mercenaries—again drove the native Syracusans out of the fortified quarters of the city, out of the Island and Achradina, and again kept those strongholds against the people of Syracuse. This state of things, following on what had happened during the war with Thrasyboulos, led to a further extension of the defences of the city. The citizens, shut out of the elder quarter, fortified for themselves a new quarter to the west of Achradina, in the direction of Epipolai. That last name, afterwards to be so famous, is now heard for the first time<sup>2</sup>. That is to say, the suburb of Tycha, whose advantages had been shown during its occupation by the patriots in the former siege<sup>3</sup>, was now permanently added to the fortified enclosure of Syracuse. It remained a distinct

The old  
citizens  
fortify  
Tycha.

<sup>1</sup> Diodôros' words might imply that all the new citizens were mercenaries. But Gelôn had brought inhabitants of other classes from several cities to Syracuse. It is possible however that the exclusion applied to the mercenaries only.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. pp. 360, 578.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 306.

enclosure of itself, parted from Achradina by the ancient wall, and stretching, it is hard to say how far, to the south, but clearly not so far as to join the detached outpost of Tementês. Another step was taken in the growth of the great city made up of many cities. To Ortygia, to Achradina, upper and lower, must now be added Tyche<sup>1</sup>. CHAP. VII.

From this starting-point, now made into a defensive post, the men of Syracuse began again to besiege their own city held against them by an enemy. If we can trust the chronology of our single informant, the struggle must have been spread over a whole year and more<sup>2</sup>. We are told that for a while the strength of the defences of Ortygia and Achradina, and the greater military skill of their defenders, baffled all attempts on the part of the Syracusans to win back their city. On the other hand, the besieged were cut off from all communications by land, and so were brought to great straits<sup>3</sup>. Yet the sea was open to them, and they even had ships of war. We hear again of a sea-fight, recorded in the same disappointing way as before, without a single detail. On the sea the Syracusans were victorious; the mercenaries of the tyrants would be land soldiers, not seamen. The citizens were still unable to drive the enemy from their strongholds<sup>4</sup>. But practice gave them military experience, and, when the mercenaries risked a battle without the walls, the Syracusans, after a hard struggle and the slaughter of

The mercenaries  
besieged in  
Achradina.  
B.C. 461

Victory of  
the Syra-  
cusans.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXX.

<sup>2</sup> All that we have so far been speaking of is placed by Diodoros (xi. 73) in the archonship of Tlepolemos, B.C. 461. The whole chronology is puzzling; but we have no better authority to set it right.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. xi. 73; εὐθὺς τῆς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἐξόδου τοῦ ἀφιστημόνου εὐχερῶς εἴργον καὶ ταχὺ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ποιῆσαι ἀπορῶν. He remarks that the mercenaries, though smaller in number, were better soldiers, and had the advantage in all encounters. He adds, εἰργόμενοι δὲ τῆς χώρας ἐλάττωτο τοῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ τροφῇς ἐπιδίξαν. All this is in 461.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. xi. 76; ναυμαχίᾳ μὲν ἐνίκησαν τοὺς ἀποστάτας, περὶ δ' οὐκ ἰσχυρὸν ἐμβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τῶν τόπων.

CHAP VII  
The mer-  
cenaries  
got rid of.

The Syra-  
cusan  
democracy.  
B.C. 461-  
405.

Position  
of free  
Syracuse.

many on both sides, had the victory<sup>1</sup>. The course of events implies that the mercenaries were now in some way got rid of. It is less likely that they were driven out by force than that, like their master five years before, they found it prudent to go away on favourable terms. But, instead of the political results of the battle, all that we actually hear of is the rewards decreed to the victors. A chosen band of six hundred, to whose valour the success of the patriotic cause was held to be mainly owing, received the honorary reward of crowns and the more substantial gift of a *mina* of silver to each man<sup>2</sup>. Syracuse was now free alike from tyrants and from those whom the tyrants had brought with them. The city was cleared of strangers, and was in the hands of its own citizens. Now for the first time it entered on the full career of a Greek democracy, its first attempt at which had been so rudely cut short by Gelôn. But so swift is the march of events in Greek history that men who had helped to overthrow the power of the Demomenids lived to see the beginnings of a stronger and more abiding tyranny. Yet Syracuse became for a while the greatest democracy of Doric speech, the greatest democracy of colonial Greece. And it was destined, by a strange fate, to strive for life and death with the greatest democracy of Ionic speech, the greatest democracy of the elder Hellas.

Syracuse came out of her struggle for freedom with a lessened position in Sicily, but with a position really more honourable. If Syracuse under the democracy was less powerful than Syracuse under the tyrants, it was only

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 76. The victory comes *καταράσας γενομένης ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως*. There was now a battle, as distinguished from sallies and attacks on the walls.

<sup>2</sup> Diodôros (ib.) records the reward to the six hundred, and with the same breath goes on to the affairs of Katané, leaving us to guess at the real end of things at Syracuse.



because the other Sikeliot cities were now as free as herself. CHAP VII  
 In the process of her deliverance, she had, as a fortified Enlarge-  
 city, enlarged her borders. Tyche, surrounded by walls ment of  
 and bulwarks for the attack on Achradina, kept them the city.  
 as a new quarter of an again enlarged Syracuse. Thus  
 democratic Syracuse, smaller as a power, was greater as a  
 city, than the Syracuse of Gelôn and Hierôn. We must The other  
 now look to the other Greek cities of Sicily. It should Sikeliot  
 here be noticed that our chronology, which seems to be cities  
 minutely set down, year by year, is in truth exceedingly c. B.C. 466-  
 confused, as regards both Syracuse and other cities. In 461  
 Syracuse itself it is hard to say how long a time passed  
 between the fall of the tyranny and the final driving out  
 of the instruments of tyranny. It is equally hard to  
 say what events in other parts of Sicily accompanied  
 the several stages of Syracusan deliverance. The fall of  
 Thrasyboulos would give a strong impulse to freedom in  
 every part of the island. If any traces of tyranny or its  
 results escaped that impulse, a second movement would  
 doubtless follow on the complete deliverance of Syracuse  
 which would sweep away whatever was left. The details  
 in each case it is hard to fix. Of some cities we can say  
 nothing whatever; there are others of whose fortunes at  
 this point we hear a little more.

It is clear for instance that, at one or the other stage, Liberation and  
 the power of the sons of Anaxilas was swept away from separation  
 the two cities which he had ruled. Zanklê and Rhégion of Zanklê  
 became independent and separate commonwealths; no spot and Rhé-  
 of Sicilian soil looked up to a ruler on the Italian side of gion.  
 the strait<sup>1</sup>. And there may be some ground for fixing c. B.C. 461?

<sup>1</sup> Immediately after the account of Katané, to which we shall come directly, Diodôros (xi. 76) adds; *τούτων δὲ πρᾶχθέντων, εἰ κατὰ τὴν Ἱέραντος δυναστείαν ἐκκεντωκότες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πόλεων ἔχοντες τοὺς συναγωνιζομένους κατήλθον ἐς τὰς πατρίδας, καὶ τοὺς ἀδίκους τὰς ἀλλοτρίας πόλεις ἀφηρεμένοι ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τούτων δ' ἦσαν Γελοῖοι καὶ Ἀκραγαντινοὶ [see above, p. 199] καὶ Ἱμεραῖοι. παρακλησίαις δὲ τούτοις καὶ Ἐργῶσι μετὰ Ζαγκλαίων τούτ*

CHAP. VII. that event to the later stage—in whatever year we place that stage—as it was clearly connected with a general movement for getting rid of the new citizens everywhere. Of this the expulsion of the Gelonian and Hieronian citizens from Syracuse was in some way a part. But we cannot rule whether it was strictly part of a common movement or whether the action of Syracuse merely suggested the like action in other cities. At Syracuse, where things came to actual warfare, the recovery of the city for its own citizens was doubtless a longer business than elsewhere. In other cities it would seem that an agreement was come to with the intruders, by which they left the several towns where the tyrants had placed them, and were settled, by a common decree of the Sikeliot commonwealths, in the one territory of Messana<sup>1</sup>. That name is now heard for the first time in Sicily; it henceforth displaces Zanklê as the name of the city on the strait<sup>2</sup>.

General agreement.  
The new citizens translated to Messana.  
Name of Messana.

Possibility of a Sikeliot Federation.

This settlement in the territory of a particular city by the common vote of all the Sikeliot cities opens more than one line of thought. Commonwealths which could so easily act in concert for a common end might almost have been expected to take a further step. We seem to have come nearer than we often do at this stage of Greek history to the establishment of a real federal system. Sicily might surely have forestalled Achaia, and Syracuse, instead of being mighty under tyrants, might have been mightier as the Megalopolis of a free and confederate

*Ἀναξίλου παῖδας δυναστεύοντας ἐκβαλόντες ἡλευθέρωσαν τὰς πατρίδας.* A great deal of this must have happened already but we cannot be sure that all had

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 76. The change is made by a common act; *αἱ πόλεις σχεδὸν ἕκασται . . . κοινὸν νόμον ποιησόμεναι, πρὸς τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ξένους ἐκλύθησαν, . . . τοὺς ἀρχαίαις πόλιναι τὰς πόλεις ἀνέθεσαν* τοῖς δὲ ξένοις τοῖς διὰ τὰς δυναστείας ἑλλασπίας τὰς πόλεις ἔχουσι, κατοικεῖν ἀπαντα ἐν τῇ Μισσηνίᾳ.

<sup>2</sup> The change is made in the chapter of Diodóros just quoted. The words *Ῥηγῖναι μετὰ Ζαγκλαίων* are followed within a sentence or two by *ἐν τῇ Μισσηνίᾳ*.

island. Our interest too is raised as to the state of the city on which the common voice of Greek Sicily bestowed a plantation of citizens so many and so motley. Citizens it is to be supposed they were to be, though it is to be noticed that the words of our informant speak of them as settled in the Messanian territory, but not necessarily in the Messanian city. We must remember that the present inhabitants of that city, the Zanklaians who had helped with the men of Rhégion to drive out the tyrants, were neither the old citizens of Zanklê nor yet the Samians who had taken their place. They were the mixed multitude whom Anaxilas himself had brought in<sup>1</sup>. We know absolutely nothing of their relations to one another, or to any one else except to the masters whom they drove out. But the story shows that the city, already used to such settlements, needed new citizens. And we cannot help connecting these new settlements with the change of name, which is more likely to have taken place now than at an earlier time<sup>2</sup>. From this time Zanklê becomes *Messana*, in the various forms of that name. It practically does so for all time, though for several centuries the Messanian name was shrouded under the formal style of *Mamertina civitas*. The last Messenian war in Peloponnesos, which sent so many of the old Messenians into banishment, would seem to have supplied the city with settlers who were many enough to give it a new name. The legendary Messenian settlement at Zanklê in the time of the older Messenian wars seems to be this settlement carried back by poetic licence to an earlier time<sup>3</sup>.

Position of  
Zanklê or  
Messana.

Cause of  
the change  
of name.

Of the course of events in two other Sikeliot cities, both of them closely connected with the late state of things in Syracuse, we hear a little more fully. It will be remem-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix IX.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix IX.

- CHAP. VII. bered that Gelôn, among his other changes, had swept away the colony planted by his predecessor Hippokratês at Kamarina and had removed its inhabitants to Syracuse<sup>1</sup>.
- Restora- The events with which we have been dealing had passed  
tion of  
Kamarina. so quickly that it was now only twenty-four years since  
B.C. 461? the destruction of the town by Gelôn, only thirty-four  
since its restoration by Hippokratês. Kamarina now began  
its third life. The city already twice founded and twice  
destroyed was again founded under the auspices of Gela.  
The words of our one informant taken alone might have  
led us to think that its third life was to be that of a mere  
dependency of Gela, as its first life had been that of a mere  
dependency of Syracuse. But other evidence shows that  
Kamarina now rose again as an independent city, a colony  
of Gela, but not more than a colony<sup>2</sup>. We shall presently  
find the restored city playing an independent part in the  
affairs of Sicily. The point to notice is that it was as a  
colony of Gela that Kamarina now arose; Syracuse seems  
to have laid no claim to the site on which her hand had  
once pressed so heavily<sup>3</sup>. In later times Kamarina seems  
to have no special love for Syracuse, but we see no sign of  
any claim of Syracusan supremacy.
- A colony  
of Gela.
- No claim  
made by  
Syracuse.
- By whom  
was  
Kamarina  
settled?
- It is less easy to say who were the colonists of the new  
Kamarina. The time is so short that some of the settlers in the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> *Diod. xi. 75*; *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Καμάριον μὲν Γελῶν κατακίεσται ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατακληροδόχησεν*. This would in strictness imply that Kamarina was a mere *κληρονομία* of Gela, a Roman *colonia*, not a true *ἀποικία*; but we very soon come across Kamarina as an independent commonwealth. On the strength of this passage and of *Thucydides*, vi. 51, it seems safe to read *Γελῶν* for *Γέλων* in the blundering scholiast on *Pindar* (Ol. v. 19), who, after recording (in his way) the earlier fate of Kamarina, adds, *εἴνα ἔτι Γέλωνοι συνεκισθῆ ἡ Καμάριον μετὰ τὴν μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὡς φησι Τιμαίος*. The date is of course wrong.

<sup>3</sup> Very wonderful is the scholiast's comment on the doubtful (see *Bergk*, i. 78; *Meuser*, 140, 145) ode, Ol. v. 1; *Ἀπρίμων δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἀρίστουσαν τὸν λόγον εἶναι φησιν ἄλλα δὲ ἐν Συρακούσαις ἀρήνη, ἐποτίσται δὲ ἡ Καμάριον ταῖς Συρακούσαις*.

third foundation of Kamarina may have before been settlers CHAP. VII.  
in the second. They had moved from Gela to Kamarina and  
from Kamarina to Syracuse. At Syracuse they must, like  
those who were moved from Gela and other cities, have  
formed an element of quite a different kind from the mere  
mercenaries. Those among them who did not care to help  
to repeople Kamarina might well have been allowed to keep  
their full Syracusan franchise<sup>1</sup>. There are only two of their  
number of whom we can say anything. We know of one Praxitelēs.  
man who must have moved at this time from Syracuse to  
Kamarina; but he, like some others of whom we have already  
heard<sup>2</sup>, had before that moved from Akradina to Syracuse.  
Praxitelēs, son of Krinis of Mantinea, made an offering  
at Olympia, and inscribed on it the names of all the three  
towns of which he had successively been a citizen<sup>3</sup>. Of  
the other colonist we learn the name from Pindar. The Psaumis  
of Kama-  
rina, his  
Olympic  
victory  
B.C. 452<sup>4</sup>  
Olympic victory of Psaumis son of Akron of Kamarina  
must, like the victories of Hieron of Aetna, have come  
opportunately to win Hellenic renown for the restored city  
in its first days. But the victory of Psaumis was not the  
victory of a tyrant but of a free citizen, and it was with  
a more honest heart than could have gone with some of his  
laureate strains that Pindar could speak of the well-being Pindar's  
ode.  
of the new-born city by the lake and by the stream of  
Hipparis, of the buildings that were rising on the restored  
ground, of the hopes of the commonwealth which had

<sup>1</sup> I do not quite see the evidence for saying (Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, p. 17, that "the Gelians restored peace by providing for the banished friends of the fallen dynasty a home in the newly constituted city of Kamarina."

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 133, and Appendix XIV.

<sup>3</sup> Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 27;

Πραξιτέλης ἀνέθηκε Συρακούσιος τόδ' ἄγαλμα  
καὶ Καμαρναῖος πρόσθ' ἄρ' ἑ Μαντινέῳ  
Κρινίος υἱὸς ἐναὶεν ἐν Ἀρεαδίῳ πολυμήλεω  
ἱσλὸς ἔστω, καὶ φοι μῶμα τόδ' ἐστ' ἀρετῆς

CHAP. VII.  
Coins of  
Kamarina.

sprung into light out of the days of helplessness<sup>1</sup>. The coins of restored Kamarina, so many of them with the head of the river god and the swan of the lake bearing the nymph as his rider, set the local allusions of Pindar before us in a clear light. And some have seen in the many representations of a chariot crowned by Nikê the victorious chariot of Psauis himself<sup>2</sup>.

First  
mention of  
DUCETIUS.

Another event of this time, if not the new-building of a city, yet its restoration to its old name and its old people, has a higher interest than even the third birth of Kamarina. For it brings before us for the first time one of those men of whom we would indeed gladly know more. A man now stands forth of whose person and character we should be well pleased to have a fuller picture, and whose recorded acts we should be well pleased to tell in fuller detail. But, more than this, he is one of those men who tempt us into the regions of speculation as to what might have been. Ducetius the Sikel, one of the few men of his folk of whom we know even the name, one of the still fewer men of his folk of whose acts we can form anything like a clear idea, sets us a-thinking as to what the history of Sicily might have been if the destinies of him and his folk had been other than what they were. If we are right in holding that the Sikels were undeveloped Latins, we may see in Ducetius a Scipio or a Caesar condemned to spend his life in a time and place

His  
character.

<sup>1</sup> See the two odes to Psauis of Kamarina, Ol. iv and v. The victor (vi. 16),

*δὲ πατρὶς ἄλυσεν ἀνέμους καὶ τὸν νέμεον ἔδραν.*

He goes on to describe the place (see above, p. 29, ending with the words,

*ἀπ' ἀμαχυσίας ἔγαν ἐπὶ φάος τόσδε δῆμον ἀστῶν*

It shows how Ætna had impressed Pindar's mind that the allusions to the mountains, Typhoe, and the rest, in their place at Katane, are brought in here also (iv. 5). But one Sicilian place must have been the same as another to the poet who wrote (iv. 1), *Αἴτνη δ' ὅς τις Σικελίας οὐκιδότατα δέ- Σικελώτης γὰρ ὁ νικηφόρος, ὅτι καὶ ἡ Καμάρινα πόλις Σικελίας καὶ ἡ Κατάνη ὕστερον Αἴτνη ἐκλήθη.*

<sup>2</sup> Coins of Sicily, 42, 43; Head, 112.

which denied him any full field for the display of his CHAP. VII. energies. He clearly had in him the powers needed for the art of Themistoklēs, the making of a small power into a great one. An enterprising, organizing genius, able to work on men's minds, to impress, not only his own people, but strangers and enemies, had he been born a Greek, he might well have raised one of the lesser cities of Greece to a place alongside of the greater. As it was, he strove, and he failed. But he strove and failed in an undertaking which entitles his name to honour; and some of his personal adventures are of such a kind as to throw an almost romantic interest over his story.

We have seen that Sikel allies played their part in the overthrow of the tyranny of Thrasyboulos, and we may be Action of the Sikels in Greek affairs. B. C. 466-461. sure that Ducetius was among them. But we first hear his name among the movements which, if our chronology is to be trusted, followed the final settlement of the Syracusan commonwealth five years later, and he might then almost pass for an abetter of Hellenic interests against those of his own people.

Most of the Sikeliot cities were now free; all were independent. That we have to make this distinction comes from the fact that one monument of the days of the tyrants still remained. Katanê was still the Katanê still Ætna. Ætna of Hierôn, dwelled in by the settlers on whose behoof Hierôn had driven out the old inhabitants of Katanê. There Hierôn still received the worship of a hero. There the Seilēnos of the coins of his Ætna still took the place of the man-headed bull of the elder Katanê<sup>1</sup>. There, in all Deinomenēs most likely still reigning likelihood, a grandson of Deinomenēs, a son of Hierôn, still reigned, by this time perhaps set free from the guardianship of Chromios<sup>2</sup>. The Syracusan democracy deemed that its work was not done, that the work of the tyrants was not undone, till Katanê was given back to its own

<sup>1</sup> Coins of Sicily, 46, 47; Head, 114.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 245, 274.

CHAP. VII.  
Ducetius  
and the  
Syracu-  
sians  
attack  
Ætna.

The Hier-  
onians  
withdraw  
to Inessa;

it becomes  
Ætna.

people as well as Syracuse. Ducetius also had his natural grudge against that foundation of Hierôn which had been largely made or extended by annexation of Sikel territory. How far his own power reached at this time we have no means of judging. He is now spoken of as chief of the Sikels; at a later stage he bears the title of king<sup>1</sup>. Ducetius and the Syracusans, so far as we can make out from a not very clear narrative, made a joint expedition against Ætna. They defeated the people of Hierôn in several battles, and shut them up in the town. They then made a division of lands—seemingly among Sikels and Syracusans alike—in some part of the territory which thus came into their power<sup>2</sup>. It is plain that the Hieronian citizens presently agreed to surrender on terms. They left the Ætna of Hierôn by the sea, and were allowed to occupy in its stead the inland town of Inessa on the ledge of lower hills immediately below the great mountain<sup>3</sup>. We ask at once whether they went under the leadership of Hierôn's son; but we get no answer. We only know that they transferred the name of Ætna to their new home, and that there they continued to reverence Hierôn as their founder<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> He is now (Diod. xi. 75) *ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἡγεμὼν*; in c. 78 he has advanced to *ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν βασιλεὺς ὢν*; in c. 88 he falls back to *ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἀφηγούμενος*; and in 91, *ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἔχων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν*, in xii. 8 he is *κυρότατος τῶν Σικελῶν*; and again in xii. 29, *ὁ γεγονὼς τῶν Σικελικῶν πόλεων ἡγεμὼν*. One is reminded of the difficulties which the writers of the fifth century A.D. had in describing barbarian kings, till the happy distinction of *βασιλεὺς* and *ῥῆξ* was fully established.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xi. 76; *Δουετίου . . . χελευῖς ἔχων τοὺς τῆς Κατάνης οἰκῶσι ἐν τῇ ὀρεινῇ τῆς τῶν Σικελῶν χώρας, ἐστράτευσε ἐν αὐτοῖς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν Συρακούσων στρατιωμάτων ἐπὶ τῇ Κατάνη, οἷτοι μὲν κοινῇ κατεληφθήκησαν τὴν χώραν, καὶ κατοικισθέντες ἐφ' Ἰέρωνος τοῦ θυράστοις ἐπολέμασαν. This is rather strongly put, but it reads like concert between Ducetius and the Syracusans.*

<sup>3</sup> See vol. I. p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. u. 2; Strabo, vi. 2; *οἱ δὲ Αἰτναῖοι παραχωρήσαντες τὴν Ἰωνίαν καλουμένην τῆς Αἰτνῆς ὀρεινὴν ἔκτισαν, καὶ προσηγόρευσαν τὸ χαλκὸν Αἰτνῆν, διέχον τῆς Κατάνης σταδίους ἑξήδησοντα, καὶ τὴν Ἰέρωνα οἰκιστὴν ἀεὶ φέρουσι.*



This story is anything but clear. Inéssa was or had CHAP. VII.  
 been a Sikel town, and it is strange to find Ducetius, Difficulties  
 joint-conqueror, it would seem, with Syracuse, consenting of the  
 to the transfer of Sikel territory into Greek hands. It is story.  
 plain that the meagre narrative of our historian does not  
 explain all the circumstances of the case. It is hard, for  
 instance, to see what, at the final settlement of things in  
 Katané, became of the lands which Sikels and Syracusans  
 had just parted out among them. For when the Hieronian Restora-  
 citizens left Ætna, when the old citizens of Katané came tion of  
 back from their banishment at Leontinoi to their own Katané.  
 homes, they must have again occupied at least such lands  
 as belonged to Katané before the innovations of Hierôn.  
 They may even have occupied any lands that Hierôn had  
 annexed to his Ætna at the expense of Leontinoi. Of  
 their fellows in exile, the men of Naxos, we hear nothing;  
 but the eldest of Sikeliot cities presently shows itself again  
 as an independent commonwealth. The natural inference is  
 that it was now, as part of the general restoration, that the  
 Naxians too went back from Leontinoi to the homes which  
 they had forsaken against their wills. If Naxos stood  
 empty, it was again peopled by its own folk; if Hierôn  
 had planted new settlers there, they had to make way for  
 those who had an older right. Of the city that for a  
 while had been his Ætna we hear more. It took back Hieron's  
 its old name; the memory of Hierôn was blotted out, his tomb  
 honours came to an end; his stately tomb was destroyed<sup>1</sup>. destroyed.  
 Katané was Katané once more, with the name of the  
 Katanaïans ready to be again inscribed, still in archaic  
 forms, on the beautiful coinage of the recovered city.  
 The moneys of restored Katané are marked with the heads Coins of  
 of Apollôn and the local river-god the man-headed bull Katané.  
 dies out; the forms of the Pious Brethren of the ancient

<sup>1</sup> *Diod. xi. 76; Strabo, vi. 2; κατὰ τὴν τελευταίην τοῦ Ἱέρωνος καταλθόντες  
 οἱ Καναταῖοι τοῖς τε ἑνοίκουσι ἐξέβαλον καὶ τὸν τάφον ἀνίσκαψαν τοῦ τυράννου.*

CHAP. VII. legend hardly appear as yet<sup>1</sup>. The Ionian city, set up again by Dorian and Sikel help, was ready to begin her old life once more. She was ready to dwell again under the shadow of the fiery mountain which fills so great a part both in her legends and in her history, but whose name had been only for a moment thrust upon her against her will.

§ 2. *The Commonwealths after the Fall of the Tyrants.*

B. C. 466-433.

Greek  
Sicily free  
and inde-  
pendent

We now enter on what is in truth the greatest time in the history of Greek Sicily. It is the time of republican independence. The barbarians have been driven back; the tyrants have been overthrown. Sicily is, for a season, left to herself, to live as a world of her own, without interference from external powers, Greek or barbarian. The Sikeliot cities have their questions of internal politics; they have their disputes, now and then their wars, with one another. They are threatened too by the growth of a great native power within the island, such as was never seen before or after. This last movement, momentary as it was, dependent wholly on the life of a single man, is in one way the most striking event of the time. We have already heard of Ducetius the Sikel. He will be for a short time the hero of our tale.

Return to  
the old  
state of  
things.

The tyrants were gone. The Sikeliot cities fell back, as far as might be, on the state of things which had been before the tyrannies began. As far as regards the general position of the cities, there was no great difficulty in so doing. Each city rose again, free and independent, subject neither to a domestic tyrant nor to a foreign master. Of the Greek cities which were in being at the

<sup>1</sup> See vol i. p. 378.

death of Hierôn we can say this for certain. At that moment Eubois, Kallipolis, Megara, and Kamarina were no longer in being. The revolution had called Kamarina to a renewed life; but not the other three. On the other hand, the change of Inêssa into a new Hieronian Ætna might be called in some sort an enlargement of Hellas, even if the younger Deinomenês still reigned there. But all the other Sikeliot cities arose again with all the freshness of life, with all the fulness of hope, which belong to democracy alone. The tyrannies had wrought at least one incidental good. They had wiped out the distinctions of earlier days, and had left the field open for perfect political equality among all whose citizenship was older than their own beginning. Further political changes might be found needful in this or that city; but the great change of all had been made. Like Athens set free from the yoke of the Peisistratids, so the Sikeliot cities, set free from the yoke of Thrasyboulos and Thrasydaïos and the sons of Anaxilas, showed of a truth, in the words of one who told of their enslavement but not of their deliverance, that freedom is "a brave thing<sup>1</sup>." Syracuse and Akragas, no less than Athens, enter, with their recovered freedom, on a time of brilliant prosperity. And they were less open than Athens to the temptation of founding a dominion for themselves at the cost of the freedom of their weaker brethren. But Syracuse and Akragas could not be wholly as Athens; no city of colonial Greece could ever be quite as the ancient cities of the motherland. The freedom and independence of the Sikeliot cities had everywhere, in Syracuse and Akragas perhaps less than in others, been bought at a heavy price.

The days of Gelôn and Hierôn, with all their splendour from many points of view, had been essentially a time of

CHAP. VII.

The democracies.

Incidental gain of tyranny

Greatness of Syracuse and Akragas.

Effects of change and confusion.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. v. 78; ἡ ἐλευθερία ἐστὶν ἄριστον ἀνθρώποις. I follow the vigorous English of Bishop Thirlwall, ii. 88.

CHAP. VII. confusion. And the effects of that confusion lived after them. The violent changes that had been made under the tyrants, the breaking-down of old landmarks, the shattering of old associations, the moving of men by thousands to and fro between city and city—the no less violent changes which were needed on the other side to get rid of these innovations, and to bring back the older state of things—all these things alike, the revolutions wrought by the tyrants and the counter-revolutions wrought by the people, joined to bring about in Sicily a general feeling of novelty, of uncertainty, of constant possibility of change. And observers in Old Greece did not fail to contrast these constant changes with the comparative stability of things in their own cities. In Sicily, Alkibiadês is made to say in a memorable speech, the cities are great and populous; but they are inhabited by crowds of mingled race, to whom endless change, the constant rising and falling of commonwealths, is an every-day matter. No man there looked, as men looked in old Hellas, on the land in which he dwelled as really his country; each man in his schemes, political or private, reckoned on the chance of having to leave the city where he lived and of finding house and lands elsewhere<sup>1</sup>.

Uncertainty of things in Sicily.

Speech of Alkibiadês.

Such is the statement, doubtless the exaggerated statement, which was made by an enemy whose interest it was to make Sicilian conquest seem an easy matter to the mind of Athens. But the saying had no small truth in it. In no Sikeliot city could there have been, after the fall of the tyrannies, the same feeling of unbroken possession for ages which filled the Athenian or Spartan heart with pride. There was no lack of life and energy in the new-born commonwealths; but it was life and energy more like that of a newly-founded American state than like the steadier and

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. vi. 17; ἑχλούς τε γὰρ συμμίχτους πολυανθρώπων αἱ πόλεις, καὶ ῥηδίας ἔχουσι τὴν πολιτείαν τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ ἐκδοχάς, κ.τ.λ.

statelier life of an old-established European land. The interval by which the first driving back of the Carthaginian and the fall of the powers that drove him back are parted from his second and more terrible coming and from the more abiding tyrannies that followed it seems to us but a short time. But in the history of the old Greeks events press so fast on one another that it was really no small part of the duration of the national life. A tyranny of far less than one generation paved the way for two brilliant generations of popular government. Those were days of energy, days of prosperity, days in which other free commonwealths of Sicily showed that they could rival the mighty works of Syracuse under her fallen lords.

CHAP. VII.

The time between the two Punic invasions.

its character

Still, in this time also, there was no doubt as to the position of Syracuse as the first, and of Akragas as the second, among the Sikeliot commonwealths. In this time, as in most others, we have to bewail the scantiness of our materials. In a time of the deepest political interest it is of those two cities only that we have any knowledge whatever. Even of them our knowledge is much slighter than we could wish. Still in these two we do know something, both of the general course of events and of the acts of particular men. Both cities stand forth among the greatest cities of Hellas. Each was shorn of the external dominion which it had held under its tyrants; but each, as a city, as a commonwealth, was greater than it had ever been. Of the political history of both Syracuse and Akragas we shall be able to give something like a narrative, though a very imperfect one.

Position of Syracuse and Akragas.

One feature of these times which is noticed in our consecutive narrative is that most of the cities had now to employ themselves in parting out lands among the citizens. This is not spoken of as a revolutionary measure.

Partition of lands.

CHAP. VII. It appears rather as the natural consequence of the restoration of order after a time of strife and confusion<sup>1</sup>. In Syracuse, for instance, the tyrants were gone and their mercenaries were gone; but it is not to be supposed that every man who had settled at Syracuse during the eighteen years of tyranny was either driven out or deprived of his property. One may even doubt whether the law that confined office to those whose citizenship was older than the coming of Gelôn could have been kept up for any time. It would have a patriotic sound at the time of its enactment; but it would soon come to be looked on as a mere piece of oligarchic exclusiveness. It was in fact a distinction of exactly the same kind as that which had parted off the old *Gamoroi* from the old commons. What, one might ask, became of those citizens of Gela whom Gelôn had caused to migrate to Syracuse? Had they all to go home again? In the space of eighteen years many children had grown into men, and many of those men might feel no call to go back to a city which was indeed the home of their fathers but which had never been their own home. Men like these, as well as the mercenaries, had doubtless received grants of land, whether out of public *folkland* or at the cost of older Syracusan citizens. In any case the lands which had been held by the mercenaries, however they had come by them, stood open to be divided. It is even possible that there may still have been undivided *folkland* to part out. The land of the commonwealth would have become, practically if not formally, the demesne of the tyrant; and that demesne, though many grants were doubtless made out of it, would have a tendency to grow, at once through conquest abroad and confiscation at home. On the restoration of

Question  
of foreign  
settlers.

Case of the  
trans-  
planted  
Geloans.

Land  
avail-  
able for  
division.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 76; αἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐν τοῖς πόλεσι στάσεις καὶ παραχαῖ τοῦτων τὸν πόλεον κατελιθίσαν· αἱ δὲ πόλεις τὰς πατρίους πολιτείας ἀνολοβοῦσαι σχεδὸν ἔκασται, τὰς ἰδίας χώρας καταληροῦχοντες τοῖς πολέμοις εἶπιν. See Grote, vii. 162.

the commonwealth, it would return to its earlier state of *folkland*. From all these sources there must have been a large store out of which to answer such claims as might be made good on the score either of old wrongs or of new services. It is not wonderful to hear that new dissensions arose out of the distribution. To say nothing of any tendencies to disturbance and revolution which might be stirred up, the law-courts were naturally busy, and the multitude of causes which had to be tried seems to have done much towards the growth of a new element of intellectual life in Sicily and in Greece generally

We have now come to the beginning of the cultivation of rhetoric as an art. The first chosen field for the practice of that art was the administration of justice as it was carried on in the democratic cities. We have no special account of the constitution of the law courts of Syracuse; but from the analogy of other Greek democracies we shall be safe in inferring that the judges who had to be convinced or persuaded were a numerous body of citizens taken by lot or rotation. With a popular body of this kind, hearing and deciding matters which were not their own immediate concern, the mere art of rhetoric, the mere skill of the speakers in arranging words and arguments, would be of special weight. It would count for more with such bodies than it would either with a court formed of a few magistrates or with the public assembly which dealt with matters which touched the whole commonwealth and every man in it. The Sikeliot mind seems to have been specially drawn to the new study. It took root in Syracuse and in other cities, and its Sikelot professors won fame and profit in other parts of the Greek world besides their own island. It was now, after the fall of the tyrants, amid the constant call for speeches in the courts, that Korax appeared at Syracuse as a professed master of forensic oratory. He opened a school; he taught pupils; he wrote books;

CHAP. VII.

The art of rhetoric.

Practised in the Syracusan courts.

their constitution.

Korax, Timias, and Gorgias.

CHAP. VII. he handed on his traditions to his pupil Tisias and to the more famous Gorgias of Leontinoi<sup>1</sup>.

Tendency to exaggerate the importance of orators and others. There is always a tendency among the later writers of Greece, and perhaps not among them only, to exaggerate the importance which poets, philosophers, orators, literary, artistic, and scientific men of every kind, enjoyed in their own day.

Korax On the other hand, there is an undoubted tendency among the narrative writers of Greek history to leave out all mention of such men, even in cases where a modern writer could hardly fail to speak of them. In this case our ordinary guide in Sicilian matters leaves out all mention of Korax; but we hear from secondary sources, not only of his foundation of the rhetorical school of Sicily, but of his high position as a practical adviser, first under the rule of Hierón and then under the new democracy. This leads us to suspect that he was a man of some importance, possibly under the tyranny as well as under the commonwealth, but that much more has been made of him than his due<sup>2</sup>.

Tyndarion aims at the tyranny c. B.C. 454. The most prominent man in Syracuse at that time was certainly not Korax but a certain Tyndarion, who strove to set up again in his own person the power which had been held by Gelón and Hierón. We are told that, in the cities of Sicily in general, and in Syracuse above all, disputes many and grave arose, not only out of the division of the lands, but also out of the drawing up of the new lists of citizens. Many, it is said, and the saying is likely enough, found a place on the roll without good right<sup>3</sup>. We are left to guess at the class of men who

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXXI.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XXXI.

<sup>3</sup> By the reckoning of archons this ought to be the year 454; but the way in which the events of this year and the next are recorded in our one authority, Diod. xl. 86-88, is most confusing. It is immediately after the alleged war between Segesta and Lilybaeum (see below, p. 340, and Appendix XXXII), and as if it had something to do with it, that we read: *μετὰ δὲ τὴν πολιτογραφίαν τὴν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γενομένην καὶ τὸν ἀναστροφὴν τῆς χώρας, πολλὸν εἰς τὸ καὶ δὲ ἐπύχευε πολιτογραφημένοι, ἐνέσταν αἱ πόλεις καὶ πόλιν εἰς πολιτικὰς στάσεις καὶ παραχρὲς ἀνέκυστον· μάλιστα δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ἰωνοὺς ἐν*



thus crept in unawares; but it is plain that the most likely class so to do were men who could bring bribes or other means of influence to bear on the officials who drew up the lists. Anyhow it is the poor whom Tyndarion is described as winning to his support; their voluntary service, it would seem, enabled him to take the first step in the tyrant's progress by supplying him with a willing body-guard<sup>1</sup>. But law was still strong in Syracuse, and those who administered it were men of energy. Tyndarion was put on his trial on a charge of seeking to overthrow the constitution and to establish his own power. On that charge he was condemned to death<sup>2</sup>. What follows reads like some of those tumults in the later days of the Roman commonwealth when law was trampled under foot by both sides alike. As Tyndarion was led back to prison, to suffer death by whatever was the legal form of death in Syracuse, his followers rushed together and strove to rescue him from the hands of the officers of justice<sup>3</sup>. A tumult arose in the city; the well-disposed citizens—Tyndarion and his body-guard perhaps called them the oligarchs—also rushed together, and put to death Tyndarion and his comrades in the attempted revolution<sup>4</sup>. How this

CHAP. VII.  
Tyn-  
daron's  
voluntary  
guard.

His trial  
and ir-  
regular  
execution.

τὰς Συρακούσας. The immediate object was rather to keep out unqualified citizens than to let in new ones; but mistakes might easily be made.

<sup>1</sup> He is Τυνδαρίδης and Τυνδαρίων in this one chapter. He was θράσους καὶ τάλμης γίμων ἄνθρωπος. His course had two stages; τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πολλοὺς τῶν τευχῶν ἀνελέμβανε καὶ σωματοποῶν τοῦτοις ἑαυτῷ πρὸς τυραννίδα ἐτοιμοὺς ἰστέαι δορυφόρους· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἤδη φανερόν ἐστι τυρανστείας ἐρέγεται. This voluntary body-guard, seemingly of citizens, seems different both from the body-guard of mercenaries and from the body-guard voted by the people.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xi. 86; θανάτου κρίσιν ὑποσχών, κατεδικάσθη.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.; ἀπαγομένου δὲ εἰς τὸ βιασμήσιον οἱ πολυωρηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνεστράφησαν, καὶ τοῖς ἀτάγουνι τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέφερον.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.; παραχῆς δὲ γενομένης κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, συνεστράφησαν οἱ χαριστάτοι τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους συναρπάσαντες ἄμα καὶ Τυνδαρίων ἀνέλκον. This sounds more like lynching than any legal process. Mark that the same word συνεστράφησαν is applied to the gatherings on both sides.

CHAP. VII. was done we are not told, and the necessity of the moment may have been held to justify irregular action. But if we are to understand ordinary execution of the sentence of a lawful court, or even regular military action at the bidding of a lawful magistrate, the slayers of Tyndariôn in either case owe very little thanks to our one historian who has told the tale in a manner sadly open to be misunderstood.

Other  
attempts  
at tyranny

The  
*Petalism*.  
c. B.C. 454.

Petalism  
and ostracism.

There is nothing in this account of the attempted tyranny of Tyndariôn which leads us to doubt its essential truth; but one is a little startled at hearing that his example found many imitators, and that a thick succession of would-be tyrants had to be put down, seemingly by the same means<sup>1</sup>. It was as a defence against these frequent dangers to freedom that the Syracusans imported into their constitution an imitation of the Athenian ostracism. The name was changed, as the name of the dangerous citizen was written, not on a tile but on an olive-leaf, and the institution was therefore known as *petalism*<sup>2</sup>. We should be well pleased to have some notice of it from a contemporary writer; as it is, we hear of it only in a general way, without details on any point, from a writer in whose day democratic institutions were no longer understood. It is hardly an accurate description of the Athenian ostracism to say that each citizen was to write the name of the person who was most able to make himself tyrant<sup>3</sup>. Whatever men may have dreaded in Alkibiadês, no one could have looked on either Nikias or Hyperbolos as the stuff out of which tyrants were made<sup>4</sup>. But it is quite

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 86, πλεονάκως δὲ τοῦτον γινόμενον καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τυραννίδας ἐπιθυμούντων.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 87; κατὰ Συρακοσίαις εἰς πέταλον ἐλαίας γράφεσθαι τὸν δυνατῆτατος τῶν πολιτῶν.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.; κατὰ γὰρ Ἀθηναίαις ἕκαστος τῶν πολιτῶν εἶδει γράφειν εἰς ὀστρακὸν τοῦτον τοῦ ἰσχυροῦς μάλιστα θύνασθαι τυραννεῖν τῶν πολιτῶν.

<sup>4</sup> οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἔστι βετραχ' εὐρέτη, says the comic Platon (quoted by

inconceivable that the real formal shape of Syracusan petalism can have been that each citizen was to write the name of the most powerful man in the city. It is with a curious mixture of truth and falsehood that our account goes on to say that the object was not the punishment of evil-doers, but the humbling of prominent and influential men simply as such<sup>1</sup>. The Athenian ostracism was certainly not designed as a punishment for wrong-doing; but neither was it designed to gratify a simple jealousy of preeminence. The two questions to be answered were, "Is there any man whom you think vitally dangerous to the state? If so, whom?" Such questions were very liable to abuse, as is shown by the familiar story, true or false, of the man who was weary of hearing Aristeidēs called the Just. But in themselves they spring from sources quite different from a mere jealousy of merit.

The true question in ostracism.

It is to be noticed that at Syracuse the time of withdrawal from the city was only half what it was at Athens, namely five years instead of ten<sup>2</sup>; whether it was on that account employed more frequently or more recklessly than it was at Athens we cannot tell. We have only a

Alleged effects of petalism.

Plat. Nik. 11) of Hyperbolos. See more, Plat. Alk. 7; Grote, iv. 200, 201, vii. 145 et seqq., 166. We do not trust Thucydides about Hyperbolos quite so much as we do about most things, but when he calls him (viii. 73) *μυθηρὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὠστρακισμένον οὐ διὰ δυνάμειος καὶ ἀξιώματος φόβον ἀλλὰ διὰ πονηρίαν καὶ ἀσχύνην τῆς πόλεως*, we see on what kind of ground men were commonly ostracized.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 37; καθόλου γὰρ οὐ πονηρίας κολάειν ἐλάμβανον παρὰ τῶν παρανομούντων, ἀλλὰ δυνάμειος καὶ αὐξήσεως τῶν ἄνδρων ἐποίουν ταπεινώσειν. This keeps a memory of the fact that the ostracism—and so no doubt the petalism—was in no sense a punishment of crime; but it is confused by the notion of all the later writers, that ostracism was a mere matter of envy, and not of danger, real or supposed.

<sup>2</sup> So put by Grote, iv. 211. Does the line of Kratinos quoted by Plutarch (Per. 13), that Periklēs τοῖστροκαν παροίχεται, mean merely that he never was ostracized or that no attempt was made to ostracize him?

<sup>3</sup> Diod. u. 2; τὸν πλείονα πέντα λαβόντα φεύγειν πενταέτη χρόνον.

CHAP. VII.

picture, clearly borrowed from some rhetorical enemy of democracy, telling how every kind of evil followed on the new institution. The chief men were sent away; other good and able men, who might have done good service to the commonwealth, were led by these warnings to keep aloof from public affairs. Instead of the service of the commonwealth, they gave themselves up to luxury in their own houses<sup>1</sup>. None but the worst and most daring among the citizens came to the front; the city was full of demagogues and sycophants, of innovations, disputes, and confusions of all kinds<sup>2</sup>. One phrase is specially to be remarked, as it would seem to come from some contemporary accuser who looked with no friendly eye on the rhetorical school of Korax and Tisias. The account reads like some of the complaints in the *Clouds* or the *Frogs* of Aristophanes. All the young men took to study the art of speech; the old and honourable manner of life was forsaken for base pursuits<sup>3</sup>. At all events these unruly talkers did not, according to one common charge against Greek demagogues, lead the people into war. They rather made use of the time of peace to fill their own pockets, while they thought but little of concord or of just dealing<sup>4</sup>. All this came of

Syracusan  
dema-  
gogues an-  
warlike.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 87; τῶν μεγίστων ἀνδρῶν φυγαδενομένων οἱ χαρίεσται τοῦ πολιτῶν καὶ δυνάμει διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπανορθοῦν ἀφιστάμενοι τῶν δημοτικῶν πράξεων, καὶ διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου φόβου ἰκνωτούμενοι διετίλουν, ἐπιμελούμενοι δὲ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας εἰς τρυφήν ἀπέκλινον.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.; οἱ πονηρότατοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ νόλην διαφέροντες ἐφρόντιζον τὴν δημοσίαν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα πρὸς νεωτερικὸν καὶ ταραχὴν προτρέποντο.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.; ἐπεπόλαζε γὰρ τῶν δημαγωγῶν πλεῖθος καὶ σεκοφαντῶν, καὶ λόγου δεινότης ὑπὲρ τῶν νεωτέρων ἤσκειτο, καὶ καθόλου πολλοὶ τὰ φαῦλα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀντὶ τῆς παλαίης καὶ σπουδαίας ἀγωγῆς ἡλλάττοντο. All this is exactly like the Aristophanic disputes; κατιστήσι μισεῖν ἀγορᾶν (*Clouds*, 977), μηδ' ἀγορεύειν μηδὲ κοβάδουσι (*Frogs*, 1013), &c. There is always in such controversies an element of truth on both sides.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.; τοῖς μὲν πόλεσι διὰ τὴν εὐρίαν προέλασαν, τῆς δ' ἡμετέρας καὶ τοῦ δημοπραγῆν ὀλίγη τις ἐγένετο φροντίς. This is an almost solitary case of the demagogue not being charged with stirring up war. See Grote, vi. 622, and specially the saying of Phōkiōn there quoted.

the law of petalism; before long the citizens repented of having passed it, and abolished it <sup>1</sup>.

CHAP. VII.

Abolition  
of petal-  
ism.

Athenian  
and Syra-  
cusan  
democracy.

We are used to vague charges of this kind. The people, above all the people of a past age, is an easy mark for the rhetorician or for the speculative philosopher. But the remark that the Athenian ostracism lasted a long time, while the Syracusan petalism was soon got rid of, is more to the point. It certainly marks a difference of some kind between the two institutions. It may be that the petalism was not surrounded by the same safeguards as the ostracism <sup>2</sup>; it may be that the condition of the two cities was wholly different. We cannot argue from Athens, with her stationary population, to Syracuse, just released from her tyranny and from the revolutions which the tyranny had led to. The history of the two democracies shows that, whatever was the danger at Athens, it was not the despotism of a single man. At Syracuse both earlier and later events show that such despotism was a real danger. Petalism would hardly have kept out Dionysios and Agathoklès; it had but yesterday needed stronger measures to put down Tyndarion. It is therefore quite possible that the Syracusan petalism pressed hardly upon men who were in no way dangerous, and that it proved weak against those who were so. If any would-be tyrants did trouble the commonwealth after Tyndarion, they were doubtless got rid of, like Tyndarion himself, by sharper means. It is dangerous to speculate further; but it is certain that, if this time of extreme corruption ever existed at all, it did not last very long. From this time for nearly fifty years Syracuse enjoys an unbroken and a flourishing democracy, and we find the Syracusan commonwealth playing an

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 87; *οἱ Συρακόσιοι, μεταγρόντες τὸν περὶ τοῦ πεταλισμοῦ νόμον ἀπέλυσαν, ὀλίγον χρόνον αὐτῷ χρησάμενοι*. Diodorus himself remarks that the ostracism at Athens lasted a long time and the petalism at Syracuse only a little while.

<sup>2</sup> Grote, vii. 166.

CHAP. VII. energetic part at home and abroad in the year next after  
 Comparative peace. that in which the petalism is first spoken of<sup>1</sup>. The way  
 in which a state of peace is taken for granted in the  
 hostile picture is also to be noticed. The years with which  
 we are dealing, if not a time of altogether unbroken peace,  
 came much nearer to it than was often the case over any  
 considerable part of the Greek world. There was some  
 Warfare with bar- fighting; but as yet it seems to have been, not war of  
 Greek against Greek, but the more honourable warfare  
 against the barbarian. We see Syracuse, freed, it would  
 seem, alike from tyrants and from demagogues, standing  
 forth to show that the work of Hellenic championship  
 could be as well carried on by the vote of a free common-  
 wealth as at the bidding of a despot.

Etruscan war. c. B.C. 453. To have beaten back the Etruscan from Kymé had been  
 the most glorious memory of the reign of Hierôn, an exploit  
 which his courtly poets placed alongside of the salvation  
 wrought by his brother at Himera<sup>2</sup>. The pirates were  
 again mighty at sea; they must have at least seized  
 Sicilian vessels, if they had not laid waste Sicilian shores;  
 and the commonwealth of Syracuse decreed an expedition  
 of vengeance. The fleet sailed forth under the command  
 of the admiral Phayllos; he landed in the island of  
 Phayllos at Aitha- Aithalia Ilba and Elba on Latin lips and laid waste the  
 country. But the fleet presently came back to Syracuse  
 without having done anything further. Phayllos was  
 arraigned on a charge of having taken bribes from the  
 enemy, and was sentenced to banishment<sup>3</sup>. A caviller  
 His banish- ment.

<sup>1</sup> The whole story of the attempted tyranny of Tyndarion, of his successors, of the institution of petalism, its bad effect, and its abolition, is put by Diodoros (xi. 86, 87) in the one archonship of Ariston, B.C. 454. This of course is not to be taken quite literally; but the vigorous Syracusan action which begins in a. 88, B.C. 453, shows that the bad time cannot have been very long.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. xi. 88; *παρὰ τῶν Τυρρητῶν λάτρεα χρήματα λαβών*.

might say that either his appointment or his deprivation, CEAR. VII. one or the other, showed that the spirit of the days of petalism had not wholly died out. A new commander, Action of Apellès in Corsica. Apellès, was sent forth with sixty triremes. He is said to have laid waste the whole coast of Etruria and the more part of that of Kynos or Corsica, then an Etruscan possession or dependency<sup>1</sup>. The island, afterwards to pass under the power of Carthage, most likely still paid to its Etruscan masters—whether to the whole Etruscan body or to any particular city—its tribute of honey, resin, and wax, to say nothing of its own people, its most valuable production in the days of slavery<sup>2</sup>. In Corsica we hear only of ravage, while Syracusan settlement in Elba? it seems implied that Elba actually passed under Syracusan dominion<sup>3</sup>. If so, it must have again passed away, either to Etruscan or to Carthaginian enemies; for we do not hear of it as a Syracusan possession, even under the most powerful of Syracusan rulers. On the other hand, there was in Corsica a haven which bore the name of the haven of the Syracusans, a name which surely implies the presence of Syracusan merchants, though it did not imply the presence of Syracusan conquerors<sup>4</sup>. As often before, we here come across an expedition, evidently of much importance at the time, of the abiding result of which we can say nothing. All that we learn is that Apellès, unlike Phayllos, came back in all honour with a victorious fleet. He brought

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 88; τὴν παραθαλαττικὴν Τυρρηνίαν [Maremma] καταδραμὼν, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Κύρνον κατεχουμένην ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους.

<sup>2</sup> Diodóros (v. 13) describes this in full. The Etruscans occupied two cities in Corsica, Kalaris (a confusion with Alalia, see Herod. i. 165) and Nikaia, where they received the tribute. He enlarges on the excellence of the Corsicans as slaves. He does not explain in what relation these Corsican settlements stood to the Etruscan body.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. xi. 88; πορθῆσαι δὲ πλείστα τῆς νήσου [Κύρνον] καὶ τὴν Αἰθαλίαν χειρωσάμενος ἐπανάλθεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας. This was recorded by Philistos in his fifth book. See Steph. Byz. in Αἰθαλή.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. v. 13; αὖτις δὲ ἡ νῆσος [Κύρνος] εἰσπρόσδρομος οὖσα κάλλιστον ἔχει λιμένα τὸν ἐντοραζόμενον Συρακούσας. On its position, the later Porius Vetus on the east side of the island, see Rannhury, Dict. Geog.

CHAP. VII. abundance of spoil of every kind, above all, as became a conqueror of Corsica and Elba, of that human prey in which Corsica and Elba were so specially rich<sup>1</sup>.

Warfare in  
Western  
Sicily.

Besides these victories won by Greeks of Sicily over barbarians beyond the bounds of their own island, there was about this time, about the middle of the fifth century before our era, a certain amount of warfare in some parts of Sicily itself. We get glimpses of wars between Greeks and barbarians, and also of wars between one barbarian state and another. The details are hard to put in order;

First  
mention  
of Athens.  
B.C. 454.

but two notable facts stand out clearly. Already, more than twenty years before the Peloponnesian War, Athens has begun to look westward. If she shows no signs of aggressive schemes of her own, she is at least looked to by

Inaction of  
Carthage.

a hard-pressed Sicilian city as a quarter where it is worth while to seek for help. On the other hand, Carthage is either still seriously weakened by the great blow of Himera, or else she is warily looking out for the first opportunity to strike a blow in return. Unless our evidence altogether fails us, she sat still and saw Sikeliot cities dedicate offerings to the gods of Hellas for victories gained over one of her Sicilian dependencies.

Statement  
of the  
evidence.

It is these casual notices of the policy of the two great powers of Athens and Carthage which are the really instructive part of the tale, if tale we can call it, to which we have now come. But a tale it hardly is. We have to bring together to arrange and reconcile as we can, a confused statement in our chief narrative, and certain notices elsewhere<sup>2</sup>. Some of these last, as being the witness of contemporary documents, are in themselves the highest authority that can be reached. Only unluckily they give

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*. xi. 88; ἀρχαίωτες τε πλεῖστοι κομίσειν καὶ τῇν ἑλλην ἀφάλακτον ἄγαν οὐκ ὀλίγον.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XXXII.



a somewhat uncertain sound. Among the gifts which Pausanias saw at Olympia were statues, brazen boys stretching out their hands in prayer. They were the offerings of victorious Akragas out of spoil won from Phœnician Motya<sup>1</sup>. And their workmanship led the antiquary to assign them to the hand of an artist of the age with which we are dealing, the same Kalamis who had been employed on some of the gifts of the younger Deinomenês<sup>2</sup>. Again, an inscription found not many years back, among the ruins of one of the great Selinuntine temples, records, in letters of the time with which we are dealing, the thank-offerings of the Selinuntine commonwealth for a victory followed by a peace. But, strange to say, the name of the enemy is not recorded<sup>3</sup>. The temptation is great to put these two records together, and to see Selinous and Akragas leagued together against the Phœnicians of Motya. An Athenian inscription, found more lately again in a sadly mutilated state, contains two well-known Sicilian names. The name of Segesta comes in a position which can hardly fail to imply a Segestan embassy to Athens, and the far less renowned name of Sikan Halikyai comes in a position which can hardly fail to imply that Halikyai was the enemy, or one of the enemies, against which Segesta craved for help<sup>4</sup>.

CHAP. VII.  
Akragan-  
tine victory  
over  
Motya.

Selinun-  
tine  
victory  
over an  
unnamed  
enemy.

Segesta  
asks help  
from  
Athens  
against  
Halikyai.

Some of these statements are startling in themselves. The early action or expected action of Athens—the quiet submission of Carthage while Greek cities win and celebrate victories over the island stronghold of Phœnicia in Sicily—the strange importance which for once attaches to the otherwise obscure Halikyai—all these things are alike puzzling. But all seem to rest on good authority, some on the highest. And with all this it is hard to reconcile the account in our

Remark-  
able con-  
tents of the  
documents.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXXII.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XXXII.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix XXXII.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix XXXII.

CHAR. VII. one continuous narrative. What we are there told is that the men of Segesta and the men of Lilybaion went to war for the land by the river Mazaros, that a fierce battle followed in which many on each side were slain, and that from that time the two cities never ceased from dissensions. Indeed it seems almost implied that it was this war which led, in some way not explained, to general disputes within the Greek cities, of which the Syracusan petalism was only the worst case<sup>1</sup>. This narrative, as it stands, is impossible. There was at this time no town called Lilybaion. It is very likely that the name might by a later historian be prematurely used for Motya; but a war between that Carthaginian dependency and Elymian Segesta is most unlikely. And, if such an one had broken out, it could hardly have led to internal disturbances in the Greek cities. The scene of action is laid by the border stream of Greek and barbarian, and the way in which the story is told is remarkably like the accounts of later warfare between Segesta and Selinous<sup>2</sup>. It has therefore been suggested that the name of Selinous, undoubted victor over some enemy, should be put instead of the clearly mistaken Lilybaion. But the change is somewhat violent. Again, Segesta may very well have been the unknown enemy of Selinous; Akragas may well have helped Selinous against either Segesta or Motya; Segesta and Motya may have been allied against Selinous and Akragas. But it is hard to get all this out of our Olympic offering and our Selinuntine inscription, and it goes no way towards explaining the place held by Halikyai in the Athenian inscription. It has therefore been proposed to alter the text of our narrative in yet another way, and for Lilybaion to read Halikyai. The truth is that the narrative cannot be made to agree with the higher authority of the documents,

Impossible  
narrative of  
Diodoros.

Guesses  
and com-  
binations.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 86. See Appendix XXXII.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. vi. 6; Diod. xii. 82, xiii. 43.

except by making purely arbitrary changes in it. When it comes to this, it is perhaps safer to say that the narrative is either hopelessly confused in the first telling or hopelessly corrupted in later copyings, and to pass it by as of no authority. Meanwhile the three documentary statements in no way contradict one another. They may refer to three different events. Or, by supposing alliances at pleasure, a process at least less dangerous than that of improving texts at pleasure, they may even be made to refer to the same event. We might conceive Greek Akragas and Selinous with Sikan Halikyai as leagued against Phœnician Motya and Elymian Segesta. But it is perhaps safer to keep ourselves back from mere guesses in any shape. And no process of "combination" seems to explain the one feature of special local interest and difficulty, the unexpected prominence given to Halikyai. CHAP. VII.  
Remark-  
able prom-  
inence of  
Halikyai.

It is on the whole better to confess our ignorance as to these smaller points, and to look for a while at the instruction which this singular group of notices gives us as to greater matters. The negative evidence which our notices give us as to Carthage is well worth some thought; the positive evidence which they give us as to Athens is worth yet more thought. It throws a new light on many things in the later history both of Sicily and of Old Greece, if we take in that, at this early date, the earlier days of Periklês, the later days of Kimôn, when the Long Walls were new and when Athens was a Peloponnesian power<sup>1</sup>, she was already looked on as at least likely to be persuaded to take a part in the affairs of Sicily. It throws even more light on her restless activity in all points of the then known world that she should be invited to take Evidence  
as to  
Athens.

<sup>1</sup> It is worth notice that the very year (B.C. 454, the archonship of Ariston) which was the year of at least some of these events, is that in which Thucydides (i. 112, cf. 115) first mentions Periklês as defeating the Sikyonians and bringing Achæa into at least alliance with Athens. He had however done a good deal already.

CHAP. VII. a share in a dispute, not between Greeks and Greeks, not between Greeks and barbarians, but between Elymians and Sikans. What came of the embassy, what immediately came of Italian and Sikeliot alliances with Athens twenty years later<sup>1</sup>, we know not. There is no record of any action on the part of Athens following either the earlier or the later effort of diplomacy. We hear nothing of Athenian military action in Sicily till the Peloponnesian War is some years advanced. Nor is it likely that any such action happened of which we do not hear. But, with such authorities as we have before us, it would be dangerous to say that nothing happened in any other way. The hand of Athens may have been at work in many things, and the busy-bodies of the time may have seen it at work in many other things. We have come, if to nothing else, yet at least to the first dim foreshadowings of great events that are to be.

EMPEDO-  
κλῆς of  
Akragas.

Meanwhile the men who dwelled on the height above the yellow stream of Akragas<sup>2</sup>, if they were winning spoils from the barbarians of the western corner, were also settling their political constitution within their own walls. And they had a man among them, a nobly-born leader of the commons, of whom we hardly know how to speak. We seem to see a man of some former age, or else a man of some age as yet far distant, brought from his own world to act along with Periklēs and Ephialtēs in doing the practical work of the Greece of the fifth century before Christ.

Lives of  
philoso-  
phers and  
saints.

When in these times we come across the path of a philosopher—in a slighter measure when we come across the path of a

<sup>1</sup> The treaties of Athens with Rhégion and Leontinoi in B.C. 433 will come presently.

<sup>2</sup> I make spoil of Empedoklēs himself, as quoted by Diogenēs Laërtios, viii. 2. 6;

ὁ φίλος, αἱ μέγα δόρυ κατὰ φανθοῦ Ἀκράγαντος  
ναίειν ἀν' ἄκρα πόλεως, ἀγαθῶν μελετῆμασιν ἔργων.

poet or an orator—we find ourselves in the same kind of atmosphere as when, a thousand years later, we come across the path of a saint. In both cases there is no lack of stories to choose from. There is no difficulty in putting a full narrative together, if only we choose to throw aside our common standard of historical criticism. When we come to stories of this kind, we are in truth as much in the region of poetic legend as if we were still dealing with gods and heroes. We no more look for literal truth in the characteristic parts of the story of Empedoklès than we look for it in the story of Dêmêtêr and the Korê. I say in the characteristic parts; for legends which grow up in an age of written records are sure to take some substantial facts for granted. The life of a saint is always valuable. It is sure to tell us by the way something about a king or his people which it is good to know, and which we should never find out from any formal chronicle. And so it is in earlier times with the life of a philosopher. In any case we hear something about the real state of things in the time and place where he lived. And if the philosopher happens also to be an actor in a great political revolution, even his admiring disciples may perhaps stoop so far as to record his more earthly doings. To the world in general Empedoklès is doubtless best known as the man who threw himself into the furnace of *Ætna* in the hope of being deemed to have become a god. While venturing to doubt on this point as well as on his miracles of healing and his calling back of the dead to life, while not feeling it to be any part of the duty of a historian of Sicily to go minutely into his speculative doctrines, we may still thank the admirers of the prophet for letting us know some things which our more general guide fails to tell us. The miraculous preacher and teacher, the man who stands charged with sacrificing his life to a silly vanity, was also the man who brought the democratic constitution of

CHAP. VII.

Character  
of the  
narratives;their  
value.Political  
position of  
Empedo-  
klès.

CHAP. VII. Akragas to perfection. He seems in truth to have been a reformer of the best type that Greece could show. Tales of mystery, miracle, and magic, hang as strangely about him as if they had been set down by Thucydides among the acts of Periklēs.

His legendary side. Comparison with Periklēs. In his own day and city the contradiction was less strange than it seems to us now, less strange perhaps than it would have seemed at Athens then. Akragas was doubtless far more disposed than Athens to listen to tales of wonder; but we must remember that Periklēs himself was not kept altogether free from the touch of legend. His birth was foretold by wonderful visions, a modest form of divine care in which there is often no need to doubt the simple fact. It was no doubt the later fame of her son which caused men to remember that the wife of Xanthippos had dreamed a few days before his birth that she had borne a lion<sup>1</sup>. And if Herodotus had written the acts of Periklēs as well as the dream of his mother, it is possible that other and more distinct cases of supernatural dealings might have gathered around him. The common feeling at Athens is shown by the general state of mind at the breaking of the Hermai and by the way in which heavenly signs touched the mind of Nikias in the Syracusan harbour. Still we may doubt whether an Athenian leader in the days of Periklēs would have gained as much as Peisistratos had done by a mock appearance of Athênê<sup>2</sup>, and we cannot conceive any process of legend, in the course of any number of ages, turning Periklēs into a healer of diseases and raiser of the dead. In short, on this side of Empedoklēs, if we look for a parallel to him at Athens, we shall find him a hundred and fifty years earlier. The prophet of Akragas seems more like a successor of the Cretan Epimenidēs<sup>3</sup> than a contemporary and fellow-

Legendary element in Periklēs.

Popular feeling at Athens.

Empedoklēs and Epimenidēs.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vi. 131.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* i. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Of this very mythical personage, still one whose historical existence

worker of Periklês. Yet such he assuredly was. The biographer of the philosophers has happily not scorned to record the part which his hero played in the politics of his own commonwealth, and we see that Empedoklês, half-mythical and half-divine as he has become, really did a political work at Akragas which in many things answered to the work of Periklês at Athens.

At Akragas, as at Syracuse, there were still rumours and fears of tyranny after the tyranny was overthrown. Our accounts are wretchedly meagre, and we wish to know whether these fears were at all connected with the house which had lately borne dominion. We have seen that Thrasyboulos son of Xenokratês at least survived the overthrow of the tyranny which had been held by his kinsmen<sup>1</sup>. We know not whether the whole Emmenid *gens* had been banished, or whether any could have stayed behind to awaken suspicion, like that Tarquinus who appears among the earliest prætors of Rome. But whether Thrasyboulos or any of his kin was ever suspected of aiming at the tyranny or not, there were some in Akragas who clearly were. And such men Empedoklês son of Metôn had a hereditary call to withstand. He was born of a wealthy and illustrious house, and his grandfather of the same name had, in days before the Emmenid dynasty began, won an Olympic prize in the horse-race, which unluckily we have no ode of Pindar to ennoble. It was most likely a mere confusion between two persons of the same name which led to the story of the philosopher himself and his son winning prizes of the same kind in their own persons<sup>2</sup>. Of any political action of the elder Empedoklês we hear nothing; but Metôn must have played a leading part on

CHAP. VII.

Political  
state of  
Akragas.

Fear of  
tyranny

The elder  
Empedo-  
klês.

His Olymp-  
ic victory.  
B. C. 496.

Metôn  
father of  
Empedo-  
klês.

there is no reason to doubt, our fullest account comes from the same source as our fullest account of Empedoklês, namely his Life by Diogenes Laërtius, i. 10.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XXXIII.

CHAP. VII. the popular side. For we are told, with less exactness of date than we could wish, that, after his death, schemes of tyranny began again to be threatening<sup>1</sup>. If Metôn had hitherto warded off such dangers, his son was fully ready to walk in his steps. Empedoklēs worked hard on behalf of equality—that is the word used—and he is said to have refused an offer of kingship. This phrase may be added to our other notices of possible kings in Sicily<sup>2</sup>; but it is most likely a late writer's way of describing either the suggestion of a party that Empedoklēs should seize the tyranny, or else the more regular offer of the temporary powers of an *aigymnētēs*.

Empedo-  
klēs refuses  
kingship or  
tyranny

Political  
career of  
Empedo-  
klēs.

Story of  
the feast.

And now the sage, having scorned lawful or unlawful offers of power, begins to play his part as popular leader. He is set before us as specially jealous of all designs against the freedom of the commonwealth, and moreover as gifted with a wonderful power of discerning them. The first act of his political career is strange indeed. Empedoklēs is at supper in the house of one the magistrates<sup>3</sup>; we long to know his title and the nature of his office. The company are annoyed at a strange delay in bringing in the wine; the rest hold their peace, but Empedoklēs asks the host for the reason. They are waiting, the answer is, for the coming of the officer of the senate<sup>4</sup>. The expected guest at last comes, and is made ruler of the feast by the host<sup>5</sup>. His beginnings in his festive office savour of tyranny; he bids each guest either drink or have the wine poured on his head<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXXIII.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>3</sup> *Ding. Laert.* viii. 2. 9: *ἐληθεῖς ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν ἀρχόντων*. The story is from Timaios; one would be glad to know whether we have his exact words.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*; *ὁ πεπραμένος ἀσπείνουν ἔφη τὸν τῆς βουλῆς ἐπηρέτην*. The function of *ἐπηρέτης* seems to be an honourable one, like those of some of the officers of our Houses of Parliament.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*; *ἐγὰρ ἦθ' ὁ συμποσίαρχος, τοῦ πεπραμένου δηλονότι, καταστήσεται*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*; *ὁ πεπραμένος τυραννίδος ἀρχὴν, ἐπέλειπεν γὰρ ἢ πίνειν ἢ καταχεῖσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς*. The first words are rather odd, but I suppose they mean, as the Latin version puts it, "tyrannidis unquam adumbrabat."



Here was insolence certainly; yet we are a little amazed to hear that the next day Empedoklēs brought both the host and the ruler of the feast before the criminal court, and procured their condemnation to death<sup>1</sup>. The charge was doubtless a design to overthrow the constitution. But we sadly wish to know something more of the criminal jurisprudence of Akragas, what kind of evidence was needed in trials for treason, and what kind of evidence was brought forward by Empedoklēs. Unless there is a good deal behind, one would have thought that the Syracusan olive-leaf would have been a weapon quite as sharp as the case called for.

In another story we see Empedoklēs as a member of the Senate. The physician Akrôn, a native of Akragas and a personal friend of Empedoklēs, had won much fame by the practice and teaching of his art in various places. He now asked, on the ground of his own eminence, for a grant of a piece of land on which to make a tomb for his father<sup>2</sup>. The request could hardly have been objected to if the merits of Akrôn had been pleaded by somebody else and not by himself; but in that shape they seemed to Empedoklēs to run against the laws of democratic equality. He caused the rejection of the petition by suggesting a pair of mocking verses as the inscription for the tomb<sup>3</sup>.

At last it seemed to Empedoklēs that there was need

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert. viii. 2.9; τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἡσύχαζε, τῇ δ' ἰστέροισι εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἀπέκτεινε καταδικάσαι ἀμφοτέρους, τὸν τεκλήτορα καὶ τὸν συμποσίταρχον. It is added, ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τῆς πολιτείας ἦδε.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.; Ἀκρωνας τοῦ ἱατροῦ τύπον αἰτοῦντος παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰς κατασκευὴν πατρῷου μνήματος διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἱατροῖς ἀριότητα. This must mean his own eminence, not his father's, as Akrôn, according to Soudas, was son of Xenôn.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.; ἐκόλυσε τὰ τ' ἄλλα περὶ ἰσότητος διαλεχθείς. Then he suggests the epitaph;

Ἄκρον ἱατρὸν Ἄκρον Ἀκραγαστίνου πατρὶς ἄκρου  
κρύπτειν κρημνὸς ἄκρος πατρίδος ἀκροτάτης.

Another reading of the pentameter was,

ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς τύμβος ἄκρος ἀνίχεται.

CHAP. VII. for a more direct political reform in the state of Akragas.  
 Constitu- He sought for a change in the constitution of the body of  
 tion of which he himself was a member. We know little of the Akra-  
 Akragas. gantine constitution in the age of Empedoklés, except from  
 the dim notices in the present story; and in these biograph-  
 ical scraps we cannot look for accurate political language.  
 Our only important constitutional document from Akragas  
 is of far later date; but it shows that names and institu-  
 tions were then preserved which must have been handed on  
 from much earlier days<sup>1</sup>. The three Dorian tribes are  
 found at Akragas, as at other Doric cities, and they seem,  
 like the tribes of Athens, to have enjoyed a presidency in  
 turn. The Senate laid measures before the assembly,  
 which kept the ancient name of *Hestia*; it does not appear  
 whether it had, at any time, the exclusive right of pro-  
 posing them. The chief magistrate bears the singular  
 title of *Proagoraa*. These notices do not throw much  
 light on the constitutional politics of Akragas at the  
 time of the reforms of Empedoklés. When those re-  
 forms took place, the Senate, which held the chief power  
 in the commonwealth, had been in being for three years.  
 If this is to be taken as a date, and the three years  
 are to be reckoned from the fall of Thrasydaïos, this  
 would give us a date for the action of Empedoklés which  
 seems a good deal too early. Perhaps all that is meant is  
 simply that the senators whom he found in office had been  
 elected for three years, or that they had been in power for  
 three years in any way. We are told nothing as to the  
 constitution of the Senate or as to the mode of appointment  
 to seats in it; nor do we hear what were the formal changes  
 made by Empedoklés. We learn only that the Senate con-  
 sisted of a thousand members, and that after the reform  
 it contained both rich men and men of popular politics<sup>2</sup>.  
 Empedoklés himself surely came under both heads.

B. C. 468.

Senate of a  
thousand.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXXIII.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XXXIII.

We have to think a little as to the exact meaning of the reform wrought by Empedoklès. A Senate of a thousand existed in several cities, and it seems to have been looked on as a mean between oligarchy and democracy. An elective thousand might be set up as a substitute for the real public assembly, and we might thus stumble on an early approach to representation. But it is hard to conceive a Greek commonwealth which could be called democratic, as that of Akragas was<sup>1</sup>, without some assembly of a more open kind than this. The meagre words of our notice seem to point rather to changes in the constitution of the Senate itself than in changes in its relations to any other body. But, while our knowledge of the whole matter is sadly imperfect, we at least know more of the politics of Akragas than we do of those of most other cities of Sicily. Of Selinous or of Katanè we have nothing to say. At Akragas we do know enough to raise the man whom Lucretius deemed to hold the first place among the rich gifts and the great men of Sicily<sup>2</sup>, the poet, philosopher, physician, the worker of signs and wonders, to the higher rank of a democratic reformer. But in later days the person of Empedoklès the demagogue was wholly overshadowed by that of the spectator and wonder-worker. When we search in the later collections for notices of Phalaris, we do at least find notices of a tyrant and not of a letter-writer. But in the like notices of Empedoklès, while we find

CHAP. VII

Reforms  
of Empe-  
doklès.His true  
position.His  
political  
character  
over-  
shadowed  
by legend.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 298, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> Lucretius (l. 723) makes a panegyric of Sicily, and goes on ;

" Quæ quom magna modis multis miranda videntur  
Gensibus humanis regio visundaque fertur,  
Rebus optima bonis, multa munita virum vi,  
Nil tamen hoc habuisse viro præclarum in se  
Nec sanctum magis et mirum carumque videtur.  
Carmina quin etiam divini pectoris ejus  
Vociferantur, et exponunt præclara reperta,  
Ut vix humana videantur stirpe creatas."

CHAP. VII. good many real or supposed sayings of his, there is not one that throws the faintest light on the author of the Akragantine reform bill. In that aspect of Empedoklēs the judgement of Lucretius may perhaps stand. We know but few actors in Sicilian revolutions by name. But Empedoklēs certainly ranks above Diōn, and Timoleōn was not of Sicilian birth.

Empedoklēs the elder;  
his vegetarian sacrifice.

Personal notices of Empedoklēs.

His wealth and bounty.

His personal habits ;

The philosophy of Empedoklēs, like his politics, was hereditary. His grandfather the Olympic victor, a pupil of Pythagoras and a conscientious vegetarian, could not find it in his heart to slay the living ox required by custom for a feast at his victory. He gave instead to the assembled guests an ox made of myrrh and frankincense and the most costly spices<sup>1</sup>. It is perhaps needless to dwell on the speculative doctrines of his grandson, which hardly affected the course of Sicilian history; but the notices of the man himself and his personal demeanour, even though they are doubtless mixed up with much of later exaggeration, are welcome in an age and country of which most of our notices are so scanty. The democratic champion was not satisfied to win political rights for his poorer fellow-citizens. He poured forth his personal wealth to help them, specially in a form which has found favour with some later benefactors, that of giving dowries to poor maidens of citizen birth, who otherwise might have failed to find husbands<sup>2</sup>. But it was remarked that some of his habits of life were hardly suited to his political creed<sup>3</sup>. The preacher of political equality, who refused to be a king

<sup>1</sup> Athenaios, i. 5; 'Εμπεδοκλῆς δ' ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος, ἔσποιε 'Ολύμπια νικήσας. Πυθαγορεῖδι ὅτι καὶ ἐμψύχων ἀνεχόμενος, ἐκ σμύρνης καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ τῶν πολυτελεσιστέρων ἀρωμάτων βοῦν ἀναλλάσσει δίδωμι τοῖς εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν ἀπαντήουσιν. In Diog. Laert. viii. 1 the same story seems to be told by Satyros of Empedoklēs himself.

<sup>2</sup> Diog. Laert. viii. 2. 11; Ἰτι δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπορροῖσι ὑπαρχούσας αἰτὼν προικισαὶ διὰ τὸν παρόντα πλοῦτον.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. 2. 9; Τίμαιος . . . φησὶν ἐναντίας γνώμῃ ἐσχημέναι αὐτὸν τῇ πολιτείᾳ φαίνεσθαι ὅπου δ' ἀλέξοντα καὶ φίλοντα ἐν τῇ τοιήσῃ.

or even a magistrate, did not scruple to go about with CHAP. VII.  
 a stern countenance, clothed in a purple robe with a golden  
 girdle, with brazen shoes, thick hair, and Delphic wreaths.  
 He was followed by a company of boys, and received  
 reverence well nigh kingly from those who met him<sup>1</sup>.  
 In still extant verses he announced himself to his ad-  
 mirers as a god upon earth, no longer a mortal, who went his claim  
of divinity  
 about in this hallowed garb from city to city, and received  
 from men and women the worship that was no more than  
 his due<sup>2</sup>.

Something must doubtless be taken off from the details  
 of a picture like this which comes only from late hagio-  
 graphers. But there must have been some groundwork  
 for them to build upon<sup>3</sup>, and the verses in which he claims  
 divinity are at least genuine. In any case all this worship  
 was addressed to the saint and not to the political leader,  
 though then, as in some other ages, the step from the political  
 leader to the saint was doubtless easy. A divine mission  
 Empedoklês certainly had, if he did some of the wondrous  
 works that his devoted admirers claim for him. Yet, in Pagan and  
medieval  
miracles.  
 dealing with pagan miracles, we may fairly bring in the same  
 distinctions which we have to bring in with the miracles of  
 mediæval Christendom. We must remember that men

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert. 2. 11; ἀὐτὸς δὲ κορυβάνων τ' ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ στρόφιον ἐπι-  
 θέσθαι χρυσοῦν . . . ἐπεὶ δ' ἐμβάδας χαλκᾶς καὶ στέμμα Δελφικόν, κόμη δ' ἦν αὐτῷ  
 βαθεῖα καὶ παῖδες ἀσπίλους· καὶ αἰνὸς δὲ σπασθῆναι ἐφ' ἑνὸς ἦν σχήματος  
 τοιοῦτος δὴ προῆι, τῶν πολιτῶν ἐντυχόντων καὶ ταῦτ' ἀξιοσάντων οἰοεῖ  
 βασιλείας τινὸς παράσημον. For the former part of this account, perhaps  
 for the whole, Diogenes quotes no better authority than the Latin  
 Favorinus.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 2. 6.

. . . ἐγὼ δ' ὅμμιν θεὸς ἀμβροτός, οὐκ ἔτι θνητός,  
 παλεῦμαι μετὰ πᾶσι τετιμένος, ὅσσιν ἔοικα,  
 ταῖσις τε περίσσευτος στέφισίν τε θαλεῖης  
 ταῖσιν ἅμ' αὐτ' ἂν ἴσταιμι ἐς ἄσπερα τηλεθόοντα,  
 ἀδράσιν ἤδη γυναιξὶ σεβίζομαι.

He explains that they followed him for love of divine knowledge.

<sup>3</sup> This is shown by the remark of Timæus quoted in the last page.

CHAP. VII. looked for miracles, that they would have been disappointed if they had had to go away without them. We must look for the perfectly natural event which is easily welcomed as a supernatural wonder. We must look for the no less natural event which becomes a supernatural wonder through some slight improvement in the telling. We must look for the cases in which a harder question has directly to be met, where there is no choice between actual miracle and direct falsehood. The democratic reformer—the pupil of Anaxagoras and Parmenidēs<sup>1</sup>—the inventor, so Aristotle deemed, of rhetoric<sup>2</sup>—the tutor of Gorgias—the Pythagorean student who was put out of the synagogue for revealing of secrets—the poet who made hymns and tragedies, and sang the war of Xerxes in an Homeric epic<sup>3</sup>—the man of so many varied gifts and accomplishments, seems to have valued his skill in medicine above all. His extant verses claim this and something more. He knows all the drugs that can ward off disease and relieve old age, and he knows further how to control the winds and the waters and to bring the crops to abundant harvests<sup>4</sup>. All this is most likely only an exaggerated way of setting forth the possession of a knowledge of nature beyond his time. But the possession of such knowledge would be sure to rank him among prophets and diviners, and all the more so if he himself at all encouraged the belief.

Mysterious  
or scientific  
knowledge  
of Empe-  
doklēs

His sani-  
tary re-  
forms ;

It is specially to be noted that Empedoklēs twice appears as a sanitary reformer on a great scale, and it is for the learned in such matters to judge of the value of the means

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXXIII.

<sup>2</sup> Diog. Laert. 2. 3; 'Αριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ ὁμοιωτῇ φησὶ πρῶτον Ἐμπεδοκλέα ῥητορικῆς εἰρηδῶν, Ζήνωντα δὲ διαλεκτικῆν.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. 3. Aristotle is the authority. The Περσικά were said to have been burned by Empedoklēs' wife or sister, διὰ τὸ ἀπελελεῖσθαι εἶναι.

<sup>4</sup> See the verses in Diog. Laert. viii. 2. 4, beginning,

φάρμακα δ' ὅσα γέγασι κακῶν καὶ γήρας ἄλκαρ  
πεύσθ, ἐπεὶ μοῖν' οὐ ἐγὼ κρωῖω τίδε πάντα, κ.τ.λ.

which he made use of. Timaios described Empedoklēs as CMAP. VII in some sort reviving the art of the Homeric Aiolos. When he stops the winds; the violence of the Etesian winds spoiled the crops, he caused the skins of asses to be stretched out on the mountain-tops. These broke the fury of the blasts and won for Empedoklēs the surname of *Kólytanemas*.—*Matevent* he might have been in the tongue of invaders of Sicily fifteen hundred years later<sup>1</sup>. When one of the two rivers of Selinous he cleanses rivers;—like some rivers in later days—sent up such a grievous stink that men died and women miscarried, the wealthy benefactor of mankind changed the courses of the streams, and caused the sweet waters of the one to heal the foulness of the other<sup>2</sup>. In these tales there is doubtless some he raises the dead kernel of truth in a legendary shape; even the story<sup>3</sup> told in several forms, of his mightiest work, the recalling of the dead to life, may be only a legendary version of some remarkable exercise of his medical skill. As that was his highest, so it was his last effort; after that, he had only to go and join the company of the gods.

Some of the legendary versions attribute to Empedoklēs His life A.C. 484 424. an astonishing length of life. In more sober accounts he did not live above sixty or at most seventy-seven years. Those years seem to have been taken in the space between the time when Xerxes and Carthage were planning the invasion of Old Greece and of Sicily, and the time when Sicily was beginning to be drawn into the politics and warfare of Old Greece<sup>4</sup>. They were not all spent at His travels. Akragas or in Sicily; we have already seen him in more parts of Sicily than one. He also visited Thourioi, Athens, and Peloponnēsos<sup>5</sup>; we need not trouble ourselves with tales which carry him to confer with the wise men of the further

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert. viii. 2. 5.<sup>2</sup> Ib. 11.<sup>3</sup> See Holm, i. 265.<sup>4</sup> He appears at Athens in the art. *Ἀρεα* in *Soudas*, in Peloponnēsos (Diog. Laert. viii. 11), specially at Olympia (viii. 9), though his poem was recited by another (*Athenaios*, xiv. 12).

CHAP. VII. East<sup>1</sup>. The end of his political career at Akragas was to die in banishment. His crime was to have thought more of the interests of all Sicily than of the local jealousies of his own city. Akragas condemned him for having fought on the side of her rival Syracuse in some of the earlier interferences of Athens in Sicilian affairs<sup>2</sup>. He died in Peloponnêsos, an honoured guest, and his tomb was shown at the elder Megara.

Such was the real, and not unworthy, end of the re-  
 Legends; former of the commonwealth of Akragas. But the saint  
 and prophet and worker of wonders could not be allowed  
 tale of his to go to his grave like other men. There are many who  
 leaping know the name of Empedoklês only by the silly tale of his  
 into Ætna, leaping into the furnace of Ætna that he might be thought  
 to have become a god. One almost fancies that such a  
 tale as this must have been in its beginning, not serious  
 legend but mere mockery. Such at least must surely have  
 been the addition to the story which makes the truth be  
 revealed by the burning mountain throwing up one of  
 the prophet's brazen shoes<sup>3</sup>. But when the tale once  
 took root, it got worked in with other and earlier stories  
 of his life and miracles. One version makes the grateful  
 people of Selinous hail the healer of their river with the  
 worship of a god. Their homage suggested to its object  
 the thought of becoming what they deemed him<sup>4</sup>. An-  
 other and longer tale, which we have in two slightly  
 different versions<sup>5</sup>, connects his end with his greatest  
 display whether of miraculous power or of scientific  
 skill. By one or the other, he had saved from death, or

He is wor-  
 shipped at  
 Selinous.

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, N. H. xxi. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XXXIII.

<sup>3</sup> Diog. Laert. viii. 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*; τότε δ' ἱεραστάτας [τοὺς Σελινοῦντιοὺς] προσκυνεῖν καὶ προσε-  
 χεσθαι καθ' ἑκαστὸν θεῶν ταύτην αὖθις θέλοντα διαβεβαῶσαι τὴν ἐπέληψιν, εἰς τὸ  
 εὖν ἱεραλίσθαι. Cf. Hēraklēs at Agyrium. There are other versions in  
 the same chapter. Ever. one knows the lines of Horace.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix XXXIII.



had actually brought back from the dead, a woman of his own city, Pantheia by name. In the most extravagant form of the tale, she had been dead for thirty days, and her body had not seen corruption. The power of Empedoklēs, at once prophet and healer, restored her. But the wonder-worker, the candidate for godhead, had not lost his reverence for the elder gods. The miracle was fittingly followed by a sacrifice and a feast, to which as many as eighty guests were bidden. The banquet was held in an open place in the country abounding in trees. The guests withdrew to sleep, each where he thought good, under their branches<sup>1</sup>. In the morning Empedoklēs was not among them. When he was sought for, a slave bore witness that at midnight he had heard the name of Empedoklēs called, and that he had seen a light from heaven and a flashing of torches, and that was all<sup>2</sup>. Then his companions knew that their friend had received the reward for which he had so long waited. He had been taken away to the fellowship of the gods; they must now sacrifice to Empedoklēs himself as a god<sup>3</sup>. This seems to be a distinct story from that which told of his throwing himself into the great *crater*, with the grotesque incident of the brazen shoe. Truly hagiography has done its fullest work on the memory of one whose worthiest praise is that he legislated for his own city and fought for his own island. He only shared the fate of some others who loved

CHAP. VII.

Recovery  
or resurrec-  
tion of  
Pantheia.

Feast of  
thank-  
giving.

Apotheosis  
of Empe-  
doklēs.

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert. viii. 2, 11; μετὰ τὴν εὐαχίαν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι χαρισθέντες ἀνεπαύοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς δένδροις ὡς ἀγροῦ παρακαμένον, οἱ δ' ὕπνῳ βοόλουντο, αὐτὸς [the αὐτὸς of Empedoklēs is like that of Σόκρατες] δ' ἔμειναν ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου ἐφ' οὗπερ κατετέλεικτο [namely at the feast].

<sup>2</sup> Ib.; ὅτι ἡμέρας γενηθείσης ἐξανέστησαν, οὐχ εὐρέθη μόνος ζητούμενος διὰ καὶ τῶν αἰετῶν ἀνακαυνομένων καὶ φασκύντων μὴ εἶδέναι, εἰς τις ἔφη μέσον νόπτων φωνῆς ὑπερμεγεθοῦς ἀκοῦσαι προσκαλουμένης Ἐμπεδοκλῆα, εἰτ' ἐξουαστὰς θεωρῆναι φῶς σέραςιον καὶ λαμπάδων φέγγος, ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.; τῶν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ γενομένη ἐκπλαγέντων, καταβὰς ὁ Πανσοσίας ἐπεμψέ τινας ζητήσοντας. ὕστερον δ' ἐπέλυσε πολυτραγμονεῖν, φάσκων εὐχῇς ἀξία συμβεβηκέναι καὶ θανεῖν αὐτῷ δεῖν καταπερεῖ γεγενῶτι θεῷ.

CHAP. VII. righteousness and hated iniquity, when he died far away from his city and from his island, a banished man in a distant land.

General  
state of  
Greek  
Sicily.

We have thus had to speak of a time when the Greek cities of Sicily were at once free, prosperous, and powerful, and comparatively little troubled by wars and quarrels within the island. No city of Sicily now held such a power as Syracuse had held under Gelôn or even as Akragas under Thêrôn. Instead of the dominion of one or two cities had come the freedom of many. And, while Sicily was seemingly untroubled by wars between Greek and Greek, more than one city could win glory both in and out of Sicily in warfare with the barbarians. And besides peace and physical well-being, the Sikel cities were winning honour by their great works and by the famous men whom they sent forth. Just at such a moment as this the fabric of Greek dominion in Sicily was threatened by a movement on the part of one of the native races of the island, a movement which has nothing like it recorded before or after.

### § 3. *The Enterprise of Ducetius*<sup>1</sup>.

B.C. 459-440.

*Sketch  
notices of  
DUCETIUS.*

Of the Sikel chief Ducetius we have already heard as one of those allies of his nation who helped to win the

<sup>1</sup> To those who look at the history of Diodôros as made up of "transparent gauze" and "the fictions of later writers" this memorable chapter of Sicilian history may have all the charm of novelty. All that we know of Ducetius comes from the narrative of Diodôros, xi. 76, 78, 88-92, xii. 8, 29. One would be glad to have a better narrative; but we cannot afford to be otherwise than thankful for what we have. Neither Thirlwall nor Grote scorned such fare as is set before us. The man of Agrigum was evidently pleased with his subject, and did his best. I do not, like the higher critics, profess to know where he found every word; but I cannot think that he rolled up his Philistos at such a moment.

freedom of Syracuse and the other Greek cities. At one stage his presence has been recorded; at another we have inferred it from the unusual energy shown by the Sikels<sup>1</sup>. He then appeared as an ally of Greek commonwealths, doubtless as deeming the commonwealths less dangerous to his own people than the tyrants. And so the single commonwealths of Sicily undoubtedly were, as compared with a great dominion like that of Hierôn or Thêrôn in the hands of a single man. But even single commonwealths like Syracuse and Akragas were dangerous in no small measure. They were growing in wealth and strength; a Sikel patriot who designed to do anything for his own people might be well advised to strike before they became stronger still. And Ducetius had withal a special grievance. One result of his own campaigns was that a Sikel town, that of Inêssa, had passed into Greek hands, and was now the second Hellenic Ætnâ<sup>2</sup>. He now began to show openly, what he doubtless had long had in his mind, his schemes for uniting all the isolated Sikel communities of the island into one great Sikel power. Of that power he was doubtless himself to be the wielder. He seems to have aimed at the position of king over the whole island, or of so much of it as he could bring under the power of himself and his people.

The Sikels  
and the  
Greek  
common-  
wealths.

Inêssa now  
Greek.

Designs of  
Ducetius.

It is easy to see how dangerous a king of the Sikels, lord of an united Sikel kingdom, would be to every Greek city in Sicily. Yet it is possible that it might at the moment seem more dangerous than it really was. That is, it would seem to mean destruction, while it is most likely that in truth it meant only humiliation. It is hardly safe to connect the schemes of Ducetius with the advance of the Italian nations against the Greeks which happened a little later<sup>3</sup>. It is not clear that the movements of the

Not con-  
nected  
with the  
barbarian  
advance in  
Italy.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 307, 321.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 322, 323.

<sup>3</sup> See Hohn, i. 258.

CHAP. VII. Lucanians which tore away so large a part of the Greater Hellas from the Hellenic world had begun when Ducetius first formed his scheme of Sikel unity. It is certain that the fight of Laos had not been fought, that the men of Poseidônia had not yet to mourn that they had become barbarians<sup>1</sup>, that Kymê, so lately delivered by the arms of Syracuse<sup>2</sup>, still kept the Hellenic life that had been saved for her. Nor is there any reason to think that the schemes of Ducetius, if successful, would have involved any such results as came of the Italian advance on the mainland. The conditions were different. The Lucanians at least were simple barbarians from outside, and even the Samnites must have come under a far smaller measure of Hellenic influence than the Sikels. The Samnites might pick up something of Greek literature, art, and philosophy, exactly as the Romans did. But the national life, the political constitution, of the Samnite remained as untouched by Greek influences as did those of the Roman.

Different  
positions  
of Luca-  
nians and  
Sikels

Helleniza-  
tion of the  
Sikels. It was otherwise with the Sikels. Large as was the extent of territory which they still kept in the island, they were yet in some sort a remnant. Even to an independent Sikel community its Greek neighbours were something more than mere enemies. They were often masters; they were in any case models. Look on a hundred years or less, and a Sikel commonwealth, a Sikel tyranny, is hardly to be distinguished from a Greek commonwealth or a Greek tyranny. The process of assimilation had already begun. It had gone far enough to place the Sikel on quite another level from the Lucanian. A Sikel prince, seeking to make his people great at the expense of Greek neighbours, would assuredly look only for conquest; he would have no mind for destruction.

We just now spoke of the change wrought in the relations between Sikels and Greeks in Sicily within the next

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 250.

hundred years. We shall better take in the position of our one great Sikel leader, if we look on for about the same space of time to another part of the world. The schemes and the failure of Ducetius may be better understood, if we look at them in the light of the schemes and the success of Philip. The plans of the Sikel could not have been very different from the plans of the Macedonian. It was only the political independence of the Greek cities to which either Ducetius or Philip was really threatening. Ducetius could have had no more thought than Philip had of rooting up Greek life and culture. His whole story, just like that of Philip, shows that he had entered into every side of Greek life except its political side. He would doubtless have rejoiced to make Syracuse or any other Greek city the capital of his kingdom. He would have made it the capital of what would be politically a Sikel kingdom. But it would be a Sikel kingdom, like the Macedonian kingdom of Philip or the Epirot kingdom of Pyrrhos, adorned and strengthened by all that the arts of Greece could supply to adorn and strengthen it. The schemes of Ducetius failed, and those of Philip succeeded, because Ducetius had not the strength of Philip, while the Sikeliot cities in the days of Ducetius had greater strength than the cities of Old Greece had in the days of Philip. Ducetius had far more to create at home before he could begin any work of aggression. Much as Philip created, he inherited much, enough to make a solid groundwork for his creation. Before he could enlarge his kingdom, he had to win it; but there was an established kingdom to be won, by him or by some other. To be King of the Macedonians had long been a definite place in the world; Philip simply made it a much greater place than it had been hitherto. But to be King of the Sikels was a place which Ducetius had to create for himself. The Sikels, in their many independent com-

CHAP. VII.

Comparison of  
Ducetius  
and Philip.Likeness  
in their  
plans.Different  
position  
of Ducetius  
and Philip.

CHAP. VII.  
Political  
condition  
of the  
Sikels.

munities, had most likely reached a much higher political level than the Macedonians. But for that very reason it was less easy for any prince or leader to make use of them to his own purposes. We know not what was the original position of Ducetius; we know not what was the political constitution of any Sikel community. His own position and that of Archónidēs<sup>1</sup> may suggest that some at least of them had kings or princes; but there was assuredly no ruler among them at all like the King of the Macedonians or the King of the Molottians. The enlarged Macedonian kingdom which was needed for Philip's purposes had to be formed by the comparatively easy process of enlarging an existing whole. The Sikel kingdom which was needed for Ducetius' purposes had to be formed by the far harder process of gathering isolated atoms into one mass. Philip formed his machine, and then used it successfully. We know not whether Ducetius could have used his machine successfully; for his schemes broke down in the earlier stage of striving to form it.

Success of  
Philip.

Partial  
failure of  
Ducetius.

Still there is a near likeness between the general positions of the two princes. For Ducetius to win dominion or influence over all Sicily as Philip won dominion or influence over Old Greece would have meant the political humiliation of many Greek cities, combined with a great enlargement of the range of every form of Greek life. In the case of Philip's success, the result was brought about by Philip himself and those who carried on his work. In the case of Ducetius' failure, one half of the result was carried out, but not by Ducetius. East of Hadria, where Macedonia fought its way to be reckoned as a Greek state and the ruling Greek state, Greek culture and Macedonian dominion went together. In Sicily the Sikels accepted Greek culture, but they did not, like the Macedonians, accept it at the hands of subjects or dependents. But this

<sup>1</sup> *Diod. xii. 8* *Thuc. vii. 1*

difference in the result should not blind us to the real likeness between the successful and the unsuccessful attempt. That mere difference of result seems to put Philip far beyond all comparison with Ducetius. Yet we can see that Philip started from very small beginnings. Macedonian dominion in Greece, even Macedonian interference in Greek affairs, were as little in men's thoughts when Philip began his career as Sikel dominion or interference could have been when Ducetius began his. And, meagre as are our accounts of the Sikel leader, it is perfectly plain that the greatest of Sikeliot cities found that he was an enemy who could not be despised. And if his schemes broke down, it was mainly because he had a harder work than Philip had to do among his own people.

The first appearance of Ducetius in a perfectly independent character, acting without Greek allies, comes before those internal and external events in the history of Syracuse which have been spoken of in the last section. He now appears by the lofty style of King of the Sikels<sup>1</sup>. It is not likely that such a title can ever have formally belonged to him; as yet assuredly he cannot have been more than the king or prince of some part of his people. We hear of his lofty birth and of his personal renown, and before all things of the cities which he founded, which he moved from their sites, and which he won by weapons of war. The region of his birth and of his earliest foundations lies among the northern outposts of the Heraian hills. Among many confusions and corruptions of nomenclature, it is not easy to see whether Nea or Mensæ, the place of his birth, and Menænum, the first city of his founding, are one place or two<sup>2</sup>. If they are distinct, they at least cannot have been far apart; and it may be that Ducetius simply so enlarged and strengthened the place of his own birth that he was in a lax way spoken of as its founder. Menænum at

Earlier  
action of  
Ducetius.

His birth-  
place Nea  
or Mensæ-  
num.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 78. See above, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XXXIV.

CHAP. VII. least, whether the birth-place of Ducetius or not, still lives  
 Position of to preserve his memory<sup>1</sup>. Mineo—the name has hardly  
 Mensenum changed—sits enthroned on one of the loftiest inhabited  
 or Mineo. spots in Sicily, yielding perhaps only to Henna of the  
 goddesses and to Troina of the Normans. It sits as if in  
 rivalry of the Saracen post of Caltagirone to the west,  
 a town perched on another mountain-top only just lower  
 than its own. The hill of Mensenum stands isolated, with  
 deep ravines parting it from other heights to the east and  
 west. To the west the river Menas, one of the many  
 streams which go to swell the waters of Symaithos, flows  
 beneath it. The combe to the east parts Mineo from the  
 height which bears the Arabic name of Catalfaro, speaking  
 of days when the city of Ducetius was assaulted and taken  
 by the Saracen. The height is pierced with primeval  
 Cave of tombs and dwellings, specially with one famous cave which,  
 Saint Agrippina, in days between the Sikel and the Saracen, won for itself  
 a name in the legend of the holy Agrippina<sup>2</sup>. On this  
 height some have placed the birth-place of Ducetius; he  
 crossed the ravine to plant his new city on the greater hill  
 to the east of it<sup>3</sup>. Be this as it may, the site on which  
 he undoubtedly founded Mensenum was one preeminently  
 fitted to be the site of a strong city, as long as cities still  
 sought no small part of their strength from heights rising  
 to the clouds and from steep and ragged paths up which an  
 enemy could make his way only with pain and weariness.  
 The height of Mineo has two heads with a sinking be-  
 tween them at the top of a deep gully on the north side.  
 And the easternmost of these two rises again, on the side

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXXIV.

<sup>2</sup> We may come to Saint Agrippina in time. Her story, chiefly posthu-  
 mous, is told in the *Vite Sanctorum Siculorum*, i. 79. The part that con-  
 cerns us is at p. 81, "In locum qui dicitur Drapion pervenerunt. In eo  
 loco spelunca est, castello cui Menneo nomen subiacens. In eo demones  
 jam olim habitabant." One sees it across the gorge from Mineo.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix XXXIV.



opposite to Catalfaro, into a higher point than all, one that might seem to call aloud to become the akropolis of a new city CHAP VII.

On these heights Ducetius planted the settlement which he perhaps already designed to be more than the stronghold of his immediate people, to be in truth the capital of his new-born Sikel dominion. There he has left his mark. Large remains of a mighty wall are still there, a wall in which we have every reason to believe that we see the work of the Sikel king. In the days of Ducetius we are no longer to look for such primæval work as the ancient walls of Cephalœdium<sup>1</sup>. As the Goth at Carcassonne could call into his service all the arts of the Roman, so the Sikel at Menænum could call into his service all the arts of the Greek. Large pieces of what we trust is the work of Ducetius remain on the north side; and the line of the wall, not kept at one level but rising and falling with the windings of the hill, can be traced where the wall itself has perished. Where it is best preserved, it takes the shape of a scarped hill-side faced with masonry, which of course formed the lower part of the perfect wall. It is built of uncemented rectangular blocks, and is supported by solid towers in which a core of small stones is strengthened by masonry of the same kind. Not fifty years back the northern gate of Menænum had not yet wholly vanished; its side-posts at least were standing. We should be glad to know whether they had not in some later age, at the hands of Romans, Saracens, or Normans, been taught, like one of the gateways on Eryx, to bear the arch which the days of Ducetius knew not. This venerable relic was swept away at the making of the new zig-zag road up the hill, a road which has supplanted not a few steep and ancient paths, in one of which, carefully paved but not in Roman fashion, the hand of the Arab has been

Founda-  
tion or  
strong-  
ening of  
Menænum.  
B.C. 459.

The wall of  
Menænum.

Destruc-  
tion of the  
gateway.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. I. p. 142.

CHAP. VII. seen. Above all soars the akropolis; but there the work of the Sikel has yielded to a castle of comparatively modern times, itself now a shapeless ruin. The town itself contains little of interest of any date. A few plain pointed arches, some of them seemingly part of an aqueduct, suggest the thought of Saracen work, but they may just as well be later. He who climbs the height of Mineo can be led thither by hardly any other motive than to gaze on the great works of the Sikel and on the land on which the Sikel looked down from the height which he had made his own.

Outlook  
from  
Menænum.

From the hill of Menænum the eye ranges over a vast landscape, far and near. The immediate view is fenced in by the opposite range of hills; but above them rise not a few loftier points which must have spoken straight to the heart of a Sikel founder. He might look out on Henna, the chief seat of his religion, now perhaps to be looked on as the moral conquest of the Greek. On another side, the snows of Ætna rose above the other sacred homes of Hybla and Hadranus, still deities of his people. At the foot of Ætna lay that Inëssa which he had himself helped to hand over to the stranger, and which the founder of a Sikel power was above all things called on to win back for his own folk. But the most living and speaking sight of all was nearer, almost at the very threshold of his chosen home. Menænum saw at her feet the great plain between herself and the northern range of hills, a plain varied by not a few peaks and knolls, smooth and rocky. At the foot of the most marked of them lay that holy place which the Sikel might still most truly call his own. There was the sacred lake with its bubbling waters; there was the temple of the earth-born guardians of the Sikel land. If the goddesses of Henna had well nigh ceased to watch over his folk, the Palici were still his own. Protectors of the slave, protectors perchance of the Sikan bondman against

The  
Temple of  
the Palici.

the Sikel, it was to them that the founders of the revived CHAP. VII.  
Sikel power looked as his mightiest patrons against the  
encroaching Greek.

On that height, looking down on that plain, was for Beginning  
a while the dwelling-place of Ducetius, the centre of his of Ducetius' conquests.  
power. The lands at its foot were parted out among the  
citizens of the new and enlarged city<sup>1</sup>. From thence he  
went forth to bring, by persuasion or by arms, all the  
Sikel states of the island into one whole. Morgantia, no Morgantia subdued.  
mean city among her fellows, deemed herself great enough  
to refuse to be either subject or confederate of the lord of  
Menenum<sup>2</sup>. Morgantia yielded to the arms of Ducetius.  
On what terms it submitted, on what terms any of the Union of the Sikel states.  
other Sikel states submitted or were united, what were  
the exact relations between the Sikel king at Menenum  
and his subjects or allies throughout the island—on all  
these points, on which knowledge would be so precious, we  
are left in darkness. We only see that, in a space of about  
six years, the schemes of Ducetius with regard to his B.C. 459-456.  
own people were all but fully carried out. All the Sikel  
states save one were joined into one body, and the language  
in which that body is described has a federal ring. It Position of Ducetius.  
sounds as if the union was in form at least free and equal,  
as if Ducetius, prince of his own immediate people, was  
rather a president, a stadholder, a captain-general, over  
the other communities of his race<sup>3</sup>. One town alone with-  
stood alike the persuasions and the arms of united *Sikelia*.  
The Galeatic Hybla, the Hybla by *Ætna*, the sacred city Galeatic Hybla stands aloof.  
of the goddess of its own name, the home of the sage ex-  
pounders of the dark riddles and dreams and visions<sup>4</sup>,  
kept aloof from the body of which Ducetius was the  
head. The exception is significant, and makes us specially

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 78; τὴν συναγμένην χώραν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν αὐτῆς διέμελλεν.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XXXIV.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix XXXIV.

<sup>4</sup> See vol. i. pp. 150, 156.

CHAP. VII. wish to hear something of the policy of Henna at such a moment. Was the home of Dêmêtêr and her Child already so fully hellenized that Henna is no longer thought of as a Sikel city? Was Hybla following in the same path? Had these Sikel holy places at which the Greek had learned to worship cooled in their Sikel patriotism? Were they less stirred than other spots on behalf of a prince with whom zeal for the most purely national shrine of the Sikel people was clearly a chief watchward of his cause?

Position of the Sikel sanctuaries.

Two foundations of Ducetius.

Philip comes down from Aigai to Pella. Ducetius founds Palica.

B.C. 453.

If we could venture to compose a motto in modern style for the royal or federal banner of the lord of Menænum, it would be "The Palici for free and united *Sikelia*." We have compared Ducetius and Philip. Each prince, in founding a new or vastly enlarged dominion, chose a new site as the immediate seat of that dominion. But what Philip did once Ducetius did twice. Each followed the law which seems to mark the advance of culture in the matter of sites. Each came down from the heights to the lower ground. But in the case of Ducetius ages seemed to pass in a single life-time, in less than a decade of years. Philip came down from the old seat of the kingship of his fathers; Ducetius came down from the seat of the kingship which he himself had called into at least a renewed being. As Philip moved the throne of advancing Macedonia from the mountain heights of Aigai to the marshy plain of Pella<sup>1</sup>, so Ducetius moved the throne, if throne it was, of united Sikelia from the high place that he had chosen at Menænum to a physically lower site at its foot. Menænum had been chosen at the beginning of his career, by the chief of a single Sikel state, as the centre from which to bring the other Sikel states into brotherhood or subjection. It had done its work. The chief of the Sikel communities had now to choose a home and a centre for an united nation.

<sup>1</sup> Dem. de Cor. 80. Pella before Philip was *χρυσία ἀβαγών καὶ μνηρόν*.

We can believe that Ducetius looked forward to a day CHAP. VII. when he might plant his throne on the height of Akragas or in the Island of Syracuse. Some spot like these should be to him what Amprakia should in days to come be to the its connexion with the national gods. Molottian Pyrrhos. But as yet he had to seek, not an Amprakia but a Passaròn. While the Sikel realm or confederacy was still in its growth, it was fit that it should have a purely Sikel centre. And where should that centre be? From the ramparts of his earlier city he had looked down on the house and the fountains of the Great Twin Brethren of his people. In united *Sikelia* the spiritual centre of the nation should become its temporal centre also, Ducetius forsook the city on the height, his own city, the city of his own founding<sup>1</sup>; he founded a new seat for his power in the plain below, in the immediate neighbourhood of the holy place. From the deities of that holy place it took its name. In the life-time and by the act of the founder of Menænum, Menænum yielded its place as the head of the Sikel realm to the altogether new foundation of Palica.

The new city arose in the plain, in the immediate neighbourhood of the lake and temple of the brother gods. Position of Palica. But it may well have stood in the plain, as opposed to the loftier heights on both sides, and yet have stood on one of the lower hills by which the surface of the plain is varied. All but immediately above the lake rises the most marked among them, a rocky peninsular height, joined by a narrow neck to a range of smoother hills. It shows the clearest signs of ancient occupation and of close connexion with the holy place. Its sides are full of tombs, some of them with carefully wrought doors, and roofs cut into the shape of the apparent cupola. At its foot passes an ancient road, doubtless a holy path for pilgrims to the temple; and the lines of a wall can be clearly traced stretching from the hill

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXXIV.

CHAP. VII. itself in the direction of the temple. If, as has been supposed with much likelihood, this rocky hill was the akropolis of Palica, we may see in this wall a device to bind the city to the sacred precinct, and to put it as it were bodily under the protection of the patron gods. On that spot most likely, at all events on some closely neighbouring site, the new city of Palica, the new head of the Sikel power, the second foundation of the Sikel king, was built and was strongly fortified<sup>1</sup>. The city grew and flourished; but such was the turn taken by the affairs of its founder and of the whole Sikel people that it flourished only for a short season<sup>2</sup>.

Uninterrupted progress of Ducetius.

Ducetius was now head of his own people, and among his own people he had shown himself strong enough both to build up and to pull down. It is strange that we hear nothing of any steps taken by any of the Greek cities to check his progress. One would have thought that Morgantia and Hybla would have sought and found help in some Greek quarter. And in truth, with a narrative so meagre as that now before us, it might be dangerous to say that they did not. Yet, if Greek and Sikel had met in arms at this stage of the story, it is hard to believe that any one who told it could have left out the fact. Now at last the time of conflict came between the elder and the newer folk of Eastern Sicily, and the blow came from the elder folk.

He takes Ætna.  
B. C. 451

One duty before all others was laid on the chief of united Sikelia. He had to undo a wrong done to his people in which he himself had borne a part. Sikel Inëssa had become Greek Ætna partly by the act of Ducetius. His first act in his new character was to win back this stronghold of his people so lately lost. We have no details, except that he took the town after slaying its

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXXIV.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix XXXIV

commander by craft<sup>1</sup>. Who was this commander? The word used might almost suggest that a Deinomenid prince was still reigning in the new Ætna<sup>2</sup>. If this were so, it might explain the fact that we hear of no action on the part of any other Greek state against the Sikeli invader. The remnant of the tyrants might well be left to perish at any hands. But the Sikeli prince soon showed that his objects were not bounded by the recovery of Inessa. From that conquest he marched on to attack the second among the Greek powers of Sicily, and the second among them did not venture to withstand him without calling in the help of the first.

CHAP. VII.

He be-  
sieves  
Motyon.

The geography of the campaign is hopeless. Ducetius enters the Akragantine territory, and assaults a fortress called Motyon, which was defended by an Akragantine garrison<sup>3</sup>. The site is unknown; the name, if we have its right form, strikes us by its likeness to the name of the famous Phœnician island. The chances are that Motyon and Motya are alike Sikan names kept on by the Greek in one case and by the Phœnician in the other<sup>4</sup>. Ducetius laid siege to the place with a strong force, and the Akragantines refused to risk a battle against the Sikeli invader till they had sought and received help from Syracuse. Ducetius now met the united forces of the two greatest Sikeliot cities in arms. Victory was

He defeats  
the Akra-  
gantines  
and Syra-  
cusans.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 91; *Διττην ἀντιλάβετον, τὸν ἡγούμενον αὐτῆς βολυφρονέοντα.*

<sup>2</sup> *ἡγούμενος* is hardly an usual title for the magistrate of a commonwealth, and it is in this very sentence that Ducetius is called *ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἔχων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*; *ἐς τὴν Ἀκραγαντίνων χώραν ἀναζείξας μετὰ δυνάμει Μότυον φρουρούμενον τῶν τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων ἐπολιόρῃσι.*

<sup>4</sup> See vol. i. pp. 270, 562. Yet one cannot help thinking of the entry in Stephen of Byzantium; *Μότυλαι Σικελίας φρούριον περὶ τὴν Μοτίην. Φίλωντος Σικελικῶν περὶ τῆς*. That is just where Philistos would be telling the story of Ducetius. The fragment next before in Müller (i. 187) is Stephen's notice of Αἰθάλια, from the same book. That is, he there records the Syracusan expedition which we spoke of in p. 337. One knows not what confusion may lurk in *Μότυλαι* and *περὶ τὴν Μοτίην*.

CHAP. VII. with the Sikel, and Syracusans and Akragantines were both driven from their camps<sup>1</sup>. The conqueror pressed his advantage so far that Motyon yielded to its Sikel besiegers<sup>2</sup>; but winter was coming on, and both Greeks and Sikels withdrew within their several territories<sup>3</sup>. At Syracuse we hear the same story as after the first Etruscan expedition<sup>4</sup>. Truly or falsely, the cry of treason was raised. It was a cry at once so likely to be true and so likely to be raised though it were not true, that, in the absence of further details, we can only say that it was raised, and successfully raised. Bolkôn, the Syracusan general who had gone to the relief of Motyon, was arraigned on a charge of having been in league with Ducetius, and of having wilfully caused the defeat. On this charge he was convicted and put to death<sup>5</sup>.

Condemnation of Bolkôn.  
B.C. 451-450.

This is the second time within a few years that a Syracusan commander is condemned for treason in his command. In both cases his successor, whether more wisely chosen or warned by his fate, more than retrieves the losses brought about by the fault of his predecessor. When war-time began again, another Syracusan general, whose name is not given, was sent forth with orders to fight against Ducetius and to overthrow him<sup>6</sup>. Syracuse now takes the

Campaign of B.C. 450.

<sup>1</sup> *Diod. xi. 91: τῶν δὲ Ἀκραγαντίνων ἐπιβοηθησάντων, συνάρας μάχην καὶ προτέρησαι, ἐξήλασεν ἀμφοτέρους ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων*. Here we must take to conjecture. The substitution of *Συρακοσίαν* for *Ἀκραγαντίνων*, or, perhaps better, the insertion of *καὶ Συρακοσίαν* after *Ἀκραγαντίνων*, is called for both by the word *ἀμφοτέρους* and by what follows. Either mistake is an easy one.

<sup>2</sup> This is implied directly after.

<sup>3</sup> *Diod. u. 2.; τότε μὲν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐνισταμένου, διεχυρίσθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν*. See next page, note 5.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 336.

<sup>5</sup> *Diod. u. 2.; τῆς ἡττῆς αἰτίαν δοῦναι καὶ βόλαντα λάβρα συμπαράτειν τῷ Δουκετίῳ, καταδικάσαντες ὡς προδότην ἀπέκτειναν*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.; θέροντι ἀρχομένου στρατηγὸν ἕτερον παρέστησαν, ᾧ δυνάμει ἀξιόλογον δόντες, προσέταξαν καταταλαιμῆσαι Δουκετίον*. In a more careful writer than Diodorus we should understand these words of a single general like



foremost part in the war; the Akragantines seem to do no more than besiege their own fortress of Motyon, now held by a Sikel garrison<sup>1</sup>. Ducetius meanwhile raised another army, an easy task no doubt after the victory of the last year. The Syracusan host, a greater one, it would seem, than that which had been led by Bolkôn, found him encamped at a place whose site is unknown, but whose name is given as Noma<sup>2</sup>. It speaks much for the generalship of Ducetius, and for his influence over his people, that he had, as it would seem, kept his force together through the winter. Armies such as his must have been more apt, after a victory no less than after a defeat, to insist on going back, each man to his own home<sup>3</sup>. A battle now followed between Sikels and Syracusans, a hard-fought battle in which it was only after long striving that the military skill of Greece had the better. The Sikel host gave way and fled; the Syracusans followed and slew many in the pursuit<sup>4</sup>. And now a defeated general could no longer keep his force together; the more part of the confederate host of united Sikelia was scattered abroad<sup>5</sup>. A few only kept up stouter

CHAP. VII.

Defeat of  
Ducetius  
by the  
Syracusan.

that of the Achaian League. But we know nothing of the military arrangements of Syracuse at this moment. At a later time there were fifteen generals.

<sup>1</sup> See next page, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Noma* is quite unknown, but there seems no reason to change the name into *Mavai* or *Noai*.

<sup>3</sup> See *Norman Conquest*, vol. i. p. 387.

<sup>4</sup> The words of Diodorus show the good fight made by the Sikels; γενεμένης παρατάξεως μεγάλης καὶ πολλῶν παρ' ἀμφοτέρωσι πεπνυγμένων, μάλιστα Συρακούσαιοι βιάσασθαι τοὺς Σικελούς ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ κατὰ φυγὴν πολλοὺς ἀνέκλον.

<sup>5</sup> The words are, τῶν διαφερόντων αἱ πλείους εἰς τὰ φρούρια τῶν Σικελῶν δισώθησαν. From what follows it would seem that no special military emphasis is to be laid, as one would naturally have expected, on the word φρούρια. Diodorus seems to use it as he might have used πόλεις or κώμας. Ducetius would hardly have sunk into such despair if a number of garrisons were holding out for him. We may therefore fairly contrast this scattering with the words used before, after his victory of Greeks and Sikels alike,

CHAP. VII.

Motyon  
recovered  
by the  
Akragas-  
tines.Failure  
of the  
plans of  
Ducetius.

hearts for a while; they still threw in their lot with Ducetius, and still shared his hopes<sup>1</sup>. Meanwhile Motyon was won back by its besiegers, and the victorious army of Akragas came to join the victorious army of Syracuse in face of the small remnant that still surrounded the Sikel king<sup>2</sup>.

Never was a cause which a moment before had seemed so promising more thoroughly crushed. Never was a strong heart more cruelly constrained to give way before events which were too mighty for it. We are indeed inclined to wonder that Ducetius gave way so suddenly, that he made no further attempt to get together a fresh army. With no details to throw any light on the story, we can only suppose that a man who was capable of such energetic action as Ducetius showed himself before and afterwards did not despair, even for the moment, without reason. We are tempted to think of our own Ælfred in his shelter at Athelney, and how soon victory came back to the banners of a people who had been scattered even without a defeat. But the Wessex of Ælfred, far as it was from the unity of a modern state, might pass for a well-established and united power by the side of the confederacy of yesterday which had been called into being by the genius of Ducetius himself. The isolated tribes and towns of his people had been brought together by his bright promises. They were kept together by a brilliant victory and a successful siege. They fell asunder as soon as victory was once exchanged

*ἀσχυρίσθησαν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας.* After the victory all the armies went into winter-quarters, but the Sikel army remained an army; now it fell to pieces.

Diod. xl. 91, ὁλίγους δὲ μετὰ Δουκετίου τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαλῶν μετέχουσιν προέλασαν.

<sup>1</sup> We now learn what the Akragantines had been doing; we even learn for the first time that Ducetius had actually taken Motyon: Ἀκραγαγνίδου τὸ Μότυον φρούριον καταχόμενον ἐκ τῶν μετὰ Δουκετίου Σικελῶν ἐξεκαλιέσθησαν, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπαγαγόντες πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοσίους νεκισμένους ἦλθον κατιστρατοπέμψαν.

for defeat. And, however low the fortunes of Ælfred fell, CHAR. VII. there was at least no treason in the little band that still His fol-  
lowers for-  
sake him. clave to him. But with Ducetius even those who had chosen his hopes as the better part began presently to fall away from him. Some forsook him; some plotted against him; at last even his own familiar friends whom he trusted seemed ready to raise their hands against him<sup>1</sup>. In such a strait, he deemed it safer to trust to the mercy of his enemies.

We must suppose that the two armies of Syracuse and Akragas were still in the field, though where and how occupied we have no means of guessing. The traitors in He deter-  
mines to  
trust the  
Syrac-  
usans. the camp of Ducetius, if camp he still had, would most likely have given him up to the Greek commanders. The Sikel prince, as his last hope, resolved to risk an appeal to the generosity and the religious scruples of a Greek people. Of the two enemies that were arrayed against him, he chose the one which seemed likely to look on him with less hostile eyes than the other. His enterprise had been immediately directed against Akragas; he does not seem to have harried any lands or stormed any forts in the territory of Syracuse. Our one meagre geographical hint would suggest that the unnamed scene of the plots against him was at least a good deal nearer to Syracuse than to Akragas. Suddenly then, in the night, before his false friends could He rides to  
Syracuse. do aught against him, Ducetius mounted his horse and rode straight for Syracuse. A single night—we are not told in what month; we may guess in the late autumn—was enough for the journey; he reached Syracuse while it was still dark. How he made his way through the gate we are not told. He could doubtless speak good Doric Greek, and he might pass himself off as one from the Syracusan

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 91. He is painted as εὐὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῖς ἄλλοις συντριβεῖς . . . εἰς τὴν ἐσχατὴν ἔλθεν ἀπὸ γυναικῶν.

CHAP. VII. army. The gate must have been the gate of Achradina, the gate that leads straight to the *agora* of Syracuse, the open space in the outer city<sup>1</sup>. There the meeting-place of the Syracusan people was hallowed by the altars of the gods of Syracuse. Before those altars the fallen king of the Sikels seated himself, and proclaimed to gods and men —there must have been some mortal hearers—that he made himself the suppliant of the city. In solemn form he handed over himself and all the land over which he ruled to the will of the Syracusan people<sup>2</sup>. The war was over indeed; its leading spirit had by a voluntary *deditio* given himself over to his enemies. He had made himself theirs to deal with as they listed, remembering always that the suppliant was under the care of Zeus, and that he who wronged him must be ready to bear the wrath of his Erinyes<sup>3</sup>.

He be-  
comes a  
suppliant  
at the altar  
in the  
*agora*.

The Syra-  
cusan  
assembly

The news spread through all Syracuse. With the daylight the people crowded together into the *agora*, to see a sight so wonderful as that of the dreaded Sikel king sitting as an unarmed suppliant in their own city<sup>4</sup>. To keep order and to give a legal character to any act that might be done, the magistrates at once summoned an

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 92; *τέλος δὲ θεωρῶν τοὺς ὑπολοίτους φίλους μέλλοντας αὐτῷ τὰς χεῖρας προσφέρειν, φθῆναι αὐτοῦ καὶ τυχεῖς διαβρὺς ἀρίστειναι εἰς τὰς Συρακοῦσας, ἵτι δὲ τυχεῖς οὕτως παρῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν Συρακοσίων*. See above, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. *καθίσας ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν ἱκέτης ἐγένετο τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τανύν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἧς ἦν κύριος παρέθηκε τοῖς Συρακοσίοις*. Cf. the alleged *deditio* of Théron, in Appendix XXIII.

<sup>3</sup> On the *ἱκέτης* there is much to be found in E. O. Müller *Eumenides*, §1. If the *ἱκέτης* was strictly a man-slayer seeking purification, Ducetius might well, in Syracusan eyes, be so deemed. But without going into such mysteries, we all know how (Od. xi. 57)

*πρὸς Διὸς εἶναι ἄπαντες*

*ξεῖναι τε πτωχοὶ τε,*

and how (xvii. 476)

*πτωχῶν γε θεοὶ καὶ ἐρινύες εἰσιν.*

<sup>4</sup> Diod. u. u.; *τοῦ δὲ πλήθους διὰ τὸ παράδοτον σὺμβῆναι εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν*.

extraordinary assembly of the people<sup>1</sup>. The crowd be-  
 came an orderly body; slaves and strangers must have  
 withdrawn; the citizens of Syracuse took their places in  
 whatever was the usual order. Proclamation was now  
 made of the subject of debate. The people of Syracuse was  
 called on to vote what should be done with Ducetius, with  
 the suppliant sitting there in the holy place before their  
 eyes<sup>2</sup>. In trying to call up some likeness of this me-  
 morable debate, we must remember the cruel usages of  
 Greek warfare, even when waged against other Greeks,  
 how common a thing it was to slay or enslave vanquished  
 enemies by hundreds and thousands. On the other hand,  
 it sometimes needs a harder heart to slay one man  
 than to slay a thousand, and we must further remember  
 the awful religious sanctions under which Ducetius had  
 placed himself. From his place by the altar he heard  
 men arguing whether it were good that he should  
 live or that he should die. Speakers were not lacking  
 either on the side of vengeance or on the side of mercy.  
 Syracuse had her nameless Kleôns and her nameless  
 Diodotoi. We may perhaps detect some touches of a  
 pen hostile to democracy when we read how the orators  
 to whom the people were wont to listen, the demagogues  
 in short, demanded that Ducetius should be dealt with as  
 an enemy, how they enlarged on his evil deeds toward  
 Syracuse, and called for a fitting vengeance on him who  
 had wrought them<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, the worthiest  
 and noblest of the elders of Syracuse gave their voices to  
 save the suppliant, to respect the turns of fortune, and to

Debate  
 over Duce-  
 tins.

Arguments  
 for mercy

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 92; *οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες συνέγαγον ἐκκλησίαν.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*; *προέθηκεν βουλὴν περὶ τοῦ Δουκετίου τί χρὴ πράττειν.* In a more careful writer than Diodorus one would ask the exact force of the word *βουλὴ*. Could there have been time for the vote of the Senate—which the word suggests—which would regularly go before that of the assembly?

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*; *ἐνταῦθα τῶν δημῶν ἀνδρῶν συνεβούλευον πολεῖν ὡς πολέμιον καὶ περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐπιθεῖναι τιμωρίαν.*

CHAP. VII. reverence the *Nemesis* of the gods<sup>1</sup>. The question, they said, was, not how Ducetius deserved to be dealt with, but how it became the honour of Syracuse to deal with him<sup>2</sup>. To slay the man whom fortune had overthrown was not consistent with that honour; to save the suppliant, to respect the guardianship of the gods who protected him, was alone worthy of a generous and high-souled people<sup>3</sup>. Thus appealed to on the side of their best feelings, the assembled people of Syracuse gave no uncertain answer. The vote was given by acclamation. One cry from every side rang through the clear air of Syracuse; one sound lighted on the ear of the man who was waiting for his doom of life or death. That cry was "Save the suppliant<sup>4</sup>." The better reason this time won the day in the heart of the Syracusan democracy. It might no less have won the day in the heart of a high-souled prince, of Ducetius himself in his days of power. Can we deem that it would have had equal strength with a narrow oligarchy debating in its secret chamber?

Unani-  
mous vote  
to "save  
the sup-  
pliant."

Ducetius  
sent to  
Corinth.

Ducetius was saved from death by the vote of the popular assembly. We do not know whether it was the vote of that day's assembly or of some later gathering, either of the people or of some smaller body of senators or magistrates, which fixed his further destiny. That destiny

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xi. 92; *οἱ χαμίστατοι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παρόντες ἀπεφαίνοντο σώζειν τὸν Ικέτην, καὶ τῆς τύχης καὶ τῆς νέμεως τῶν θεῶν ἐντρέεσθαι*.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.; *θεῖν γὰρ σκοπεῖν οὐ τί παθεῖν ἄξιόν ἐστι Δουκέντιοι, ἀλλὰ τί πρέπει πράξει Συρακούσιοι*.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.; *δυσκοτεῖναι γὰρ τὸν πεπταπότα τῇ τύχῃ μὴ προσήκον, σώζειν δ' ἄμα τὴν πρὸς τοῖς θεοῖς εὐσεβείαν καὶ τὸν Ικέτην ἄξιόν ἐστι τῆς τοῦ δήμου μεγαλοψυχίας*. This is a higher ground than any taken by Diodotos, if we could be only sure that this was the line taken. The form of the vote looks like it.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.; *ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ὅσους μὴ φανῶ, σώζειν παντόθεν ἰβόαν τὸν Ικέτην*. Has the word *παντόθεν* a special force? It would seem (Thuc. vi. 13) that at Athens men of the same class or party sat together in the assembly. If it was so at Syracuse, it would seem that right, centre, and left, all agreed.

Others for *παντόθεν* read *ἀπ' ὧν ἰβόαν*. I certainly prefer *παντόθεν*.

was a remarkable one. Ducetius, though allowed to live, CHAP. VII.  
 could hardly be allowed to live at large in Syracuse, or,  
 at present at least, anywhere in Sicily. And the sup-  
 pliant of the gods could not well be kept in prison.  
 The tie between metropolis and colony supplied a means  
 of providing him with a dwelling-place which should  
 be at once safe and honourable. Changed and mixed  
 as the population of Syracuse had been during the last  
 fifty years, the new-comers of all kinds had adopted the  
 traditions of the soil; all held themselves for colonists of  
 Corinth no less than the descendants of the comrades of  
 Archias. The mother-city was ready to help her daughter;  
 Corinth undertook to keep the suppliant of Syracuse.  
 Ducetius was sent to dwell at Corinth, with a maintenance  
 supplied him at the cost of Syracuse<sup>1</sup>. We are not told  
 on what terms he was to dwell there; but it is clear from  
 what follows that he promised to live quietly in his new  
 abode and not to meddle with the affairs of Sicily<sup>2</sup>. The  
 tenor of the story seems equally to show that his position  
 at Corinth was that of a guest honourably treated, but  
 whose movements were doubtless carefully watched. That His Greek  
connections.  
 such a home should have been chosen for the fallen Sikel  
 prince seems of itself to show, and the rest of the tale  
 shows yet more clearly, how largely he, and doubtless  
 many of his countrymen with him, must have been brought  
 under the influence of Greek culture. A mere barbarian  
 would have been utterly out of place in a city like Corinth.  
 Ducetius clearly made many Greek friends, and showed  
 himself fully capable of entering into the general run of  
 Greek politics.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xl. 92; *Συρακούσαιοι ἀπολύσαντες τῆς τιμῆς τὸν Δουκίτην ἐπέτην ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον, καὶ ἐνταῦθα προστάξαντες καταβιοῦν τὴν ἰκανὴν αὐτῷ χορηγίαν συναπένειλαν*

<sup>2</sup> We read in xii. 8 that Ducetius, when he left Corinth, *τὰς ἀμολογίας ἔλασα*. There is no mention of the promise in the earlier account; but it is implied.

CHAP. VII. For about five years Sicilian affairs are blank; then they suddenly take an unexpected turn. Ducetius shows himself once more in Sicily, but this time in a new part of the island, and in a new character. At the bidding, as he gave out, of the gods, he went forth from Corinth, at the head of a body of settlers, to found a new city in Sicily<sup>1</sup>. The site chosen was on that northern coast which the Greeks had for the most part strangely neglected, and of which his own people had certainly not made the most. In that long stretch of land which lies east of Greek Himera, east of Sikel Cephalexium, and west of the Messanian outpost of Myla, no town had as yet arisen immediately on the coast. Sikel strongholds looked down from the hills, and that was all<sup>2</sup>. But the site chosen by Ducetius was one that had already drawn to itself the thoughts of men who were planning new settlements. It was on the Fair Shore that Skythés of Zanklé had offered to find homes for those Samians and other Ionians who so unthankfully turned against him and his city<sup>3</sup>. A Greek prince had then proposed to occupy the spot with Greeks at the expense of Sikels. A Sikel prince was now to occupy it with a mixed company of Sikels and Greeks. No site could be less like either of the earlier foundations of Ducetius. It was a contrast indeed between the Fair Shore on the northern coast and his first hill city of Messenum. And there was hardly more likeness between his new home and Palica on the low height in the plain, hard by the holy lake of the Sikel gods. Ducetius had not sojourned at Syracuse and dwelled at Corinth for nothing. He had learned that, in the new state of things in which his lot was cast, cities were not to arise either on inland heights or in inland plains, but on

Comparison with his earlier foundations.

Change in his plans.

<sup>1</sup> *Diod. xli. 8*: προσαναθήματα χρημάτων ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐαυτοῦ διδόντα ἑτίειν τῶν Κελῶν ἄκτῳ ἐν Ζανκλίῳ. Did both Delphoi and Olympa speak?

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 169.



spots where they could have the full advantage of the CHAP. VII. watery ways. Ducetius took up the plans of Skythês, and the city of the Fair Shore, *Kalé Akté*, cut short into *Calacta* in later times, arose at his bidding.

The place deserved its name. It is a shore, and a fair Site of  
Kalé Akté. shore, though it is hardly an *akté* in the sense in which that name was applied to the sickle-like peninsulas which sheltered the havens of Motya and Zanklê. It is an open shore, the shore of one of several bays within bays which hinder the northern coast of Sicily from being a mathematical right line. The headland of Cefalù stands out to the west; the headland of Orlando stands out to the east. Between them two far smaller headlands fence in a small bay with a marked curve, a little to the east of the stream that now bears the name of Caronia. Here is the Fair Shore. Its special feature is that at this point the hills, here not rugged mountains but hills of moderate height and green with their rich culture, come close down to the shore. At a very little way off on each side, the hills fall back from the shore, leaving more or less of flat ground between their feet and the sea. Hard by to the west there is a large space of low and swampy ground between the hills and the water. Here at *Kalé Akté* there is a mere beach between them and no more. The city, we may be sure, sloped down from these gentle hills to the very edge of the sea. One of those hills, rising just above the bay, low and green above its fellows, may have been the akropolis of the city of Ducetius. We feel sure that his settlement had no part Caronia  
and its  
wood. or lot in the modern Caronia, the nearest existing representative of *Kalé Akté*. That town crowns a point a good deal further inland and of far greater height. It has given its name to the wood of Caronia, the greatest in Sicily, once at least spreading far and wide along the coast and over the neighbouring hills. But the wood has retreated

CHAP. VII. inland. The traveller who follows the modern road between the hills and the sea sees little of it. But he marks the richness of the coast, the rich cultivation of the hill-sides, and here and there less accustomed sights meet his eyes. Besides figs and oranges, trees are seen which neither Greek nor Sikel looked on as good for human food. Besides the less unusual pine, we light now and then on the oak which was once common to the great island of the Mediterranean with the great island of the Ocean.

Gradual  
advance  
in the  
founda-  
tions of  
Ducetius.

Here then the Sikel prince, in the second stage of his career, planted the third of the towns of which he was the founder. It was the crowning work of his life. Ducetius was a scientific colonist, a master in the art of planting men and founding cities. Each of his foundations was an advance upon the one before it. The city on the inland hill-top, the city in the inland plain, the city on the Fair Shore by the northern sea, mark three stages of national growth. They were stages which might have taken many generations; but Ducetius led his people through all within

Relat on of  
Kalê Aktê  
to the  
Sikel  
movement.

a few years. The only question is whether his foundation of Kalê Aktê can be looked on as a stage of national growth. It had a Sikel founder, and many Sikel colonists<sup>1</sup>; but it had not, as Menænum and Palia had, anything to do with the hopes of a reviving and united Sikel nation. It was the personal foundation of Ducetius rather than a settlement of the Sikel people. In fact the new city must have been practically a Greek foundation. We cannot conceive that any Sikels had made their way to Corinth along with their chief, and now come back to Sicily with him. The companions with whom Ducetius set forth from Corinth must have been Greek, and, we may suppose, mainly

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xii. 8; κατέλειπον ἐν τῇ νήσῳ μετὰ πολλῶν οἰκητόρων συνιστάμενοι δὲ καὶ τῶν Σικελῶν τινες, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Ἀρχωνίδης ὁ τῶν Ἐρβιτιανῶν δυναστεύων. The πολλοὶ οἰκητορεῖ must have been Greek, and the Σικελῶν τινες may imply that the Greek element prevailed. Anyhow it would be Greek in the sense that a city founded by Philip was Greek.

Corinthian. His Sikel followers and helpers must have joined him after he came back to Sicily. It was the Greek colonists who would undoubtedly give the settlement its character. To this Ducetius was no more likely to object than any Seleukos or Ptolemy of later times in founding a Seleukeia or a Ptolemais. He had perhaps found out what was to be the destiny of his people. He may have learned that the best thing that he could do for his Sikels was to help them to become Greeks.

Among the Sikels who gave Ducetius help was one who lived to have his name recorded in the history of events which are known to many to whom Ducetius himself is hardly a name. This was Archônidés, the Sikel prince of Herbita<sup>1</sup>. His name points to some measure of Greek culture as already prevailing in his city and family. He would seem to be the Hellenic *archôn*, while his yoke-fellow is the Sikel or Latin *dux*. His town of Herbita stands inland<sup>2</sup>. Kalê Aktê was the nearest available haven; that spot of coast may well have lain within his dominions. One would specially like to know on what terms Archônidés and Ducetius acted together in an enterprise which might well have seemed dangerous to the prince of the inland town. We know only that Archônidés survived Ducetius; but it seems that Ducetius lived long enough to bring the new settlement to perfection. The Sikel king had founded a Greek colony, or rather a colony in which the distinction of Greek and Sikel was not to be regarded.

It is by no means clear how the events in which Ducetius and Archônidés played their parts came to happen at all. Ducetius, we are told, broke his promise. But he could not have broken it in the way that he did, he could not have sailed from Corinth to Sicily at the head of a

<sup>1</sup> See Thuc. vii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 147.

CHAP. VII. force capable of undertaking the plantation of a colony, unless he had help, or at least connivance, from the two great cities in whose joint keeping he might be said to have been placed. He and his comrades could not have sailed from Corinth against the will of the commonwealth of Corinth, and the commonwealth of Corinth could have no conceivable motive for letting them go unless it was known that such a course would be acceptable to the commonwealth of Syracuse. But what interest could Syracuse have in bringing back Ducetius to Sicily? Was he thought to be tamed down to act as an instrument for Syracusan purposes, much as when Rienzi the Tribune went back to Rome as Rienzi the Senator? What immediately follows might suggest that he was expected in some way to promote the interests of Syracuse as against those of Akragas. But how was either city affected by his schemes? One would have thought that the interests of both cities were in this matter the same. Any growth of Sikel power was dangerous in a general way both to Syracuse and to Akragas; but the particular settlement at Kalé Aktê was not directly threatening to either. If we only had the story told by Thucydides, with a speech or two in the Syracusan and the Akragantine assembly, then we might answer these questions. As it is, we can only record events of which we do not fully understand the causes<sup>1</sup>.

its rela-  
tions to  
Akragas.

Offence  
taken by  
Akragas.

Friendly  
relation  
between  
Syracuse  
and Akra-  
gas.

Thus much is certain, that the return of Ducetius gave offence at Akragas, and that at Akragas the blame of his return was laid to the charge of Syracusan intrigue. Since the Sikeliot cities won back their freedom, we have heard wonderfully little of any wars or quarrels among them. Above all, the two great cities just mentioned, beyond all doubt the first and second among the Greek commonwealths of Sicily, had been on terms of outward friendship

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix XXXV.

ever since the fall of the tyrants of Akragas<sup>1</sup>. In the war with Ducetius, Syracuse, less immediately threatened, had given ready and powerful help to Akragas. It was by Syracusan arms that Ducetius himself had been overthrown. But we now hear hints of a general feeling of grudge on the part of Akragas towards Syracuse. This is a feeling which, in any body of neighbouring states, is almost certain to spring up on the part of the power which is second towards the power which hinders it from being the first. Such a feeling easily finds opportunities on which to seize, and they were certainly not wanting in the present case. We hear the complaint, assuredly not now made for the first time, that in a joint war, waged by Syracuse and Akragas against a common enemy, Syracuse had let that enemy go without any consultation with Akragas<sup>2</sup>. The enemy was not only let go, he had come back, again to play an active part in Sicily. It is not said, but it is surely implied, that Syracuse had at least winked at his coming back. Some negotiations must have gone on before the final step; but all that we hear is that Akragas declared war against Syracuse, and that the Sikeliot cities were split into two camps, some taking part with Akragas and some with Syracuse<sup>3</sup>. Of this most important war, important as the first letting out of strife among the free and independent Greek commonwealths of Sicily, all that we hear is that a battle was fought by the banks of the southern Himéras, in which the Syracusans had the better. A thousand men of the citizens and allies of Akragas were slain<sup>4</sup>. An Akragantine

Akragantine  
complaints  
against  
Syracuse.

Akragas  
declares  
war and is  
defeated.  
B. C. 445.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 297, 307.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xii. 8; ἄμα μὲν φθοροῦντες τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, ἕμα δ' ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτοῖς ὅτι δουκέντιον ὄντα κοινὸν πολέμου διέσωσαν ἀνευ τῆς Ἀκραγαντίνου γνώμης.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.; Ἀκραγαντῖνοι . . . πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, σχιζομένους δὲ τῶν Σικελιστῶν πόλει. καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς Ἀκραγαντίνοις, τῶν δὲ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις συστρατευόντων Σικελικὰ πόλεις here must surely mean, as it would in the days of Diodōros, Sikeliot rather than Sikel, or rather Sicilian without distinction of race. Cf. above, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.

CHAP. VII. embassy then went to Syracuse and asked for peace. Peace was made, on what terms we are not told<sup>1</sup>.

Peace, but constant rivalry, between Akragas and Syracuse.

From this time Syracuse and Akragas stand out distinctly as rival, sometimes as hostile cities, each not uncommonly appearing with its own following of allies among the other Sikeliot commonwealths. The most natural line of cleavage among those commonwealths would have been drawn according to their Dorian or Ionian origin. But that line was disturbed, greatly to the advantage of the Ionian minority, by this rivalry between the first and second among the Dorian cities. We should therefore have been specially well pleased to have a list of the allies of each in this first debate between them in the character of independent commonwealths.

Later plans of Ducetius.

Meanwhile Ducetius went on with his work. Akragas could not hinder him; Syracuse, it would seem, had no mind to hinder him. At Kalê Aktê he made himself a new seat of dominion and a strong one. Ducetius and his city became again a power in the island<sup>2</sup>. That he had chosen his site well and carried out his measures wisely is shown by the fact that for ages to come Kalê Aktê kept its place among the cities of Sicily<sup>3</sup>. It would even seem that, having again climbed up thus far, Ducetius sought once more to climb again higher still, and that he planned to make seafaring Kalê Aktê, as he had once made inland Messenum

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xii. 8: μετὰ τὴν μάχην διαπροσθευσσάμενον περὶ συνθείας τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων, οἱ Συρακούσαιοι συνέθεντο τὴν εἰρήνην. Cf. c. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 29: Δουκίτιος δ' ἡγεμένης τῶν Σικελικῶν πόλεων ἤγαγόν τὴν τῶν Καλπητίνων περὶθε κατίσσησι καὶ πολλοὶ εἰς αὐτὴν οἰκίσαν οἰκίτορας.

<sup>3</sup> It plays no part in history, but that it was often in men's mouths is shown by the contracted form which it took both in Greek and Latin, Calacte, Cic. Verr. iii. 45, and Silius, xiv. 251 (where the old reading "litus piccola Melacte" has been naturally changed into "Calacte"), and in Ptolemy's Καλάκτα (iii. 4. 1). In Greek we see it also in the gentile form used by Diodorus in the last note (see Amico, Fazello, i. 387), which is also that of the late copper coins, ΚΑΛΑΚΤΙΝΩΝ. Athenaios however (vi. 104) falls back on Καλὴ Ἀκτὴ.

and Palica, the seat of a general Sikel confederacy<sup>1</sup>. Yet CHAP. VII. one would think that experience must have given his new schemes a somewhat different character from the old ones. He might still, and not unreasonably, dream of making himself again a power in the land; but he could hardly dream of finding for himself a royal seat in any of the great Greek cities. He must have become more and more convinced that the Sikel people could become great only by ceasing to be Sikel. But, whatever were his schemes, he His death. was cut off by sickness in the midst of them<sup>2</sup>. His great B.C. 440. plans were never carried out; his second plan, whatever form it took, was never even begun. But he had done something. He had at least left his mark on the map of Sicily, as founder of three cities. Of those cities two lived on, and one of them still lives on under the name that he gave to it<sup>3</sup>.

The one that abides is his earliest, his most primitive His cities. foundation, Mince on its hill-top. Palica has vanished, so has Kalè Aktè. It is only in the most indirect way that Caronia can be said to represent it. It has in some sort taken its place, and that is all. A time came when, except in the greatest and strongest cities, men began again to dread the sea, as they had done when Athens and Corinth still abode on their earliest hill-tops. Then Calacta passed away, and Caronia arose. The Kalè Aktè and Caronia. modern traveller misses the city on the Fair Shore as he makes his way along the coast line between Cefalà and Patti, a road on which he is tempted to say, with the knight in the old ballad,

"If chance should me befall,  
I am far from any good town."

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xii. 26; ἀντιποιήσατο τῆς τῶν Σικελῶν ἡγεμονίας.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.; μεσολαβηθεὶς νόσῳ τὸν βίον ἀπέστρεψε.

<sup>3</sup> See Holm, i. 261. He adds; "Die Einwirkung des Duketios auf sein Land ist eine nachhaltigere gewesen, als die des mächtigen Hieron, dessen Schöpfungen seinen Tod kaum überdauerten."

CHAP. VII. The city of Ducetius, above all if it preserved any memorials of Ducetius, would be welcomed as a friendly halting-place. As it is, we have to seek for the great Sikel on his inland mountain top, where his works do indeed abide.

Fate of  
Palica.

Of the foundations of Ducetius, the second, the most interesting of the three, that to which he gave the name of the ancient deities of his people, was the first to pass away. But it is the one that connects itself with the Sicilian history of the time. Palica has not lived on to our own time, like Menzennum; it did not even live on to find a place in later records like Kalê Aktê. When the Syracusans saw that Ducetius was again beginning to plan greater things, they felt that they had not done wisely

Archônides  
after the  
death of  
Ducetius.

in bringing him back. There was doubtless no man among the Sikels fully fit to take the place of Ducetius; but Archônides, his yoke-fellow at Kalê Aktê, must have been a man of energy and policy<sup>1</sup>. It may be that

War of  
Syracuse  
against the  
Sikels.  
c. B.C. 439.

it was the prospect of the schemes of Ducetius being carried on by another Sikel leader which led Syracuse to wage warfare against the independent Sikels at this time. It can hardly fail to have been now that the Palica of Ducetius was swept away<sup>2</sup>, and that his conquest of Morgantia came, as we find it at a later time, into Syracusan hands<sup>3</sup>. But it must be mere exaggeration which says that Syracuse conquered all the Sikel towns<sup>4</sup>; we shall see plenty of them independent a few years later. Of one alone we have any distinct record, the town that

Siege of  
Trinakia.

bears the same name as all Sicily<sup>5</sup>. Trinakia is described to us as at this time a powerful Sikel state, the head of

<sup>1</sup> He is spoken of respectfully by Thucydides (see above, p. 381), but his dominion must have been a small part only of that of Ducetius. He was τῶν ταύτην [by Himera] Σικελῶν βασιλεῖον τιτῶν καὶ ἂν οὐκ ἀδυνατοί.

<sup>2</sup> See Diod. xi. 91. and Appendix XXXIV.

<sup>3</sup> See Thuc. iv. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. xii. 29; Συρακοῖσι πάντας τὰς τῶν Σικελῶν πόλεις ὑπεβόουσι παρησάμενοι πλὴν τῇς ὀνομαζομένης Τρινακίης.

<sup>5</sup> See vol. i. pp. 158, 159, and Appendix XXXIV.



the Sikel states, full of valiant men and valiant leaders<sup>1</sup>. CHAP VII.  
 We cannot help asking how far we are to see here the Valiant  
defence.  
 handiwork either of Ducetius or of Archônides. As our  
 story is told us, the men of Trinakia were left alone to  
 endure the attacks of the whole power of Syracuse and her  
 allies<sup>2</sup>. They kept up a valiant resistance till so we are  
 told—all their fighting men were slain. Then the mass  
 of the old men slew one another, to avoid the hard fate  
 of the people of a conquered town<sup>3</sup>. Of the women and Taking of  
Trinakia  
by the  
Syracu-  
sians.  
 children we do not hear, except that some human beings  
 were left in the city to be made slaves, as well as spoil  
 to reward the conquerors. Proud of their victory over  
 a valiant people whose overthrow had not been easy, the  
 Syracusans rejoiced with great joy, and dedicated the  
 choicest things among the plunder of Trinakia as an offer-  
 ing to the Delphian god<sup>4</sup>.

The national struggle was over. We shall find long Hellenic-  
ation of the  
Sikels.  
 after that Sikel national feeling had not died out. But  
 the non-Greek parts of Sicily were now to begin more  
 definitely to put on a Greek character. All hopes had

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xii, 29; σφόδρα ἐπώπτεον τοῖς Τρινακίοις ἀντιλήψασθαι τῆς τῶν  
 ὁμογενῶν Σικελῶν ἡγεμονίαν· ἡ δὲ πόλις αὕτη πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἄνδρας  
 εἶχεν, αἱ δὲ τὰ πρῶτα ἐσχληκῶς τῶν Σικελικῶν πόλεων. ἦν γὰρ ἡγεμόνων ἡ  
 πόλις αὕτη πλήρη μεγά φρονούντων ἐπ' ἀδρείῃ. The supremacy of Trinakia,  
 if there ever was any, could have been only before the time of Ducetius;  
 but whence did Diodorus get this very emphatic way of speaking?

<sup>2</sup> Ib.; πάσας τὰς ἡνωμένας ἀθροίσαντες ἐκ τῶν Συρακουσῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων  
 πόλεων ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτήν. οἱ δὲ Τρινηκιοὶ συμμάχων μὲν ἦσαν ἔρημοι,  
 διὰ δὲ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις αἱ ὑπάρχουσιν Συρακουσίοις μέγαν ἀγῶνα συνεστήσαντο.  
 I suppose this means that they were stirred up to special efforts because the  
 other towns were lost.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.; ἐπὶ τῶν γὰρ ἐλαττωτέρων τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελόντες,  
 ἡρωικῶς μαχόμενοι πάντες κατέστρεψαν τὸν βίον· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυ-  
 τέρων οἱ πλείους ἑαυτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν κατέστησαν, οὐχ ὑπομείναντες τὰς ἐκ τῆς  
 ἀλώσεως ὑβρεῖς.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.; τοὺς πρότερον ἀηττήτους γεγονότας νικήσαντες ἐπιφανῶς τὴν μὲν  
 πόλιν ἐξανδραποδίσαντες κατέσκαψαν, τῶν δὲ λαφύρων τὰ κρείτιστα ἀπίστηλαν  
 εἰς Δελφοὺς χρηστήρια τῷ θεῷ.

CHAP. VII. now passed away of the formation of a great power which might be Greek in speech and culture but which should be politically Sikel. No Sikel king was to reign in Syracuse or Akragas; no Sikel king was even to reign over a confederate *Sikelia*, independent of Syracuse and Akragas. Sikel towns were to keep their independence and to play a part in Sicilian affairs as long as there was any independent Sicily left. But they began to adopt Greek ways and thoughts, slowly and singly, one by one. Many of them, Henna above all, had doubtless adopted such ways and thoughts long before this. But a great further impulse now began; nor did it stop till, as in the days of Cicero, the distinction between Sikel and Sikelot was wholly forgotten.

§ 4. *General View of the Sikeliot Cities in the Fifth Century before Christ.*

Prosperity  
of the  
Sikeliot  
cities be-  
tween the  
two Punic  
invasions.

B. C. 466-  
433.

This is perhaps the best point at which to stop and draw our general picture of Greek Sicily free and independent. We must try and call up the look of its great and flourishing cities, as they stood in the days of their highest prosperity, the days of comparative peace. That period we are at first inclined to define as the time between the overthrow of the tyrants and the first meddling of Athens in Sicilian affairs. But we have seen that such meddling, or expected meddling, began very early, and, for our present purpose, we may fairly carry on our period to the coming of the great Athenian expedition, and even to the second Carthaginian invasion. The time of peace was at best only comparative, and the warfare which followed Athenian interference down to the great invasion was not of a kind to do any very serious damage. That warfare, rather than the more peaceful time before it, really represented the normal state of

things among Greek commonwealths. And the great in- CHAP VII.  
 vasion itself was after all very local. It drew the eyes The  
 of the whole Greek world to Sicily, but only to one point Athenian  
 in Sicily. The greater part of Sicily, Greek, Sikel, and invasions  
 Phœnician, was untouched by it. The Sikan fared the  
 worst, when the unlucky folk of Hykkara were enslaved.  
 There was nothing in the war which Athens and Syracuse  
 waged along the east coast to disturb the unbroken pros-  
 perity of Akragas, Gela, Himera, or even of threatened  
 Selinous, any more than that of Panormos, Motya, and  
 Solous. Whatever then we say of the material prosperity,  
 of the artistic splendour, of the Sikeliot cities in the time  
 of their highest prosperity and splendour must be under- B. C. 456-  
 stood as going on, through the Athenian war, to the time 409  
 of the far more fearful Carthaginian war. But the Car-  
 thaginian war followed so fast on the Athenian war that  
 there is hardly time to stand and take a survey between  
 them. At the point to which we have now come, we Lack of  
 have a time of several years which is an absolute blank, events B. C.  
 altogether void of general events. No better time can be 439-433.  
 found for looking back at the state of things during the  
 time which followed the fall of the tyrants. And, in  
 most points, the same description will apply to the years  
 which follow, down to the day when Hannibal appeared  
 before Selinous.

At the moment then to which we have come, war with Time of  
 the barbarian had ceased. The Sikel had learned his peace.  
 weakness; the Carthaginian had not yet come to the full  
 sense of his recovered strength. The Greek of distant  
 lands, the Greek of the old Greek mother-land, assuredly  
 had his eyes bent westward, but he had not yet openly  
 stepped in as an ally or an avenger in Sikeliot quarrels.  
 And Sikeliot quarrels themselves were in a manner hushed.  
 The past war, the abiding grudge, between Syracuse and  
 Akragas did in a manner tend to peace. While the two

CHAP VII. chief Dorian cities looked with an evil eye on each other, there was at least no fear of their joining together in attempts upon their weaker Ionian neighbours. Every  
 Independ- Sikeliot city was free and independent. Each was inde-  
 ence of the pendent of foreign masters, Greek or barbarian, each was  
 o: ties, free from the rule of tyrants within its own walls. All, as far as we can see, were prospering; of the prosperity of some of the greatest among them we have wonderful  
 Prosperity pictures. Of Akragas we have a picture of material well-  
 of Akragas, being which almost passes belief<sup>1</sup>. Her war with Syracuse seems to have done little real damage to either her wealth or her power. Her wealth arose largely from her African  
 Her trade. African trade. From her small haven at the joint mouth of her two rivers her merchant-ships crossed to Carthage and the other cities of the land beyond her own sea, and exchanged the good things of Europe for those of Africa. Of these last we have no special description. But the Akragantine land was rich in vines bearing grapes like those of Eshecol, and it was already thickly planted with the olive-trees which here and throughout Sicily have largely supplanted all trees of greater growth. In those days neither vine nor olive grew in Africa; it was from Akragas that Carthage herself was supplied with the fruits of both<sup>2</sup>. From this source above all, Akragas, already wealthy, grew wealthier, till the day came when her barbarian customers thought good to take her wealth into their own hands.

Wealth We may be sure that a good deal of exaggeration lurks  
 and luxury in the pictures which are drawn for us of Akragantine  
 of Akragas.

<sup>1</sup> The formal picture of the wealth and luxury of Akragas is given by Diodorus, xiii. 81 and the following chapters. He puts the wealth of vines and olives first of all.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xiii. 81, καὶ γὰρ ἀμπελόωντες τοῖς μεγέθεσι καὶ τῇ κάλλει διαφέροντες, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς χώρας ἐλαίαι κατέφυτον, ἐξ ἧς ταμπελιβῆ κομίζόμενοι καρπὸν ἐπέλουν εἰς Καρχηδόνα. ὅθεν γὰρ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τῆς αἰῶντος πεφυτευμένης, κ.τ.λ. A change must have taken place in Africa before the time of Agathokles. See Diod. xx. 8.

wealth and luxury at this time, just as it lurks in those CHAP. VII.  
 that are drawn of the wealth and luxury of Sybaris  
 at an earlier time. But the exaggeration itself shows  
 that there was something to exaggerate. Akragas too  
 has been more lucky than Sybaris in not having its  
 name made into a proverb; the tales too about Akragas  
 are not tales of mere luxury, but of stately splendour  
 and boundless munificence. They help us also to the  
 names of several Akragantine citizens, one of whom at  
 least played some part in public affairs. Our description  
 is drawn just before the Carthaginian siege, about B.C. 406.  
 twenty years later than the time to which we have  
 come. But, though twenty years does something in the  
 way of change of fashions, and specially in the way of  
 growing luxury, yet the general description must apply  
 to the greater part of the fifth century. The time of  
 special wealth and splendour at Akragas, the special time  
 of its great buildings, began after the victory of Himera  
 and lasted till the Carthaginian siege. Many who were  
 living when Himelkôn came against her must have been 439-406.  
 grown men at the time which we have reached; and a  
 saying of Empedoklēs shows that the reproach of luxury  
 had fallen on the people of Akragas in his day. They  
 gave themselves to delights as if they would die to-  
 morrow, while they built their houses as if they were going  
 to live for ever<sup>1</sup>. The men of Akragas whose names have  
 been handed down to us for their wealth and bounty,  
 Gellias, Antisthenēs, and Erainetos, must have been brought Gellias and  
others.  
 up, while Empedoklēs lived, in the fashion which he meant  
 to censure. Of these Gellias at least lived till the time of

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert. viii. 27: *ὅθεν τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα εἰπεῖν, τρυφόντας αὐτῶν, Ἀκραγαντῖνοι τρυφῶσι μὲν ὡς αἴριον ἀποθαλούμενοι* (cf. S. Paul ad Cor. i. 15, 32), *οἰκίας δὲ κατασκευάζονταί ὡς πάντα τὸν χρόνον βιωσόμενοι*. It is unkind of Ælian (V H. xii. 29) to take this story from our local sage and to give it to Plato *ὅτι ἄρα οἱ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι οἰκεδομοῦσι μὲν ὅτι ἀεὶ βιωσόμενοι, διαπλοῦσι δὲ ὡς αἴριον τεθηγόμενοι*.

CHAP. VII. the siege. Yet both in the Akragantine way of bringing up youth and in the lives of the grown men of Akragas, we hear more of splendour in the way of dress and furniture than of actual excess of any kind. Excess in wine was indeed possible in Akragas as in other places. A house in the city bore the name of the *Trireme*, on account of the strange drunken fancy of some young men. It is Timaios who tells how they got so drunk as to believe that the house in which they were met was a ship in a storm, to throw out all the furniture to lighten the vessel, and to address the generals of the commonwealth who came to restore order as if they had been gods of the sea<sup>1</sup>. Otherwise the worst that we hear is that the Akragantines from their boyhood wore soft clothing and gold ornaments; their very flasks and scrapers were of gold, or at least of silver; their beds were of ivory<sup>2</sup>. Nothing worse is said of them. And the men who are described as the wealthiest in Akragas are also, from Empedoklés himself onwards<sup>3</sup>, emphatically described as the most bountiful<sup>4</sup>.

Stories of Gellias. Among these the name of Gellias is the one round which the greatest measure of abiding fame has gathered<sup>5</sup>. His wine-cellars, as described by one who had seen them,

<sup>1</sup> See the story quoted from *Τίμαιος ὁ Ταυρομενίτης* in *Αθήναιος*, ii. 5. There is something not a little comic in the address to the *σπονθητοὶ* as *ἀνδρες Τρίρες*. It almost reminds one how Lucius, in the state of an *as* (*Lucian*, *Lucius* 28), speaks of *mares* as *αἱ τῶν ἵππων γυναῖκες*.

<sup>2</sup> *Diod.* xiii. 82; *ἐνὶ δὲ σιδήγγισι καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἀργυραῖς τε καὶ χρυσῶν χρομένον*. *Ælian* V. H. iii. 29; λέγει δὲ Τίμαιος ἐνὶ αὐτῇ ἀργυραῖς ἀγαθῶν καὶ σιληγγίων ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἐλεφαντίναις κλίβαν ἀχον δλαν. Where did *Diodoros* find the gold things?

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 350, 353.

<sup>4</sup> *Diodoros* (xiii. 82) quotes a verse of Empedoklés himself, in which he calls his countrymen

*εὖδρον εἰδοῖα λιμένει, κατέστητος ἄνθρωποι*.

<sup>5</sup> He is *Tellias* in other writers, as the manuscripts of *Αθήναιος*, i. 5; *Soudas* in *Τελλίας*; *Eustathios*, *Od.* iii. 350. He is *Gillias* in *Val. Max.* iv. 8.

might have tempted all Carthage to come and fight for CHAP. VII. the mastery of a city where such spoil could be found. Three hundred jars cut out of the rock held each a hundred *amphorai*; they were fed from a swimming bath so it is called—which held a thousand<sup>1</sup>. But all this store was not for the use of Gellias himself. His open-handed His hos- bounty to strangers could be surpassed only by that of pitality the Scandinavian worthy who built his house over the highway, so that men were constrained to enter it. The slaves of Gellias were stationed at the gates of the city to bid all who came in to some or other of the guesten-halls of their master<sup>2</sup>. When five hundred horsemen—in war-time one would think—came from the mother-city Gela in the winter-tide, Gellias lodged both men and horses, and gave changes of raiment to the riders<sup>3</sup>. The man of such wealth and bounty was small of stature and ill-favoured in face. But he could serve his country, not only with an open hand but with a ready wit. Sent on an embassy to the Sikel commonwealth of His mission to Centu- Centuripa, his appearance caused as much merriment in ripa. the assembly of that city as the Greek of Lucius Postumius caused in the assembly of politer Taras. The Akragantine envoy excused himself by saying that it was the custom of the commonwealth which he represented to send their goodliest citizens as envoys to great and honourable cities.

<sup>1</sup> The description in Diod. xiii. 83 is said to come from the personal witness of Polykleitos, Πολύκλειτος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐξηγῆται περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν αἰτίαν πιστῶτος, λέγων ὡς θαμνίσαντος αὐτοῦ στρατευομένου ἐν Ἀκράγαντι τεθωρηκέναι. One does not see how any known Polykleitos can have served at Akragas in the days of Gellias. Perhaps it should be Polykritos, who may have done so in his youth. See Brunet de Presle (23). Whoever he was, he saw the πολυμήθερον πεκονισμένην, χαροῦσαν ἀμφοτέρω χιλίους, ἐξ ἧς τὴν μῦθον εἰς τοὺς πύθους γίνεσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. n. s. He had κατὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ξενῶνας πλείους. Valerius Maximus (iv. 8) quarters some in "urbani penates," some in "rusticae tentae."

<sup>3</sup> This is the favourite story of all, which Diodoros quotes from the fifteenth book of Timaios. It is told by Athenaios, Eustathios, and Valerius Maximus, in the passages already referred to.

CHAP. VII. To such people as those of Centuripa they sent men on their own level, like himself <sup>1</sup>.

Illustrations of the relations of Greeks and Sicels.

This story is told simply as a personal anecdote of Gellias. But it has another value. Gellias is addressing a Sikel assembly. Provoked by the behaviour of his hearers, he speaks to them with scorn; but he does not call them barbarians. Centuripa, receiving an Akragantine envoy in its public assembly, must have made some progress in the adoption of Greek political life. It is at least implied that the Greek speech of Gellias was understood by his hearers. This is our only glimpse of Gellias in any political aspect. In his splendour and bounty to his own people, if he stood foremost, he did not stand alone. The rich men of Akragas are spoken of as doing, each according to his measure, very much the same as he did. They lived, we are told, after the manner of the old times, kindly towards all men <sup>2</sup>. It is a kindred picture to a well-known contrast in our own land. Each wealthy Akragantine citizen seems to have

Other rich men.

"Kept up an old house at a beautiful old rate;"

but even at Akragas the sons were sometimes inclined to fall away from the virtues of their fathers.

Antisthenēs.

His daughter's wedding.

Next in honour to Gellias was Antisthenēs, who bore as his surname the name of the mother-land of his mother-city, Rhodes <sup>3</sup>. The splendour of his daughter's wedding-feast was renowned in the annals of Akragas. All the citizens were feasted, each man in the street where he lived. The special wedding company consisted of the whole equestrian order of the city, with many guests from other places. Eight hundred chariots followed the bride.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xiii, 83 ἐν ἔθῳ γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς Ἀκραγαντίοις πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἐπιδόσεις πύλαις ἀποστέλλειν τοὺς κρατίστους τῇ κάλλει, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ταπεινὰς καὶ λίαν εἰσπραττέμεναι, ὁμοίους.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.; ἀρχαίως καὶ φιλασθέντως ὁμιλοῦντες.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. 84; Ἀντισθένης ὁ ἑκαταλόμενος Ῥόδιος.



All the altars in the temples and in the streets throughout CHAP. VII.  
the city were piled with wood; in all the workshops <sup>1</sup> heaps  
of branches were got together. At the appointed moment,  
when fire shot up from the akropolis, all were kindled, and  
the whole city seemed ablaze. The streets could hardly  
hold the crowds that passed to and fro to gaze at and to  
admire the magnificence of Antisthenês <sup>2</sup>. But the maker  
of all this splendour was no tyrant, no lord, no oligarch,  
but the citizen of a democracy who knew his place as  
such. At Akragas, as elsewhere, wealth and high position  
sometimes led men into insolence and wrong. Even the His rebuke  
to his son.  
son of Antisthenês did not always walk in the ways of his  
father. He coveted the land of a poorer citizen, and strove  
to make him sell it against his will. His father rebuked  
him; but the son still went on in his course of wrong.  
At last Antisthenês told him that, if he honestly wished  
for the land, he should strive to make his neighbour richer  
rather than poorer. If the owner of the land were en-  
riched, he might himself begin to wish for a larger estate,  
and might be willing to sell the smaller one in order to  
buy it <sup>3</sup>.

Stories like these go far to set before us the Akragas  
of the fifth century before our æra as coming nearer than  
most cities to the state of the ideal commonwealth where

"The rich man helped the poor,  
And the poor man loved the great."

The fate that before long came on Akragas may have  
made "the brave days of old" stand out in later memory  
in brighter colours than really belonged to them. Still  
everything leads us to think that the Greek cities of Sicily  
did at this time come more nearly to carrying out the

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xiii. 84: τοῖς ἐν τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ἔθηκε σχίδαναι καὶ κληματίδας.  
κ.τ.λ.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.; ἡ μὲν πόλις ἔγχευε φωτὸς, τὸ δὲ συνακολουθοῦν πλήθος αὖν ἐχάρουν  
αἱ θημύσαι κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς εἶδαι.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.

CHAP VII. republican ideal than was at all common earlier or later. But it did not come into men's minds at Akragas, any more than anywhere else at that day, to look on citizenship as a gift to be lavished on every man who chose to come and dwell within the walls of the city. The figures that are given us as the census of Akragas at this time need some commentary. It is clear that the citizens were but a small part of the dwellers within its vast circuit. We are told that the number of citizens was twenty thousand, that the number of citizens and resident strangers together was two hundred thousand<sup>1</sup>. One account indeed swells the total to the incredible amount of eight hundred thousand<sup>2</sup>. Setting aside this last palpable exaggeration, of the smaller numbers it is clear that the twenty thousand are the citizens of full age qualified to vote; the women and children of citizen families are not reckoned. The reckoning in short gives the result of the official roll of citizens. The other figure is most likely a guess, meant to take in the women and children of the strangers. These last were doubtless a large class; a city like Akragas offered many temptations to men to settle there, even in the inferior condition of *metoikoi*. Still the number is great; and in any case the slaves are not reckoned. These last must have been plentiful in Akragas, even though the momentary glut of them after the victory of Himera may not represent their normal numbers<sup>3</sup>. Largely through their toil, the city was rich in everything, not only in the two great objects of her trade with Africa, but in all that made Sikeliot wealth. The stream of Akragas was sung of as the stream by whose banks the goodly flocks of sheep

Numbers  
of citizens  
and  
strangers.

Μέτρος.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xiii. 84; καὶ ἐκείναι γὰρ τὴν χρόνον Ἀκραγαντίνοι μὲν ἦσαν πλείους τῶν ἱερμίων, οἷον δὲ τοῖς κατασκόποις εἶναι οὐκ ἴσταντο τὴν εἰσοσι μυριάδων.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Loc. cit. viii. 2. 7; Μέγαν δὲ τὸν Ἀκραγαντιὰν εἶπεῖν [Ἐμπεδοκλῆς] φησὶ Ποταμίλλαν, ἐκείνῃς μυριάδεις αἰνῶνι παύσεσθαι ὀρεόθεντα. Ποταμίλλαν sounds like a sister of Undermilla.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 114.

were nourished<sup>1</sup>. The horses of Akragas won victories in the games of Old Greece, and bore the warriors of the city to battle. At Akragas, as at Syracuse, the chief military strength lay in the horsemen, the sure sign of a wealthy city. But Syracuse had also the fleet that lay in her double harbour, and we hear of no triremes sailing forth from the haven at the common mouth of Hypsas and Akragas.

ORAP. VII.

Horses and  
horsemen.

Of Syracuse we have no such set picture as that which is given us of Akragas, because, as Syracuse was not in this age overthrown by barbarians, there was not the same call to contrast the by-gone times with the present. The Syracusans, like the other Sikeliots, shared the love of good cheer with the Akragantines. A Syracusan table became a proverb<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand some forms of luxury are said to have been discouraged. Excess of apparel in both sexes was forbidden on the penalty of being set down as given up to an evil life<sup>3</sup>. The goddesses of Sicily, the patronesses of the house of Demomenês, were at their Syracusan Thesmophoria worshipped with rites, learned, one would say, from the older folk of Sicily, which pointed to them as powers of nature and

Syracusan  
table.<sup>2</sup>

Sumptuary  
laws at  
Syracuse.

<sup>1</sup> Pind. Pyth. xii. 1;

. . . ἄτ' ἔχθαις ἐπὶ μηλοθότου  
ναίειν Ἀκράγαντος ἐσθίματος κολώνων.

<sup>2</sup> Athen. xii. 34; *ἐσθότου δ' ἑστὶ περὶ τρυφῆς Σικελῶναι τε καὶ Συρακείων, ὥς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν ἐν Δαιτυλέοις*

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔμαθε ταῦτ' ἑμοῦ πέμποντος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον  
πίνειν, ἐπειτ' ἴδειν κακῶς Συρακοσίαν τράπεζαν  
Σεβαρίτιδάς τ' εὐωχίας καὶ Σίον ἐν Λακωνίᾳ.

He goes on to quote both the Republic of Plato and the false Epistles. So *Συρακοῦσία τράπεζα* Zenob. v. 94; *Σικελικὴ τράπεζα* Diogen. viii. 7; Greg. Cyp. iii. 68; Apost. xv. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Athénaios (xii. 20) quotes the twenty-fifth book of the History of Phylarchos (see C. Müller, i. 347) in the third century for these sumptuary laws. A chaste woman had to dress very simply. No new *Δαμαρτίαιον* could have been coined.

CHAP. VII. of growth<sup>1</sup>. One hardly knows whether it is with any special allusion that Xenophôn brings in a Syracusan at his banquet as the master of a small travelling company whose performances supply Sôkratês with some subjects of discourse<sup>2</sup>. The last moral at least of the piece is a healthy one.

Epicharmos on fish and other meats. Of the fondness of the Sikeliots generally for good cheer of all kinds, above all for the fish of their bountiful seas, the comic poets are full. Epicharmos of course gave them the start. At the rich stores which the Deipnosophist has drawn from the comedy of Hêbê's Wedding we have already glanced<sup>3</sup>. To any but either a professed deipnosophist or a professed ichthyologist the wealth of names is baffling. One dainty which still seems strange to the new-comer in Sicily was already in vogue. The cuttlefish, different species of it, it may be supposed, appears under more than one name<sup>4</sup>. More striking perhaps than the bill of fare at this divine banquet is a fragment of another comedy, in which we see that the parasite, the diner-out, was already a well-known character in the Syracusan society of the fifth century. He ate much; he drank much; in return he praised his host, and made much merriment for the company generally<sup>5</sup>. The Wedding of

The parasite.

<sup>1</sup> Athênaios, xiv. 55, and cf. vol. i. p. 489.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Συναρίαι* of Xenophôn almost throughout.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 285. The fragments of *Ἡβης γάμος* come from various books of Athênaios, chiefly the third and the seventh. In the passage quoted in iii. 30, the poet says of his own *μενυ*;

*τὰ δαελὺν μὲν ἔστι χυλὸν, καταφαγεῖν δ' εὐμαρ.*

<sup>4</sup> Ath. vii. 107:

*καλυνὰ τε σπεία τε καὶ ποταπὰ τευθίδες.*

<sup>5</sup> Athênaios (vi. 28; Lorenz, 126) quotes the verses straight from the *Ἠλέτ* of Epicharmos, and blames Karystios of Pergamon for saying that Alexis was the first to bring the parasite on the stage. He describes himself,

*σποδαμένω τῷ λῶντι, καλέσαι δὲ μόνον,  
καὶ τῷ γὰρ μὴ λῶντι καὶδὲν δὲ καλεῖν.  
τηνὲ δὲ χάρις εἶμι καὶ ποῖός ποτε  
γέλωτα καὶ τὸν ἔστιδον' ἐναιέω.*

Hébâ was, it is plain, specially designed to be great on the subject of cookery. We need not infer that Hierôn with all his poets around him dined daily on the scale of the bridegroom Hêraklês. More perhaps is learned from casual notices in writers of other lands. Even Athens, through the mouth of her comic poets, could acknowledge the skill of her Sicilian enemy in providing some special forms of good cheer. Hennippos, in mock heroics, calls on the Muses who have their dwelling on Olympos to celebrate, among the choicest things of every corner of the globe, the cheese and the swine of Syracuse<sup>1</sup>. Philêmon, in a later day, sang also of the cheese of Sicily, along with its varied garments, and with its doves—those perhaps of Eryx<sup>2</sup>. In an intermediate age of Attic comedy it was a Sicilian cheese for the purloining of which the thievish dog was arraigned before the Aristophanic tribunal<sup>3</sup>. Sicily itself—the triangle having become a round—appears in the same play as the mortar in which its own cheese and other dainties were to be brayed together<sup>4</sup>. The folk of Skily spoke of the salt sea itself as sweet when it supplied them with so many good

CHAP. VII

Sicilian  
cookery

Sicilian  
cheese.

Witness of  
Aristo-  
phanês.

<sup>1</sup> Athen. l. 49;

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι. Μοῦσαι 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,  
ἐξ οὗ περικληρεῖ Διόνυσος ἐπ' οἶνονα πάντων  
ἔσθ' ἀγαθ' ἀνθρώποις διῆρ' ἤγαγε νηὶ μελαίνῃ.

In the midst of the list we find

αἱ δὲ Συράκουσαι σῆς καὶ τυρὸν παρέχουσι.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. xiv. 70; ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Σικελίαι ἀγχῆμα τροφαλὶς ἦδ' ἐστὶ φίλοι, λεγόμεν τι περὶ τυρῶν. Φιλῆμων μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Σικελικῇ

ἐγὼ πρότερον μὲν πόρην τῇ Σικελίᾳ  
ἐν τοῦτ' ἀπέτακτο αὐτὸ τοῦ τυροῦ ποιῆν  
καλοῦν ἐτι ταῦτα προσετίθην ἀνηκοῶι  
ἱμάτια ποικίλ' αἱ λίγαι τις Σικελικῇ.

The doves come in only in a gloss. The τροφαλὶς (iv. 32) was a kind of cheese. Cf. also Antiphanês, as quoted in l. 17

<sup>3</sup> Wasps, 837, 894.

<sup>4</sup> Sicily is said to be the θυσία ἐν κύκλῳ in Wasps, 294. Cf. Peace, 250;

ἐὼ Σικελίᾳ, καὶ σὲ δ', ὡς ἐπύλλυσαι,

CHAP. VII. things<sup>1</sup>. The rivers also furnished their share. The sea-  
 Fish. urchins from the rock of Sicily, whichever of the headlands  
 of our island best deserves that name<sup>2</sup>, the huge tunny  
 from Pachynos<sup>3</sup>, the sword-fish from Pelôris<sup>4</sup>, the eels, the  
 lampreys, the special fish of Symanthos<sup>5</sup>—on all these the  
 cooks of Sicily practised their art with a skill which was  
 renowned throughout the Greek world<sup>6</sup>. Yet there were  
 those, even in the island itself, who ventured to set up their  
 private tastes against the general verdict of mankind<sup>7</sup>.  
 The wine of King Pollis may be too early for our time<sup>8</sup>,  
 and another wine that bore the name of the Mamertine  
 lords of the strait must be too late<sup>9</sup>. The haven of Lily-  
 baion seems not to have as yet become the centre of the  
 traffic which has grown to so great a scale in later days.  
 Comforts. Nor was Sicily behind in other comforts and pleasures  
 of life besides those which directly ministered to the satis-

<sup>1</sup> Ath. xii. 15; θαβόητοι δέ εἰσαν ἐπὶ τρυφῇ καὶ αἱ τῶν Σικελῶν [he means Σικελιωτῶν] τρέφουσαι, οἵτινες καὶ τὴν περ' αὐτοῖς θάλατταν λέγουσιν εἶναι γλυκεῖαν, χαίροντες τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς γενομένοις ἰδέσμασιν, ὅς φησι Ἠλέαρχος ἐν πέμπτῳ βίῳ.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. id. 41; αἱ δ' [ἐχίναι] ἐπὶ τοῦ σκοπέλου τῆς Σικελίας κοιλίας λυτικοί.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. 6; τῶν Παχυνικῶν θύνων τὰς ἡγριαίας. So iii. 85 Archestratos of Gela (or of Katagela, Ath. vii. 96, cf. vol. i. p. 400) ὁ περιπλεύσας τὴν οἰκουμένην γαστρὸς ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν ἐνδὲ γαστέρα, φησὶ καὶ Σικελῶ θύνων τεμαχοῦς τμηθέν.

<sup>4</sup> Athen. vii. 96. Archestratos approves of the sword-fish of Byzantium; but he adds,

ἔστι δὲ κινδὺς  
 κἂν πορθμῷ πρὸς ἄκρασι Πελαγονίῳ τροχοῖσι.

Shell-fish from Pelôris were not equally good; i. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Ath. i. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Ath. xiv. 72, 81. In the latter place Antiphalés, ἑταίρων τοῖς Σικελικοῖς μαγειροῦς λέγει

Σικελῶν δὲ τέχνας ἡδυνθεῖσαι  
 δαιτὶς θαυρομματοίδες.

<sup>7</sup> Archestratos (Ath. vii. 85) gives five lines to denounce the Syracusan and the Italian in this character;

οἱ γὰρ ἐπίστανται χρηστοῖς σκευαζέμεν ἰχθῦς.

They seem to have cooked the fish with the local cheese.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Ath. i. 27.

faction of the palate. Sicilian beds and Sicilian cushions CHAP VII. were renowned<sup>1</sup>. Of Sicilian carriages we have heard already, not without a hope that in that matter at least a tradition of ancient days may still survive<sup>2</sup>. From Games. Sicily, from the Sikel rather than the Sikeliot, came the game of *kottabos*, and the technical language of that game has helped us somewhat in tracing out the ancient speech of the island<sup>3</sup>. And to the sterner sports of the great Hellenic festivals Sicily is said to have contributed a special form of wrestling, which bore the Sicilian name<sup>4</sup>.

The reported luxury of the Sikeliot cities in this age is, in the double-edged saying of Empedoklēs which has been already quoted, connected with one of their noblest tastes. They built their houses as if they were going to live for ever<sup>5</sup>. And if their houses, how much more their temples Buildings and other public buildings. In some of the Sikeliot cities this was the most brilliant time of architectural splendour. At Syracuse indeed the greatest buildings which remain to tell their own story belong either to an earlier or to a later time. It is the theatre alone, as in its first estate a probable work of the first Hierōn<sup>6</sup>, which at all connects itself with our present time. But at Akragas and at Selinous the greatest of the existing buildings belong to the days of republican freedom and independence. At Akragas what the tyrant began the democracy went

<sup>1</sup> Phrynichon in *Ath.* II. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ath.* i. 28 (see above, p. 276 directly after from Kritias;

*ἔτα δ' ἔχει Σικελὸς κάλλι δαπάνη τε κράτιστος.*

*So vii. 26,*

*ἢ Σικελικῶς δαπάνην ποιῆσαι; Σικελικῶς.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ath.* i. 28; xv. 2. See vol. ., p. 490.

<sup>4</sup> *Ælian*, V H. xi. 1; 'Ορίκαδμος πάλης ἐγένετο νομοθέτης, καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἰπνοφήσας τὸν Σικελὸν τρόπον καλούμενον παλαίειν. Like the Cornish hug

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 391.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 288.

CHAP. VII.

The  
temples of  
Akragas.The  
Olym-  
pieion.  
= c. 480-  
406.The  
range  
of temples  
within the  
southern  
wall.The  
eastern  
temple.

on with. The series of temples that line the southern wall are due to an impulse which began under Thérôn and went on to the days of the Carthaginian siege. Of the greatest among them, the temple of Olympian Zeus, this is literally true. There can be little doubt that it was begun as one of the thank-offerings after the victory of Himera, and it is certain that at the coming of Hannibal and Himilkôn it was still so far imperfect that the roof was not yet added<sup>1</sup>. It was therefore in building during a time of more than seventy years, years which take in the whole of the brilliant days of Akragantine freedom and well-being. To the same period also belong the other temples in the lower city, temples which abide above ground either standing or in ruins, while the older temples in the akropolis have to be looked for underneath buildings of later ages<sup>2</sup>. It was a grand conception to line the southern wall, the wall most open to the attacks of mortal enemies, with this wonderful series of holy places of the divine protectors of the city. It was a conception due, we may believe, in the first instance, to Thérôn, but which the democracy fully entered into and carried out. The two best preserved of the range stand to the east; one indeed occupies the south-eastern corner of the fortified enclosure. It holds a strong and lofty site on the rock, where the huge masses of stone have been hurled wildly down, as if they had been parts of a wall of man's building. This is the temple which, without either authority or likelihood, is known as that of the Lakinian Héra, but which various scholars, equally without any certain evidence, have assigned to Démêtêr, to Apollôn, or to Poseidôn<sup>3</sup>. Like

<sup>1</sup> Diodôros (xiii. 82) says distinctly, τὸ οὖν Ὀλύμπιον μέλλων λαμβάνειν τὴν ὁροφὴν δὲ πόλεμος ἐκάλυσεν· ἐξ οὗ τῆς πόλεως πετασκαφείσης, οὐδέποτε βεβαιον ἴσχυσαν Ἀκραγαντῖνα τέλει ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς ἀκαδομήμασιν.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 67, 79, 145.

<sup>3</sup> See Schubring, Akragas, 45, 61; Holm, G. B. 295, 440. One cannot doubt that the story in Cicero de Inv. ii. 1 is the genuine one, not that in



the rest, it overlooks the ground between the city and the sea; but it has its own special view of the valley of the Akragas and of the height immediately above it. CHAR. VII.

Next in order to the west comes the temple which bears a name not only unlikely, but altogether impossible and unmeaning, the so-called temple of Concord<sup>1</sup>. No reasonable guess can be made at its pagan dedication; in the fifteenth century of our era it followed the far earlier precedent of the temples in the akropolis. It became the church of Saint Gregory, not of any of the great pontiffs and doctors of the Church, but of the local bishop whose full description as Saint Gregory of the Turnips can hardly be written without a smile<sup>2</sup>. The peristyle was walled up, and arches were cut through the walls of the *cella*, exactly as in the great church of Syracuse. Saint Gregory of Girgenti plays no such part in the world's history as was played by the Panagia of Syracuse; we may therefore be more inclined to extend some mercy to the Bourbon king who set free the columns as we now see them. When he had gone so far, one might even wish that he had gone on to wall up the arches. In each of the former states of the building there was a solid wall somewhere to give shelter from the blasts which sweep round this exposed spot. As the building now stands, it is, after the Athenian house of Thêseus and Saint George, the best preserved Greek temple in being. Like its fellow to the east, it is a building of moderate size, of the middle stage of Doric, with columns less massive than those of Syracense and

The so-called  
*Concordia*.

The church  
of Saint  
Gregory.

Pliny, N. H. xxxv. 36. The Lakinian Hêra, at home at Krotôn, could have no place at Akragas. It is only one degree more out of place when a local writer turns "Juno Lacinia" into "*Giunone Lucina*."

<sup>1</sup> Schubring, 32. The good Fazello (l. 248) is answerable for the name *Concordia*, on the strength of an inscription recording a *Concordia* between the *communes* of Agrigentum and Lilybœum in Roman times. Amico (l. 274) knew better.

<sup>2</sup> He is "*Sanctus Gregorius de Rapis*" in Fazello, l. 248.

D d 2

CHAP. VII. Corinth, less slender than those of Nemea. Again to the west stood a temple of greater size, nearly ranging in scale with the Athenian Parthenôn, which is assigned, with far more of likelihood than the other names, to Hêraklês<sup>1</sup>. Save one patched-up column standing amid the general ruin, it has, in the language of the prophet, become heaps. All that is left is a mass of huge stones, among which we can see the mighty columns, fallen, each in its place, overthrown, it is clear, by no hand of man but by those powers of the nether world whose sway is felt in every corner of Sicilian soil.

The Golden Gate. These three temples form a continuous range along the eastern part of the southern wall of the city. To the west of them, parted from them by a gate, which, in Roman times at least, bore, as at Constantinople and Spalato, the name of Golden, rose the mightiest work of Akragantine splendour and devotion, the great Olympieion itself. Of this gigantic building, the vastest Greek temple in Europe<sup>2</sup>, we happily have somewhat full descriptions from men who had looked at it, if not in the days of its full glory, yet at least when it was a house standing up, and not a ruin. As it now lies, a few great fragments of wall still standing amid confused heaps of fallen stones, of broken columns and capitals, no building kindles a more earnest desire to see it as it stood in the days of its perfection. It is not only the vastness of scale, but the strangeness of design, which awakens our curiosity to see this huge temple as its designers meant it to be. The Olympieion of Akragas was from the beginning in nearly the same case as that to which the changes of the fifteenth century brought the temple

The Olympieion.

Its peculiarity of design.

<sup>1</sup> Schubring, 49, 62.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xiii. 82. μέγιστος δὲ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἑστέροις οὐκ ἀλόγως ἂν συγκρίνεται κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐκδοτέρας. Ἡ Polybios, ix. 27; ἡ τοῦ Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου ναὶς συντέλειαι μὲν οὐκ εἴληφεν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος οὐδ' ὁμοίον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δοκεῖ λείπεσθαι. I believe the temple of Artemis at Ephesus alone is greater.

which became the church of Saint Gregory. One ancient CHAP. VII.  
The half-  
columns. observer remarks that, while other temples either have a simple wall or else are surrounded by columns, this one has the wall and the columns built in one piece<sup>1</sup>. That is, the building is what is technically called *pseudoperipteral*. There is no real peristyle, no ranges of columns standing free and surrounding the *cella*. Instead of such a range, there was a solid wall with half-columns attached; and the same arrangement was repeated inside on the walls of the *cella* itself. One would like to know the cause of what seems so strange a caprice; one would like to judge for oneself whether the effect, on so vast a scale, was really so bad as one would expect it to be. It was out of engaged columns of this kind that the graceful ornamental arcades of mediæval architecture took their origin. The great house of Zeus at The giants. Akragas was marked also by another strange feature. Our informant mentions the sculptures in the two pediments, the war of gods and giants to the east, the taking of Troy to the west. He says nothing of the giants who were there in person, the giants who survive in the arms of modern Girgenti, the giants one of whom still lies in his broken pieces among the ruins of the temple. Yet it is certain that, in some part or other of the Olympieion, perhaps in an upper story of the *cella*, these huge figures were set to discharge the duty of columns in bearing up an entablature<sup>2</sup>. The taste of such an arrangement is open to debate. Certainly giants are better fitted for such a work than the maidens who are condemned to it in the Athenian Erechtheion. But what in the small scale of the Erechtheion

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xiii. 82; τῶν ἄλλων ἢ μὲν τείχεσσι τοὺς ἐνδοὺς οἰκοδομοῦντων ἢ κίονας τοὺς σηκοὺς περιλαμβανόντων, οὗτοι ἑκατέρωθεν τούτων μετέχει τῶν ὑποστάσεων. συναρκοδομοῦντο γὰρ οἱ κίονες τοῖς τείχεσσι, ἔξωθεν μὲν στρογγύλοι, τὸ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ τοῦ ἔχοντες τετράγωνοι.

<sup>2</sup> Schubring, 57. It is passing strange that Diodorus does not mention the giants. They can have nothing to do with the γίγαντομαχία in the pediment.

CHAP. VI. might pass for a graceful fancy must have had another look in the vast pile of the Olympieion. Not one of the giants is now standing in his place, nor is the wall, raised on its many steps, anywhere standing high enough to show more than a small piece of the half-columns, those half-columns in the depth of whose flutings a man might stand<sup>1</sup>. But many of their vast capitals lie around, and nothing about the temple more deeply impresses us with the feeling of prodigious size. In the most brilliant age of Hellenic art and Hellenic freedom it was the pride of Akragas to have raised a house of the chief Hellenic god, which, in vastness, if not in beauty, outdid the elder works of Poseidônia and the contemporary works of Athens.

The temple  
of Asklē-  
pion;

The half-columns of the Olympieion appear again on a very small scale in the temple of Asklēpios which stands outside the southern wall, between the city and the sea. The ordinary arrangement of columns appears in the temple which forms the eastern finish of the whole series of buildings along the southern wall. This is a smaller temple assigned to the Dioskouroi, Kastôr and Polydeukês, where four of the fallen columns have been set up in modern lines, with doubtful accuracy but with a good general effect. Hard by, between the temple and the wall, are the remains of a smaller building with columns; some say another temple, some say a *stoa*. On the western side of the city, near the path looking down on the deep ravine between the enlarged Akragas and the nekropolis, stand yet two columns, still of Doric style, but which are held to belong to a later date than that of which we are speaking.

of the Dios-  
kourai;

of Hêphaî-  
stos?

They bear the name of Hêphaistos, perhaps rather of Latin Vulcanus. But for that name there seems no reason beyond the assumption that its site is the same as the Vulcanian

<sup>1</sup> Dind. xlij. 82; τοὺς μὲν ἑστῶτες μέγας ἄνθρωποι [τῶν μόνων] ἃ καλεῖται τοὺς ἐλκῶς, καὶ ἃ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἵκανον ἀντιπάρειον ἀπὸ μύσσης οὐρα.

hill which has a place among the natural wonders of the island<sup>1</sup>. It stands quite apart from the southern range, which ends in the temple of the Tyndarids, if such it is. At that point we are near the south-western corner of the wall, and we look down on what once was the great artificial fish-pond, now a small and rich valley, thick set with trees, with holes or drains in its rocky sides, which pass for the famous *Pharakes*<sup>2</sup>. CHAP. VII.  
The fish-pond.

This whole range of five temples, filling up, with intervals, the whole length of the south wall of Akragas, must have formed, both from the height above and from the sea and the low ground below, a line of stately buildings such as could hardly have had an equal elsewhere. We can form some notion of the effect of the range from the two which are nearly perfect. At the same time we must remember that, close to the wall as the temples were, their whole lower part must have been hidden in the southern view as long as the wall still rose to its full height. But the vast scale of the temple of Zeus must have raised that building high above all walls and bulwarks. Reared aloft on many steps, the house itself, its half-columns and their entablature, lifted the line of the cornice to a height above the roof-line of most English minsters. And yet, noble as the whole range must have been, it must have brought out the horizontal line to such an excess that we might have been tempted to ask for a Byzantine cupola, a Lombard campanile, or an English spire, to break it. Effect of the range.

While Akragas was raising these great works, Selinous Selinous, in no way lagged behind her. To the modern traveller

<sup>1</sup> Schubring (70) places this temple after the Carthaginian siege. There seems no reason to call it "Vulcan," beyond the supposition that the place where it stands is the "collis Vucanius" of Solinus (v. 23), where some miracles of the fire-god were wrought.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 231. It is at this point that Diodoros gives his second description.

CHAP. VII. the buildings of Selinous are, in their fallen state, the most impressive of all the great Sicilian monuments. And they raise our wonder higher than it is raised by the works of Syracuse and Akragas, when we remember that the city whose gigantic ruins we are tracing out could at no time have made the faintest claim to be deemed the first or even the second of Sikeliot commonwealths. But Selinous, set free from her dependence on the barbarian, flourished like her sisters. She was rich and prosperous, and while her citizens stinted not the adornment of their own houses<sup>1</sup>, still less did they stint the honour of the gods, either on their own soil or among the holy places of Old Greece. At Pythô they dedicated the local plant in gold<sup>2</sup>; at Olympia they had a treasure-house of their own, where men saw the graven form of Dionysos, with his face, hands, and feet, wrought in ivory<sup>3</sup>. On their own hills they reared those famous temples on whose ruins we still gaze with awe, and within whose walls they stored the wealth of the gods and of the commonwealth<sup>4</sup>. It is one of those small details which bring us nearer to the times of which we write, when we find that modern research has actually brought to light the cash-box of a Selinuntine temple<sup>5</sup>.

Gifts of the  
Selinuntines.

The  
temples of  
Selinous.

Of the general position of the temples of Selinous we have already spoken, as well as of those wonderful efforts

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xiii. 44; *οἱ Σελινοῦντιοὶ κατ' ἑαυτοὺς τοὺς χρόνους εὐδαιμονοῦντες*. In 57 he again speaks of *ἡ ἐν ταῖς αἰαῖς εὐδαιμονία*, and of the temples and *ἡ ἐν αἰταῖς καθιερωμένη πολιτεία*.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 421.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, vi. 19. 7; *Σικελιώται δὲ Σελινουστῖον ἀνέστησαν μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι πολέμῳ· πρὶν δὲ ἢ τὴν συμφορὰν γενέσθαι σφισι, θησαυρὸν τῇ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὶ ἐποίησαν*. He goes on to speak of the statue.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. xiii. 37; *ἡ ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς καθιερωμένη πολιτεία*. In Thucydides (vi. 20) Nikias seems to contrast the practice of Selinous in this matter with that of Syracuse. After speaking of the resources of both, he adds,  *χρήματά τ' ἔχουσι, τὰ μὲν ἴσα, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐστὶ Σελινουστίας*.

<sup>5</sup> Beudorf, Metopen, 20.

of early sculpture which date from the first days of the city<sup>1</sup>. The advance in the graver's art can hardly any-where be better studied than at Selinous, or, to speak more truly, among those works of Selinuntine art which are now to be seen, not in their own homes, but in the old dwelling-place of the Phœnician. One of the temples on the eastern hill, assigned to the days of Hierôn of Syracuse, the days of the recovered Hellenic freedom of Selinous, showed in the forms of Hêraklês and the fighting Amazôn a stage of art far in advance of Medousa and the Kerkôpes, but which had not yet reached the full perfection of the central years of the century<sup>2</sup>. Lastly we come to the great days of all, the days whose fragmentary story we are telling, the days when Selinous dedicated her offerings for victory over her nameless enemy<sup>3</sup>. Then was carved the form of the sitting Zeus unveiling—it may be Hêrê, it may be some other—and that of Aktaïôn torn in pieces by his hounds, in a style which only the skill of Pheidias could outdo<sup>4</sup>. The quarries of Campobello<sup>5</sup> had small rest in the days of Selinuntine freedom. They had to furnish stone without stint for the great temple on the eastern hill, perhaps a third Olympieion, less vast but more graceful than its Akragantine rival, but which was, like that rival, hindered by the Punic invader from ever reaching its full perfection. There indeed we see the Pillars of the Giants standing in every stage of workmanship, here unfluted, here fully fluted, here with the drums standing ready to receive that last finish on the many smooth faces of a polygon. And in one small temple in the akropolis proof has been found how little the great builders of Greece really held themselves bound by the fetters of pedantic rules. The newly-invented Ionic capital was set to bear

earlier

and later.

Mixture of  
orders.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. I. p. 424.

<sup>2</sup> Beudorf, Tab. VII; Holm, G. S. i. 247.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 330.

<sup>4</sup> Beudorf, Tab. VIII, IX.

<sup>5</sup> See vol. I. p. 424.

CHAP. VII. the familiar Doric entablature<sup>1</sup>. So, ages after, the Roman arch of triumph in the Alpine Augusta shows columns crowned with the full-grown foliage of Corinth, but which bear up the frieze with its triglyphs which would not be out of place in Selinous itself<sup>2</sup>.

Buildings  
on the  
western  
hill.

The buildings on the western hill doubtless also belong to our period. But they still need the careful examination which those on the akropolis and the eastern hill have already received. The apparent arch may be seen there, as well as on the hill of Eryx; but we shall find it in later work at Selinous also. Till something more has been brought to light, we may be allowed to guess that the newly-found *Propylæia* led the way to the house of the goddesses of Sicily. To the dedication of the other temples our only clue seems to be an inscription which seems to show that the two most ennobling conceptions of Greek mythology, Phoibos Apollôn and Pallas Athênê, received in Selinous a joint worship<sup>3</sup>. We have seen a work of primitive Selinuntine art in which Athênê herself appears in a guise which we can only call grotesque<sup>4</sup>. We should be loth to believe that the Apollôn of Selinous appeared, as he did in ancestral Megara, in a lower form still, either in a form which in his own day suggested the works of Egypt, or of a hue which might now suggest Our Lady of Einsiedeln<sup>5</sup>.

Apollôn  
and  
Athênê.

<sup>1</sup> Helm, G. S. i. 294.

<sup>2</sup> See Architectural and Historical Sketches, p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> See the fragment of the inscription in Bonndorf, 35:

... ΑΛΟΝΟΧΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ  
ΑΝΑΙΑΣ.

That is quite enough.

<sup>4</sup> Bonndorf, Metopen, Tab. II.

<sup>5</sup> Bonndorf (36) sends us to the temple of Apollôn at the elder Megara, as described by Pausanias, i. 42. 5. He there says that the god, in his character as Πύθιος and Ασκατηφόρος, τοῖς Αἰγυπτίαις μάλιστα ὁμοίως φαίνοισιν ἐν δὲ Ἀρχηγέτῃ ἐπονομάζουσιν, Αἰγυπτιαὶς ἔργων ἰστίην ὁμοίαν ἔχειν δὲ πάντα ὁμοίαν πεποιήται. One trembles for the ἀγαλματίων of the Ἀρχηγέτης at Naxos. Vol. i. p. 326.



By the time that we have now reached the Sikeliot cities had grown to that stage of artistic development or artistic luxury in which works of painting and sculpture are no longer only the solemn ornaments of the temple or the *prytaneion*, but have become part of the pleasure or pride of private dwellings. The traffic between Carthage and Akragas seems to have awakened artistic tastes in the Punic mind, and in the day of Punic victory the pictures and statues which abounded in the houses of the wealthy Akragantines were reckoned among the most precious parts of the spoil<sup>1</sup>. But Sicily does not directly contribute many great names to the history of the kindred art. Damophilos of Himera passed for a teacher of Zeuxis himself. We are used to great length of life in many of the worthies of our story; but it is a little startling to hear that the master of Zeuxis, with his colleague Gorgasos, painted the Roman temple which was vowed by Aulus Postumius, victor at Regillus<sup>2</sup>. But a temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera, was a specially fitting field for a Sicilian artist, and chronology may be appeased by the easy conjecture that the painting of the temple and the Greek letters which recorded the names of the artists came a generation or two later than the building itself. As marking a tie between the land of the Latin and the land of the Sikel, a

CHAP. III.

Private  
pictures  
and  
statues.Damophi-  
los of Hi-  
mera, fl.  
B.C. 464-  
420.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xiii. 90 calls Akragas *πλουσιωτάτην σχεδὸν τῶν τότε Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων γενηνημένην καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φιλοκαλησάντων εἰς παντοίαν κατασκευασμάτων πολυτέλειαν*. He goes on; καὶ γὰρ γραφαὶ πεμπληθεῖς ὑπὲρβησαν εἰς ἄκρον ἐκτετυνημέναι καὶ παντοίων ἀνδράντων φιλονέχουσιν διασημοειρημέναι ἐπερίγων ἀριθμὸς.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. N. H. xxxv. 45: "Plastæ laudatissimi fuere Damophilus et Gorgasus, iidemque pictores, qui Ceresis ædem Romæ ad circum maximum utroque genere artis sum excoluerunt . . . Ante hanc ædem Tuscanica omnia in ædibus fuisse auctor est M. Varro." On the dedication see Dionysius, vi. 17, 94. It was dedicated *Δημητρὶ καὶ Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἑρῇ*. It stood till the time of Augustus (Tac. Ann. ii. 49), and was rededicated A.D. 17 "Libero Libereque et Ceresi."

Damophilos of Himera appears as an alternative master of Zeuxis in Pliny, N. H. xxxv. 36.

CHAP. VII. tie at once historical, artistic, and mythological, the interest of the story is not small. The renowned pupil of Damophilos, we may safely affirm, painted no picture for any Hêra of Akragas<sup>1</sup>; but in the sister art more than one work of Myrôn found its way into Sicily. In the small temple of Asklêpios outside the wall of Akragas Verres found a bronze statue of Apollôn, with Myrôn's name wrought in silver letters on the thigh. It was the gift of the younger Publius Scipio; and to be his gift implies that it was, like the real or pretended bull of Phalaris, part of the spoil of Akragas brought back to its own home<sup>2</sup>. In the lesser branches of art Sicily most likely worked for herself; the painting of vases reached its height at the time with which we are now dealing.

Works of  
Myrôn in  
Sicily.

Vases.

We have already briefly referred to the rise of rhetoric as an art in the Sikeliot commonwealths after the driving out of the tyrants<sup>3</sup>. We have heard of Korax and Tisias, and Tisias has the credit of being one master of the famous Gorgias, as Empedoklês was another<sup>4</sup>. Gorgias of Leontinoi, if we can accept dates which sober writers have accepted, was the most long-lived of the long-lived worthies of Sicily<sup>5</sup>. In the term of a hundred and eight

GORGIAN of  
Leontinoi.  
B. C. 488-  
380.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 401.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. Verr iv 43 "Agrigento nonne ejusdem P. Scipionis monumentum, signum Apollinis pulcherrimum, ejus in femore literulis minutis argenteis nomen Myronis erat inscriptum, ex Æsculapii religiosissimo fano antulisti?" He mentions other statues which Scipio brought back from Carthage; but they need not all have been of the same antiquity. There was (iv. 2) another work of Myrôn in the possession of Gaius Helius, "Mamertinus," a marble Erôs and a bronze Hêraklês in one.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 325.

<sup>4</sup> Diog. Laert. viii. 2. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Holm (i. 435) seems not to doubt. Diogenês (u. 2.) gives him 109 years. Lucian (Macrobii, 23) cuts him down to 108; but adds, *προφῆς ἀποσχόμενος ἐτελεύτησας*, like Iokratês, when ten years younger. Pausanias (vi. 17. 9) has the lowest figure, 105. Cicero (De Sen. 5) who gives him 107, makes him work till the end, and say "Nihil habeo quod senectutem." One may set this against Lucian's story.

years, he could remember the joint day of Himera and Salamis, and he lived to hear how the banners of Syracuse were planted on the walls of Motya, and how the boundary of Hellas again fell back to the Halykos. He saw what, beside him, we hardly venture to call the old age of Xenophanês and Simônidês<sup>1</sup>. He had in Isokratês a scholar who, if he had not so unfairly cut short his own term, might perhaps have rivalled his master in length of days<sup>2</sup>. So long a life is happily divided between two marked periods of our story. His famous embassy to Athens stands on the boundary of those periods, and it equally marks a division in his own life. Sixty years he spent in his native island. Having once played a part in the general affairs of Greece, he became for forty-eight years more a citizen of the wider world which he had helped to call into being<sup>3</sup>. In that character he has had the ill-luck to fall into the hands of one of the great dispensers of the world's applause. The name of Gorgias is perhaps best known because he and his scholar Pôlos of Akragas<sup>4</sup> were chosen by Plato as two of the many victims to be offered up to the glory of his own master. From one disciple of Sôkratês we may appeal to another who knew the practical side of life somewhat better. Xenophôn has told us how the Boiotian Proxenos, wishing to make himself capable of great deeds, became a scholar of Leontine Gorgias, and tarried with him till he deemed himself fit to undertake the rule of men<sup>5</sup>. One may

Two periods in Gorgias' life, B. C. 488-427, B. C. 427-380.

Gorgias and Plato.

Gorgias and Proxenos.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. Vit. x. Or. 1. Isokratês also heard Timias.

<sup>3</sup> He did not wholly forsake Sicily (see Plut. de Gen. Sec. 13); but we hear of him in various places; and as he visited Iasôn of Pherai as tyrant, it must have been at the very end of his life.

<sup>4</sup> Pôlos is a well-known character in the Platonic Gorgias. He is said, as well as his master, to have harangued at Olympia; Lucian, Herod. 3.

<sup>5</sup> The words of Xenophôn (Anab. ii. 6) are well worth notice; *Πρόξενος δ' Εουρίστis, εὐθὺς μὲν μυριάκιον ἔν, ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα πράτ-*

CHAP. VII. perhaps doubt whether the rule of men can be taught at all; yet Proxenos, as his comrade paints him, must have been no ill judge of such matters. At all events we know  
 B. C. 427. that, when Gorgias went to Athens, it was as the envoy of the Leontine people; and his voice, if in the end it wrought woe alike to Sicily and Athens, at least worked mightily at the time for the cause which he came to plead. At a later day, as we all know, Plato went to Sicily. But he did not go on the errand of the Athenian commonwealth, and the chief result of his coming was to make a tyrant amuse himself for a moment by drawing circles and triangles in the sand<sup>1</sup>.

Writings  
of Gorgias.

His teach-  
ing of  
rhetoric.

But the Gorgias of Plato and Proxenos, so far as he concerns Sicilian history, belongs to a later stage. We have as yet to deal with the citizen of Leontinoi who shares with his Syracusan predecessor Korax the credit or discredit of having invented rhetoric as an art. He had also his speculative notions; and he committed them to writing in more than one book. But a treatise of *Things that are not* cannot have had much influence on human affairs<sup>1</sup>, while the rhetorical side of Gorgias had a real practical bearing on the history of Sicily and of all Greece. If not the inventor of artificial eloquence, he was at least its most renowned teacher. In his earlier days he founded a school of Sicilian eloquence, the earliest school of Greek eloquence. In his old age he spread his influence over the whole Hellenic world. It is a fair question how far that influence was for good, whether the artificial rhetoric which he brought in was a real improvement on the

τῶν ἱκανῶς. καὶ διὰ ταύτης ἐπιστομίας εἶδεν Γοργίας ἀργύριον τῷ Λεοντίνῳ. καὶ δὲ συνεγένετο ἄκλινος, ἱκανὸς ἤδη νομίσας εἶναι καὶ ἀρχεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> Plut. Dion. 13

<sup>2</sup> I do not undertake to go deeper into these matters than Isokrates, Helen. 3; πῶς γὰρ ἂν τις υπερβάλοιτο Γοργίαν τὸν τολμήσαντα λέγειν ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων ἔστιν; One cannot keep down the thought of two familiar lines of Byron.

inborn power of speech which Thucydides sets down as CHAP. VII. the marked gift of Themistokles<sup>1</sup>. The fifth century before Christ was perhaps not the only age in which there has been a kind of rage for teaching, a rush to seek at the hands of others for that knowledge which is more really precious when it is the fruit of a man's own thought, reading, and experience. But Gorgias and the other professional teachers of his age, if they adapted themselves to the fashion of their times, supplied a demand of their times, and there is no reason to think that they supplied it otherwise than honourably. The battle of the sophists, Sophists and rhetores. like that of the demagogues, has been fought once for all by the historian of Greek democracy. Gorgias moreover declined the name of sophist; he was no sophist, but a *rhētōr*. In the prose iambics<sup>2</sup> of their enemy, the unpardonable sin of the whole class of sophists and rhetoricians, that is of professional teachers of every class, was that they took money for their teaching. If what they taught was worth the price, their traffic was at least a more worthy one than that of the poets who sang the praises of tyrants for hire. But this side of Gorgias and his fellows Personal character of Gorgias. is simply endless. Let us rather think of the man who could not only say that he had given eighty years to thought<sup>3</sup>, but who, when asked how he was able to live so much longer than other men, could say that he had never done anything for the sake of pleasure<sup>4</sup>. He made money freely; but he lived a simple life. After his great panegyric at Olympia, calling the Greeks to peace at home

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. i. 138.

<sup>2</sup> Athen. xi. 113; λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Γοργίας αὐτοῖς ἀναγοῖς τὸν ὁμιλον αὐτῷ διάλογον πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις ἔφη, ὅτι καλῶς εἶδε Πλάτωνα λαμβάνειν. Directly after he calls him καλὸν καὶ νέον τούτων Ἀρχιλόχον.

<sup>3</sup> Athen. xi. 71, διὰ τὸ σωφρόνους ζῆν σχεδὸν ἐγδοήκοντα ἔτη τῷ φρονεῖν συνεβίωσε.

<sup>4</sup> Ib., ἀεὶ τις αὐτὸν ἤρετο τίη διαίτη χρῶμεναι οὕτως ἡμελῶς καὶ μετὰ ασθῆσεως τοσαύτων χρόνων ζῆσαι, οὐδὲν πάποτε, εἶπεν, ἡδονῇ ζῆσαν πρῶτος.

CHAP. VII. and war with the barbarian, a scoffer jeered at him with mocking words. How could he hope to keep all Hellas in peace when he could not keep peace in his own household of three? For the household of Gorgias consisted of himself, his wife, and one female slave, and it was whispered that discord and jealousy had crept in among them<sup>1</sup>.

Sôphrôn  
and the  
mimes.

If Plato did somewhat less than justice to the Sicilian teacher of oratory, he made up for it somewhat, as far as the island was concerned, by his special fondness for the *mimes* of Sôphrôn of Syracuse, which he is said to have kept under his pillow<sup>2</sup>. The mime seems to have been strictly a performance without words, of which the exhibition made by the Syracusan in the *Symposium* of Xenophôn has been quoted as an example<sup>3</sup>. Sôphrôn, a man of our period, was the first who turned the popular amusement into a species of literary composition<sup>4</sup>; the mime was reckoned among Sicilian inventions<sup>5</sup>. It remained an essentially popular exhibition; its language was the popular speech, and its material was found in popular tales and manners. The mimes seem to have kept quite aloof from public affairs, and nothing bearing on history can be found in the fragments which have come down to us<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Plat. Conj. Pmo. 43. The mocker is Melanthos. It is added, ἦν γὰρ, ὡς εἶπεν, τις ἴπεν τοῦ Γοργίου καὶ ζηλοτυφία τῆς γυναῖκος πρὸς τὸ θειστανεῖν αὐτὸν. (The Plato revealed to us by Diogenes Laertius could throw no stones.) The Olympic haraigue belongs to the second period of Gorgias. Would not his simple life rather belong to the first?

<sup>2</sup> So says Suidas, and Diogenes, iii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 398, and the Article Sophron in Diet. Biog.

<sup>4</sup> Aristotle (Poet. 1) seems to doubt whether to reckon them as verse or prose; οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἔχοιμεν ἐνομάσαι σκῆναι τοῖς Σόφρονας καὶ Ηεράρχου μίμοι καὶ τοὺς Σαιρακιικοὺς λέγοντες.

<sup>5</sup> Solinus (v. 14, 15) reckons them among "quidquid Sicilia gignit." "Hic primum inventa comœdia; hic et cavillatio mimica in scena stetit."

<sup>6</sup> Athénæion (vii. 66, 76) has several fragments and references, largely dealing with the cookery of fish, from the *Θυροκόρη* of Sôphrôn. There were (vii. 125) μίμοι δούριοι καὶ γυναικῖοι. One fragment refers to the shark; ἂ ἢ γαστήρ οὐ μὲν σαρκαρίας, ὅσα τινὲς εἴθετε.

While Sicily thus contributed its share, and a share CHAP. VII. which took original shapes, to the general intellectual Visitors to Sicily. stores of the Greek world, strangers from Old Greece did not fail to visit the stores of Sicily. They have not indeed left behind them such clear signs of their coming as those who came in the days of the tyrants. *Æschylus* died in a free *Sikeliot* city<sup>1</sup>; *Pindar* lived to sing the victories of free *Sikeliot* citizens<sup>2</sup>; but he does not seem to have visited the island in any character but that of the guest of a tyrant. After them there were no such poets to come, and there were no tyrants to invite them. It References to Sicily in the tragedians. does not appear that *Sophoklēs* or *Euripidēs* ever followed in the track of their mightier predecessor. Here and there they have a Sicilian allusion. *Ismênê* rides to *Kolônos* on an *Ætnean* steed<sup>3</sup>; and in the Euripidean *Elektra* the *Dioskouroi* speak of guarding the ship that has to cross the Sicilian sea<sup>4</sup>. In the *Trôades* *Kassandra* threatens *Euripidēs*. *Odysseus* with *Charybdis* and the *Kyklôpes*, and the threat is carried out in the one satyric drama that is preserved to us. The scene of the *Kyklôps* is laid in Sicily. The Kyklôps of Euripidēs. And the giant shepherds, with their flocks and herds and milk and cheese, have not become the workmen of *Hēphaistos*, the forgers of the thunderbolts of *Zeus*. Still throughout the play there is a disappointing lack of anything local. We learn that we are in Sicily, at the foot of *Ætna*, only by a few utterances of the word *Sicily* and a repetition of the word *Ætna* till we weary of

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 299, 319.

<sup>3</sup> *Soph.* *Œd.* Col. 322;

... γυναῖχ' ὄρω  
στείχουσιν ἡμῶν ἄσπον, *Ἀιτναίης* ἐπὶ  
πύλου βεβῶσαν.

<sup>4</sup> v. 1347;

τὰ δ' ἐπὶ πόντον *Σικελῶν* σκαυθῶ  
σώσονται νῶν κρήρας ἐνάλους.

*O. Müller* sees a reference to the great Sicilian expedition. But there were others before it.

CHAP. VII. it<sup>1</sup>. But for anything characteristic either of the island in general or of that special side of it we may look in vain. The cheese which charmed men and dogs is there already, but it would almost seem that the gifts of Dêmêtêr had not yet reached her island<sup>2</sup>. Galateia does not show herself; the tastes which Polyphêmos professes are quite un-Homeric. We are therefore cut off from the sight which a play by Bacchylidês might have given us. We have no domestic picture of the Kyklôps ruling, as Homer and Aristotle paint his tribe, over wife and sons, that wife a nymph of the sea, and those sons the patriarchs of the nations<sup>3</sup>.

Herodotus  
in Sicily.

For the writers and speakers of prose, for historians, sophists, and *rhêtores*, our island had greater charms. If I have taken a true view of the famous embassy to Gelôn, it follows almost of necessity that Herodotus must have been at Syracuse<sup>4</sup>. One is tempted to ask whether the characteristic airs of the Lacelæmonian and the Athenian envoys may not after all come from a play of Epicharmos. Anyhow the colonist of Thourioi, to whom southern Italy was so familiar<sup>5</sup>, could hardly fail to cross the strait and track out the career of Anaxilas, Hippokratês, and Gelôn on the

<sup>1</sup> vv. 20, 61, 95, 106, 114, 130, 356, 395, 660. There is a little more point when in 298 we read,

γῆς γὰρ Ἑλλάδος μυχόσι  
οἰκῆν ἐν Αἴνῃ, τῇ περὶστάτῃ πέτρῃ,

and in 599, where Hêphaistos is called on to do a little in the way of his craft by burning out the eye of the Kyklôps. At the beginning Solôn has something to say about Eakelados.

<sup>2</sup> 121;

ΟΔ. στείρουσι δ', ἢ τῷ ζῶσι, Δῆμητροι σιτάχυν;

ΞΕΙ. γάλακτι καὶ τυροῖσι καὶ μέλαν βορῆ.

ΟΔ. Βρυμόν δὲ πῶμ' ἔχουσιν, ἀμπέλων βοάτ;

ΞΕΙ. ἥμισυα' τοιγὰρ ἔχαριν οἰκοῦσι χθόνα.

This is very unlike the Sicily of any later age.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 266.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 174, and Appendix XIX.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. iv. 99. To most Greeks the Attic illustration would be more intelligible than the Iapygian.



spot. That Thucydides had stepped out every inch of the battle-ground of Syracuse I feel as sure as that I have myself done so in his steps. But that concerns us not as yet. I feel nearly as sure that the first five books were written without a personal knowledge of the island as that the sixth and seventh were written with the fullest knowledge. To the fruits of that knowledge we shall come in time. Among less illustrious names, and more strictly within our present range, Prôtagnos of Abdêra seems to have visited Sicily for the love of wisdom, seemingly with Gorgias as the minister of wisdom<sup>1</sup>. Hippias of Elis came, if we may trust the hostile dialogue-maker, for love of gain. In a lecturing-tour in Sicily he got together great sums; twenty *mina* were the contribution of so small a town as Inykon<sup>2</sup>. A word to tell us something of the state of Inykon at that time would be more precious for our purpose than either the speculative teaching of Hippias or his skill as a tailor and shoemaker. Hippias is made to speak of the town as small, but not as barbarian. Was it in his day a Greek outpost of Akragas, or are we to infer that not only Sikel but Sikan towns were already so far hellenized as to be ready to pay for the teaching of a Greek sophist? We might guess more freely, if we felt a little more certain as to the site of Inykon<sup>3</sup>, and also if we felt more certain that talk of this kind is any authority for facts.

This casual question as to the nationality of Inykon brings us to the last and one of the most important branches of the present survey, the relation of the Greeks

<sup>1</sup> Plat. Hipp. Maj. pp. 282, 283; Diog. Laert. ix. 6. His ship is said to have sunk.

<sup>2</sup> Hipp. Maj. 283 (cf. p. 284); ἀφιόμενός ποτε εἰς Σικελίαν . . . ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πάλιν ἢ πενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μῶνς εἰργασάμενος, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνης γε χαρίῃ πάλιν σμικροῦ, Ἰνυκῶ, πλείον ἢ εἴκοσι μῶνς.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 112, and vol. i, p. 196.

CHAP. VII. of this age to the other races of the island. There can be no doubt that during all this time the process which was to take the place of the schemes of Ducetius, the gradual preparation of the Sikels for adoption into the Greek fold, was steadily going on. As for the feelings of the Greeks towards them, we should doubtless know more if some of the plays of Epicharmos had been preserved in full. Among the late collections of proverbs there are several which put Sicilians—*Sikeloi*—in an unfavourable or ludicrous point of view. To late compilers, writing when the Sikel had become as fully a Greek as the Macedonian, these proverbs were most likely understood as aimed at the inhabitants of Sicily in general. But when we see that some of them can be traced to Epicharmos, they put on quite another character. With him the Sikel would be the Sikel and none other. One might fancy that the Sikel was a stock character, brought into the plays of Epicharmos for the amusement of Syracusan audiences, much as Irishmen and Scotchmen were once brought on the English stage for the amusement of English audiences. Nothing quite like this could happen in the Attic comedy. Athens had no neighbours who stood to her in exactly the same relation as that in which the Sikel stood to the Syracusan or the Irishman to the English. In truth, from the very few specimens from which we have to judge, the conventional Sikel of Syracusan comedy might seem to have been not altogether unlike the conventional Irishman of English comedy. That he appears as a thief is not wonderful, that is the easiest of all charges to bring against a subject people, as it is a charge which is always likely to be true from the point of view of the ruling people<sup>1</sup>. Engaged as a mercenary soldier, he professes to refuse the pay which is not given him<sup>2</sup>. On

The Sikel  
in proverbs  
and  
comedy.

<sup>1</sup> Makarios, vi. 52 (Parcm. Græc. il. 195); ὁ Σικελὸς δὲ τοῖς τῆς ἐξουσίας πόρρον οἱ Σικελοὶ πομπιούμεναι δι κλέπτειν.

<sup>2</sup> Makarios, Cent. vii. 65, Σικελὸς ἀρπαζόμενος μισθὸν ἀπαρτίζουσι ἐπὶ τῶν

this head one can fancy some rude poet of Palica or Agyrium CHAP. VII giving the charge quite another turn. But the Sikel is further brought in as a blunderer, a maker of practical bulls. He gathers his grapes, or perhaps the grapes of the Sikeliot, before they are ripe<sup>1</sup>. The land-lubber, as the Sikel would seem to the Greeks of the eastern coast, goes to sea with a cargo of figs. He is shipwrecked. He sits on a rock, and tells the still raging waves that he knows what they want; they are asking for more figs<sup>2</sup>. The wit seems poor; but wit of this kind commonly is poor. The Syracusan reporter of the Athenian and Lacedæmonian embassy, whether Epicharmos or any other, had found a better subject for his satire.

During the whole of the fifth century, the general distinction between Sikel and Sikeliot was as broadly drawn Sikel and Sikeliot still sharply distinguished. as ever. We may say this, without ruling whether particular Sikel towns like Henna may not have been already pretty fully hellenized. At the same time we must remember the fact on which we had to dwell long ago, that the undoubted goddesses of Sicily are not spoken of in any Greek writer as goddesses of Henna. Nor does Henna play any part in the history of this time, so as to throw any light on its relation to the Greek cities. In this age Ducetius stands by himself; it is only in the next

ἀπαθείσθαι προσποιούμενον ἃ μηδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἔδιδασιν. *Sc. Mantisma, Cent. ii. 80.*

*Zenob. Cent. v. 84 (Paræm. Græc. i. 153); Σικελὸς ὁμολογῆται ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ μηδενὸς ἄξια κλεπτόντων λέγεται ἡ παροιμία μετενήνεκται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Σικελῶν τὰς Ἀθρήνους ὁμοίας κλεπτόντων μέμνηται ταύτης Ἐπίχαρμος. Sc. Apostolios, xv.*

<sup>1</sup> This proverb, strange to say, is referred to Alkman, who could not have had much to do with Sicily in any shape. He must have got it from some very early Sicilian source, which makes it even more valuable than if it came from Epicharmos. It runs thus in Apostolios, *Cent. xii. 6* ὁ Σικελὸς τὴν θάλασσαν Σικελὸς τις σῦκα ἄγων ἐκανάγησεν εἰς ὄρῳν τὴν θάλασσαν ὀγριουμένην, ἐπὶ πέτρας καθήμενος, οἰδᾷ, φησιν, ὁ θέλει σῦκα θέλει, Ἀλκμάν δὲ ὁ λερικός μέμνηται τῆς παροιμίας. *Sc. Zenobios, v. 51; Diogen. Cent. vii. 5,* without the reference to Alkman.

CHAP. VII.  
Hellenis-  
ing work  
of Duce-  
tius.

that Sikel powers, princes and commonwealths, appear on a level with their Greek neighbours. As yet the Sikels are barbarian and secondary. But their increased importance at a later period is doubtless owing to influences which were at work during the present period. That is to say, the hellenizing process, in which after all Ducetius himself really had no small share, was steadily going on.

Evidence  
of Sikel  
and other  
barbarian  
coins.

The clearest outward sign of this process is to be seen in the coinage of the Sikel towns, their imitation of Greek models and their use of the Greek language. Nor is the process confined to Sikel towns only. Before the time which we have now reached, Elymian Segesta and Eryx and Sikan Entella had begun to strike coins after the Greek fashion. The coins of Entella itself, as distinguished from those of the Campanian settlement of later days, seem all to belong to the archaic stage<sup>1</sup>. Coins of Eryx a little beyond the same stage show the goddess of the mount already identified with the Hellenic Aphroditê, but accompanied by the significant hound, not the companion of Artemis<sup>2</sup>. Of the early coinage of Segesta and its one illustration of the speech of Segesta, I have already spoken<sup>3</sup>. But it is clear that about this time a new impulse was given to the adoption of Greek art throughout the island. Now come the magnificent Segestan coins, with the head of the personified city, the hound with or without the hunter, the chariot and its horses, the ears of barley<sup>4</sup>. In these cases the adoption of Greek models of art was accompanied by a greater or less degree of substantial

Entella.

Eryx.

Segesta.

<sup>1</sup> Coins of Sicily, 60; Head, 119. They have the man-headed bull and the young Heraklêa. The letters go both ways; but they have no characteristic endings, nothing like the Elymian HIB.

<sup>2</sup> Coins of Sicily, 61; Head, 120. There are others with Akragantine crabs and eagles, and some of the HIB coins are later than some with NONLIVRE.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. i. p. 557.

<sup>4</sup> Coins of Sicily, 133; Head, 145.

hellenization among those who followed them. But in the matter of coinage Greek influences spread themselves over the Phœnician himself. It appears that before the war of Himera the Phœnician cities of Sicily had no coinage whatever. Throughout the fifth century before Christ they followed various Greek models, and, during the time with which we are concerned, Greek is at Panormos the usual language of the inscriptions<sup>1</sup>. It is otherwise at Motya, where the coins are imitations of the coins of various Greek cities, first of Akragas, then of Syracuse, of Gela, and sometimes of practically Greek Segesta. But the inscriptions are far more commonly Phœnician than Greek. Some have the Akragantine eagle on one side, the Akragantine crab on the other<sup>2</sup>. Others have on one side the head of a nymph, on the other the hound of Segesta seizing the head of a stag<sup>3</sup>. But while these models are freely copied, it is significant that no imitations are found of the coins of Selinous. The nearest neighbour was the border enemy, the Greek city which had thrown off the supremacy of the Phœnician.

To these coins, as evidence of Greek influence on the barbarian inhabitants of the island, we must take care to give their full value, but not more than their full value. We may feel sure that in the case of the Phœnicians they imply a far less amount of real Greek influence than they do in those of any other people. The Phœnician, like his Arab successor, could adopt and imitate European art; the Arab could even make improvements of his own. But as yet at least it was adopted as something foreign; its adoption carried with it no general advance in the direction of European life. The Phœnician remained a Phœnician, Panormos, with its Greek coinage, with many speakers

<sup>1</sup> Head, 141.

<sup>2</sup> Coins of Sicily, 243. See Appendix XXXII.

<sup>3</sup> Coins of Sicily, 143; Head, 138.

CHAP. VII. of Greek no doubt seeking its twofold haven and its long street, did not for ages to come become a Greek city in the sense in which the Sikel towns are now fast beginning to become such. For the Phœnician, like other Orientals, was still satisfied with his Oriental life; the less advanced European was already willing to be assimilated by the more advanced. How steadily that process went on we shall see in the general history of the next century. As yet we have barely reached its beginning. The career of Ducetius and the events which immediately followed it ruled for ever that, among the European elements that were already in the island, the Greek was to be dominant without rival.

Effect of  
the career  
of Duce-  
tius.

And one is no less inclined to say that it was the career of Ducetius and the events to which it led, the quarrel between Syracuse and Akragas and the victory of Syracuse over Akragas, which ruled that Syracuse should hold beyond all doubt the first place among Sikeliot cities. Those events also suggested that democratic Syracuse might be capable of something more than merely holding the first place in a company of free and equal cities. They suggested that democratic Syracuse might hope once more to gain something like the position which she had held under her tyrants. The fatal instinct of dominion, which no form of government can keep out, began to be felt at Syracuse, as it had long been felt at Athens. A season of peace among the Greek cities of Sicily had followed the driving out of the tyrants and their mercenaries. The war in the west, whoever took part in it, seems not to have been a war of Greek against Greek. The enterprise of Ducetius had led, first to the joint action of Syracuse and Akragas, and then to the war between Syracuse and Akragas, the first war, as far as we know, between any two of the liberated commonwealths. It led also to a great extension of Syracusan

Increased  
importance  
of Syracuse.

dominion at the cost of the Sikels<sup>1</sup>. Then came another season of peace. The barbarians of the island had felt the might of the Greek; those in the western part of the island had felt the might of the Syracusan. Carthage still kept quiet, as she had done even when Greek cities were waging war against her Sicilian dependencies<sup>2</sup>. She was doubtless biding her time. In Sicily the Greek cities were beginning to look up to Syracuse, if not as their chief, at least as the first among them<sup>3</sup>. Her victories over both Greeks and barbarians seem to have stirred up her ambition to a higher pitch, to have made her forget the rule that, if the trade of enslaved Syracuse was to conquer other cities, free Syracuse had no calling but to deliver them<sup>4</sup>.

Again our knowledge consists of a bare record of facts, leaving us to imagine causes and objects for ourselves. In the very year, it would seem, after the death of Ducetius the Syracusan commonwealth decreed the building of a hundred triremes. The number of the horsemen was doubled, and the infantry were put into better order<sup>5</sup>. This last reform was doubtless specially needed. We shall see some years hence that the horse were the really trustworthy part of a Syracusan army; the heavy-armed fell far below the standard, not only of Sparta but of Athens. To meet the cost of these works, a heavier tribute was laid on the Sikel

CHAP. VII.

Warlike  
prepara-  
tions of  
Syracuse.  
B.C. 439.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 338.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. xii. 26; τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν εἰρημικὴν εἶχε κατέστας, Καρχηδονίων μὲν πεπωρημένων συνθήκας πρὸς Γέλωνα, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Συρακοσίοις συγκεχυσηκυῖαν, καὶ τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων μετὰ τὴν ἦνταν τὴν γενομένην περὶ τῶν Ἰμέρων ποταμὸν συλληλυμέναν πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοσίου.

<sup>4</sup> Holm, i. 261; "Es verschaffte den Syrakusanern die Gelegenheit, die Stellung, welche sie unter den Tyrannen auf der Insel eingenommen hatten, als freie Bürger wieder zu erringen." Cf. the extract from Strabo in p. 166, note.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. xii. 30. They built the ships, they doubled the cavalry; the words about the infantry take another shape; ἐπεμελήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῆς πεζικῆς θωράξεως.

CHAP. VII.  
Schemes  
of con-  
quest.

Their  
object.

dependencies of the commonwealth<sup>1</sup>. Men said that these great preparations were meant for nothing short of the conquest of all Sicily<sup>2</sup>. In the wretched meagreness of our authorities for these years, we cannot say whether these great preparations were followed by any action. But there is every reason to believe that the Syracusan military reforms were the beginning of great events both in Sicily and in other lands. They must in the first instance have been designed for some Sicilian object. The first object that comes into our minds is operations against Akragas. But, when we presently come to know more of Sicilian affairs, the relation between Syracuse and Akragas, at any rate the feeling at Akragas towards Syracuse, as shown for instance in the banishment of Empedoklès<sup>3</sup>, is not one of open enmity, but rather one of grudging and suspicious neutrality. Designs on Kamarina, the restoration of Syracusan rule over the old revolted colony, have been suggested<sup>4</sup>; but there is no sign of them in anything that follows. If Syracuse designed conquests in Sicily, she would hardly begin by attacking her Dorian sisters. For six years after this increase of the Syracusan forces, our history is an utter blank. At the end of those six years we find, not in the narrative of our Sicilian guide, but in documents graven on stone in Old Greece, a record of negotiations in which we may safely look for the key.

Athens  
looking  
westward.

We have seen how, twenty years before the date which we have reached, Athens could be appealed to by a barbarian city of Sicily for help, it would seem, against another barbarian city<sup>5</sup>. It does not appear that the step was

<sup>1</sup> *Diod. xii. 30; Χρημάτων παρασκευὴ ἐπιοῦντο φόρου ἀδριόρου τοῖς ἐπιστρατηγμένοις Σικελῶν ἐπιτιθέμεναι.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.; ταῦτα δ' ἱεραιτέρω θεωρούμενοι εἶσαν Σικελίαν ἐκ τοῦ παρ' ὀλίγον κινουμένης.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 354.

<sup>4</sup> *Brunet de Prele, 154.* But he seems to have no better ground for this belief than a misunderstanding of the blundering scholion on *Pind. Ol. v. 19*. See p. 318.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 339, and Appendix XXXII.



followed by any active intervention on the part of Athens CHAP. VII in Sicilian affairs. But it none the less shows that Athens was already looking westward. Somewhat later, the foundation of her Italian colony of Thourioi looks the same Thourioi B.C. 443 way<sup>1</sup>. We now come to another step. If Athens could be appealed to by the Elymians of Segesta, much more might she be appealed to by Italian and Sicilian Greeks of her own stock. Six years after the notice of the Syracusan preparations, two of the Ionian cities of the west, Italiot Rhêgion and Sikeliot Leontinoi, found it expedient to contract alliances with Athens<sup>2</sup>. These alliances are the Alliance of Rhêgion and Leontinoi with Athens. B.C. 432 first step towards a new state of political affairs which we shall have to deal with in another volume. They are the beginnings of that increased closeness of relations between Increased dealings with Old Greece. Sicily and Old Greece which ended by drawing the cities of Sicily into the whirlpool of the great strife between the leading powers of Old Greece. They concern our present point of view only as a comment on the great military preparations of Syracuse. Of events we have none to Syracuse threatens the Chalkidian towns. record; but embassies from Rhêgion and Leontinoi to Athens point clearly enough to a state of things in which, if Syracuse had not actually subdued or attacked any Chalkidian city, the Chalkidian cities had at least begun to live in deadly fear of her. We have taken a great step towards the end of the golden days of Sikeliot freedom and well-being. The few words of those two Attic inscriptions Beginning of a new period. which are preserved to us are the beginning of a great tale. They are the first record of Athenian intermeddling in Sikeliot affairs. They are a short preface to the Sicilian narrative of Thucydides. They are the beginnings of a course of events which did not end even with the great slaughter in the bed of the Assinaros, but which went on to carry a

<sup>1</sup> We shall come to this in the next chapter.

<sup>2</sup> See Hicks, *Greek Inscriptions*, 56, 57; but we shall come to all this again.

CHAP. VII. Syracusan captain to the shores of Asia, and to make Sparta, acknowledged chief of Hellas, bear herself as the chief supporter of a Syracusan tyrant. At the beginning of that long tale, we shall look again more fully at the witness of these records. Then they will be the beginning of a period; as we glance at them now, they are the end of one. Greek Sicily has hitherto been, with the very fewest exceptions, a world of her own, but slightly touched by the revolutions of the elder Greece. We have now to see the Greek cities of Sicily take their full share in the quarrels of the Greek lands beyond the sea. We shall see one Sicilian hill, one Sicilian haven, become for a while the very centre of the strife.

Antiochos  
of Syra-

Contem-  
porary  
men.

And, if deeds like those were soon to be done, the men were growing up whose calling it was to record them. Both Old Greece and Sicily already had their historians. We know the acts of Hippokratês and Gelôn mainly from a man of Halikarnassos and Thourioi; but their acts, and the whole story of Sicily, were now in writing at the hands of a man of Syracuse. Antiochos was busy with his Sicilian History; and Antiochos, we are taught to believe, was in Sicilian matters the master of Thucydides<sup>1</sup>. When Athens made her treaties with Rhêgion and Leontinoi, Thucydides was already a man of an age fit for action<sup>2</sup>. The events of Greek history press so fast on one another that it is always well to stop and think who were on the earth together at any given moment. At the time of the Rhêgine and Leontine treaties, Hermokratês and Gylippos must, like Thucydides, have already reached the time of active life. We may be sure that both Philistos and Dionysios were already born, though they could as yet have

<sup>1</sup> He was general in B.C. 424; Thuc. iv. 104.

<sup>2</sup> We may infer this from their action in B.C. 406. Philistos was old at his death in B.C. 356.

given no sign of the deeds which the one was to do and the other to record. And three years before those treaties, four years after the death of Dacætiæus, a man was born who was to outlive Dionysios by nearly thirty years, to hear the tale of Timoléon's victory at Krimisos, and to die because he could not survive Philip's victory at Chairônêia. Isokratês, if he never visited Sicily, kept a keen watch on Sicilian affairs. It seems to bring the ages nearer together when we remember that he might have talked to men who had fought at Himera and who could remember Syracuse in the days before Gelôn.

CHAP VII.

B.C. 436.



## APPENDIX.

### NOTE I. p. 8.

#### KINGS AND TYRANTS IN SICILY.

THE long line of Sicilian kings and tyrants begins, as far as we know, with this mysterious King Pollis of Syracuse, provided, that is, we can safely look on him as a real person. The question of his existence was discussed long ago by O. Müller (*Dorians*, i. 161, Eng. Tr.), and the passages about him are brought together by Holm, *G. S.*, i. 346. The most important is that in *Athênaios* (i. 56), where Hippias of Rhêgion is quoted as speaking of a certain wine; ἦν [φησὶ] Πόλλω τὸν Ἀργεῖον, ὃς ἐβασίλευσε Συρακοσίων, πρῶτον εἰς Συρακοῦσας κομίσαι ἐξ Ἑλλάδας. He adds; εἴη ἂν αὖν ὁ παρὰ Ζηκελίωταις γλυκὺς καλούμενος Πόλλιος ὁ βίβλιος οἶνος. Now Hippias would be about the best authority that we could get for any early Sicilian matter. And something of the same kind seems to have been said by Aristotle. So at least says Julius Pollux (*Onom.* vi. 16), who seems inclined to distinguish Pollis or Polis the Argeian from the Syracusan king. His words are—again speaking of wine; καὶ πού καὶ γλυκὺς Πόλλιος· ἴσται μὲν ἐκ Συρακουσῶν, Πόλις δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀργεῖος πρῶτος ἐπισκεύαζεν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τοῦτομα, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ Συρακουσίων βασιλέως Πόλλιδος, ὃς Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει. *Ælian* also (*V. H.* xii. 31), still on the subject of wine, has a reference to Pollis; καὶ ἐν Συρακοῦσας Πόλλιος· εὐλήθη δὲ ὑπὸ τινος ἐγχωρίου βασιλέως. The *Etymologicon Magnum*, in the article Βίβλιος οἶνος, quotes a line from a comic poet;

Ἴδμεν δὲ πίνει, τὸν δὲ βίβλιον στυγαί.

He then, among some other illustrations, says, καὶ ἐν Ζηκελίᾳ, ὑπὸ

Πόλλας τοῦ Συρακοῦς τυραννέει· ἴσθ' αὖτις τοῦτ' αἰ πόλλας καλοῖεν.  
 In this last passage, instead of a Syracusan king we seem to get a Sikyoman tyrant; but there can be little doubt from the mention of Sicily that for Συρακοῦς we ought to read Συρακοῖσις. But in any case Pollis is here called, not king but tyrant.

Here there is a fair amount of evidence for the existence of a Pollis, king or tyrant of Syracuse, at some time or other, and the mention of him by Hippias, a writer of the age of Gelôn, shows that he must have lived before the Deinomenid dynasty, that is in the old days of Syracuse, the days of the Gamoroi. In those days a tyrant of the later type seems less likely than a lawful king. The staying on of kingship, or at least of the king's title, in various cities both of Old Greece and of the colonies is plain enough. There is no need to dwell on the familiar cases both at Sparta and at Athens. The ἀρχαὶ βασιλείς must have been a survival of real kings, just as the "rex sacrorum" was at Rome. The notice too given by Herodotus (vii. 149) of the Argæian king, of whom nothing I believe is heard elsewhere, is very curious. As he is put on a level with the two Spartan kings, his kingship must have been something more than that of the Athenian archôn. He must have been a true successor of Phaidôn, though his kingship may have fallen away from the ideal βασιλεία as much as that of Phaidôn grew away from it in the direction of τυραννία. Phaidôn's successor Eratros appears as a real king in Pausanias, ii. 36. 5. And what concerns us more at Syracuse is the long duration of kingship at Corinth, down to a very short time before the expedition of Archias. The abolition of kingship spoken of by Pausanias (ii. 4. 5) must, according to the chronologists, have happened about 747. Its memory therefore was still fresh. And in the colonies, as the oldest foundations were all made by kings, so kingship long went on. So it was in most of the Asiatic cities (see the instances brought together in Düncker's fifth volume, in the Chapter Die Wanderung der Ionier). The most speaking case of all is that at Ephesos, the existence of Kodrid kings there even in the time of Strabo (xiv. 1. 3; αἱ δὲ τὰν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἐνομαζομένη βασιλεῖς, ἔχοντες τινὰς τιμὰς, προεδρίας τε ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ κορυφαίαν ἐπίσημον τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους, σκίπτουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στήθεος καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ ἑλευσένει δόρυ κτλ.). The case that stands out most distinctly in history is that of Kyrenê, with its long succession of kings, recorded by Herodotus and sharing the epinikian praises of Pindar with the tyrants of Syracuse and Akragas. The

attempt of Dêmônax (Herod. iv. 161) to make the royal power nominal without abolishing the office is most instructive as to the way in which the ancient kingship died out. In Cyprus too Herodotus (v. 109-112) records various Greek kings, and we find the restoration of the ancient kingship under Evagoras, who (Diod. xv. 9) insisted on treating with the Great King *ὡς βασιλεὺς βασιλεῖ*. It is true that Herodotus also calls the earlier Cypriot kings *τύραννοι*, and that Isokratês, in his Panegyric on Evagoras, many times (40, 64, &c.) applies the same name to his own hero. But the use of the name *τύραννος* proves much less against a man's lawful kingship than the use of *βασιλεὺς* proves in favour of it. The Greeks of the centuries between the dying out of the heroic and the rise of the Macedonian kingship were so used to *τύραννοι* and saw so little of real *βασιλεῖς* that they used the former name very laxly. In almost every page of the tragedians it is freely applied to the kings of heroic Greece, one of the marked contrasts between their language and that of Homer. The word *τύραννος* was used carelessly; every use of *βασιλεὺς* is likely to imply thought. Isokratês does not scruple to call Evagoras *τύραννος*; but when he means to speak in a thoroughly formal way, he calls Evagoras himself *βασιλεὺς* and his children *ἀνῆρες* and *δυνασταί* (Evag. 88). These last are rare words in prose, and this use of them sounds like the most modern use of the words "princes" and "princesses."

The existence then of lawful kingship in Greek Sicily does not seem to be wholly impossible. We must not build too much on our King Pollis; but we may fairly ask what should have put him into anybody's head, if he were not a real person. But it must be remembered that, at Syracuse at least, if kingship did exist, it must have been a restoration. It was surely not brought thither by the first settlers. Archias is nowhere spoken of as a king, and he certainly left behind him in Corinth, not a kingdom but an oligarchy, though one of very short standing. But it was an oligarchy made out of the old royal family, and one to which the odd phrase of *ἀνδρες κοινάρχοι* (Herod. v. 92) could be applied. It was a kingly *gens* which had divided the kingship among its members. And the restoration of kingship in a colonial state does not seem very unlikely. The *ἀναμνήτης* does not greatly differ from an elective king. Pittakos was *ἀναμνήτης* of Mitylênê (Arist. Pol. iii. 14. 9) and in the well-known verses (Bergk, iii. 673)

he is spoken of as reigning (*μεγάλαις Μινυλῶνας βασιλεύων*. Cf. Strabo, xiii. 2, where he is called *τύραννος* and his rule *μοναρχία*). Still I know no distinct mention of a Sicilian king other than Pollis, till we come to Skythēs of Zanklē. He is distinctly called *βασιλεύς* by Herodotus (vi. 23; *Ζαγκλαίην αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἐ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶς τῷ σέβει ἢ τοῦ Ζεύος*). In two places directly following Herodotus gives Skythēs the neutral name of *μεινάρχος*, but he nowhere calls him *τύραννος*, though he applies that name in the same breath both to Anaxilas of Rhégion and to Hippokratēs of Gela. This really looks, as Bunbury seems to hint in his articles "Scythēs" and "Messana" in the two Dictionaries, as if the position of Skythēs was somewhat different from that of an ordinary tyrant, and was in fact a survival or restoration of lawful kingship.

The usage of Herodotus with regard to the words *βασιλεύς* and *τύραννος* is worthy of careful notice. There is a delicate distinction which has not always been noticed. Thus, for instance, he never, speaking in his own person, gives the kingly title to Polykratēs, *ὃς ἔσχε Σάμον ἐπικρατοῦντα* (iii. 39); but he makes the fisherman (iii. 42) address him *ὦ βασιλεῦ*. Neither does he give the name to Gelōn, who is *τύραννος* in vii. 156; but the Athenian envoy addresses him in 161 *ὦ βασιλεῖ Συρακουσίων*. The inference seems to be that a tyrant did not venture formally to take the title of *βασιλεύς*, but that he was pleased when anybody would call him so. It was much as when Mr. Glomin forbore to call himself "Kiliangowan," but gave half-a-crown to the beggar who called him so. This quite falls in with the usage of Pindar, who so freely bestows the royal name on his Syracusan patrons. There is of course the question, which I shall discuss further on (see Appendix XIII), whether Gelōn was formally made king by a vote of the Syracusan people. If so, it is the greatest case of all of the restoration of kingship, as it stands quite distinct from the case of rulers like Agathoklēs, Phintias, and the later Hierōn, who took or received the kingly title after kingship had again become familiar in Macedonian times. In any case, if Gelōn did ever receive kingship in a lawful way, it was after the last mention of him in Herodotus, and so does not affect his use of the names. We have the fact that, while Herodotus, speaking in his own person, always calls Gelōn *τύραννος*, he calls Skythēs *βασιλεύς* and *μεινάρχος*, but not *τύραννος*. Whether Skythēs came of an old kingly stock like



the Battiads of Kyrênê, or whether kingship was restored in his person by a vote of the Zanklaian people, we cannot guess. His name is odd in either case.

We find another king about the same time in Greek Italy in the person of Aristophilidês of Taras, who is mentioned quite casually by Herodotus (iii. 136) in the story of Dêmokêdês, without any hint as to who he was or as to the nature of his kingship. He acts strongly on Dêmokêdês' behalf, as a real chief of the state. But we do not hear of him again; in the rest of the story we hear in the usual way of the action of the Tarantines, without any mention of king or magistrate. And the most curious case of all with regard to the use of *ῥήτωρ* and *βασιλεύς* comes also from Greek Italy. It is found in the application of the words to Têlys of Sybaris (see p. 88). At first sight Herodotus seems to call him indifferently by both names in the same chapter (v. 44). But it has been acutely pointed out by Busolt (ii. 238) that he uses the two names according to the custom of the city whose tale he is telling. The ruler of Sybaris is *βασιλεύς* in the version of the story of Dôriens told by the men of Sybaris; he is *ῥήτωρ* in the version told by their enemies of Krotôn. This certainly looks as if, in the traditions of Sybaris, Têlys was spoken of as king. Yet, according to Diodôros (xii. 9), Têlys was a demagogue, who rose by the arts commonly attributed to demagogues, and who banished an oligarchy of five hundred. Is it possible that the victorious commons can have hailed their leader as king? In any case, we must repeat, the application of the name *βασιλεύς* to any man (save of course by a poet or other flatterer) certainly proves more one way than the application of the name *ῥήτωρ* to the same man proves the other way.

It is to be noticed that there clearly was for several centuries in the Greek colonies a tendency to personal government in every form of which we see no sign in Old Greece. It is in the colonies that we find the cases which look most like a real keeping on or setting up afresh of the heroic kingship, when in Old Greece it has sunk to the merest survivals. It is again in the colonies, at Katanê or at Mitylênê, that the *ἀντιμνήτης* flourishes. And the tyrant himself flourishes, in Sicily above all, in the time between Hippias and Timophanês, when he was very rare in any part of Old Greece and altogether unknown in the greatest cities (cf. Arist. Pol. v. 4. 8). The latest form of tyrant, often a leader of

mercenaries, is found alike in Sicily and in Old Greece. But in Old Greece he has come in under Macedonian patronage.

To come back to our King Pollis, it may be well to mention that there are others of the name, with some of whom he might be confounded or identified. One of them, a Lacedæmonian admiral, stands out in the broad daylight of Xenophôn's Hellenics (.v. 8. 11, v. 4. 61), and actually comes (see Plut., Dion, 5, Aristeidès, quoted by Phôtios, 432) within our later Sicilian range. But an earlier Lacedæmonian Pollis or Polis appears as one of the leaders in the migration from Peloponnésos to Crete (cf. Herod. iv. 148). His name is found in two places of Plutarch (De Mul. Virt. 8, *Τυρρηδίας* and *Questiones Græcæ*, 21), and in two of Konôn (Phôtios, 137, 141). A Pollis who goes from Sparta to Crete and a Pollis who goes from Argos to Sicily might seem to have enough in common for an anecdote-monger either to roll two men into one or to part one man into two.

On the whole it is not easy to come to any certain conclusion as to Pollis and his Syracusan kingship. But the mention of him is at least not likely to be sheer invention, and, if he lived and reigned at all, he is more likely to have been a lawful king than a tyrant of the type of which we shall presently come across so many.

## NOTE II. p. 12.

### ΓΑΜΟΡΟΙ AND ΚΥΑΑΥΠΙΟΙ.

I HAVE mentioned in the text the chief passages where we get any historical mention of the Syracusan *γαμόροι*. A little more may be said about the name, and about one or two references for which it is not easy to find a historical place.

In the Parian Chronicle, 52 (p. 18, Flach), the *Γαμόροι* are made use of as a date; *ἀρχαυτός Ἀθήνησιν μὲν Κερκίου τοῦ ἀπορέτου, ἐν Συρακούσαις δὲ τῶν γαμόρων καταχθέντων τῇ ἀρχῇ*. This would give a date of 590 B.C. Now this cannot be taken to fix the beginning of the ascendancy of the *Gamoroi*, any more than every date of T. R. E. is to be referred to the year 1042 A.D. The *Gamoroi* had, strictly speaking, no beginning apart from the beginning of Syracuse. Still the date must mean something, and it may mean that this was about the time when the *ἀρχὴ τῶν γαμόρων* came more distinctly into

notice as such by the beginning of opposition to it. But what is to be made of the entry in the Parian Chronicle which goes just before this, that which makes Sapphō flee into Sicily along with the banished γαμόροι of Mitylēnē (Σαπφὸς ἐν Μιτυλήνῃς εἰς Σικελίαν ἔπλευσεν φευγούσα σὺν ἄλλοις ἀλεγάρχοις)? See p. 149.

On the name γαμόροι we may notice that Herodotus must have got it from some local source, as he gives it in the Doric form. In some other writers it is γεωμόροι, as in the fragment of Diodōros where he tells the story of Agathoklēs, in the Parian Chronicle just quoted, and in Dionysios (vi. 62), where he makes Appius Claudius speak of their driving out by the commons as the last piece of news; τὰ τελευταῖα ἐν Συρακούσαις οἱ γεωμόροι πρὸς τῶν πελαγῶν ἐξηλάθησαν. On the other hand Æschylus has the word in its Doric shape; Suppl. 616. It may there mean land-owners or inhabitants of the land in any shape. Hēsychios under γαμόροι refers to both Æschylus and Herodotus; οἱ περὶ τὴν γῆν πονούμενοι, ἢ μοῖραν ἐληχότες τῆς γῆς· ἢ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγγείων τιμημάτων τὰ κοινὰ διέπουσιν. This would be our Syracusan sense. Further on, with a reference to Kallimachos, he gives γεωμός the sense of γεωργός. Julius Pollux (viii. 109-111), under the head δῆμαρχοι, has much to say of many matters, and in the end he comes to the γεωμόροι as a class of free *ceorlas* or *bonder*; τρία δ' ἦν τα ἔθνη πάλαι, τέτραρτίδαι, γεωμόροι, δημιουργοί (so Plutarch, *Thésens*, 25), which seems to come very near to *jarl*, *karl*, and *thrall*. Soudas brings them down to the same level as Pollux, or perhaps to a lower, when he defines γεωμός as ὁ περὶ τὴν γῆν κοπιῶν. So the *Etymologicum Magnum* explains γεωμός as γεωργός or γεωπόνος.

But however the word may have been used elsewhere, at Syracuse it clearly means the owners of land, the "lauded interest," as opposed to any other. The γαμόροι are the descendants of those who, in the beginning of the settlement, received both lots of land as their own and a right to the profits of the folkland.

The word γεωμός, in whatever senses it is taken, has at least a clear Greek derivation, which is more than we can say for the name of those slaves or dependents of the γαμόροι who helped to turn them out. Who were the κωλύροι in their many spellings, and what is the origin of their name? Herodotus, as we all know, distinguishes them from the δῆμος, and calls them the slaves of the γαμόροι (vii. 155); τοὺς γαμόρους καλεομένους τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐκτεσθόντας

ἐκ τῶν δῆμου καὶ τῶν σφετέρων δοῦλον καλεομένης δὲ καλλυρίων. The δῆμος are of course the newer settlers, shut out by the γαμοῖσι from political power and from the possession of land, a class no doubt wholly or mainly Greek. The καλλυρίων we may take to be, not δοῦλοι or βεωτοὶ in the very strictest sense, but serfs or villains (in the later sense of that word) of the γαμοῖσι, dwelling on and tilling their lands, a class no doubt wholly or mainly Sikel. We read in the Lexicon of Phōtios under the spelling Καλλικύριαι;

εἰ ἀπὸ τῶν γαμοῖσι ἐν Συρακούσαις γενόμενοι πολλοὶ τινες τὰ πλεῖστα δοῦλοι ὃ ἦσαν οὗτοι τῶν φυγάδων, ὡς Τιμαίος ἐν ε'. ἴδεν τοῖς ἰσχυροῦσι πολλοὺς Καλλικυρίους ἔλεγον ἠγοράσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκ ταυτὸ συνέλθωσαν παρωδοῦναι ὄντες, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Συρακούσαις πολιτείας, ὅμοιοι τοῖς παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίους ἑλλήσι καὶ παρὰ Θεσσαλοῖς Περίστοις καὶ παρὰ Κρητὶ Κλαρίστοις.

One would like to have the passages from Timaios and Aristotle in full, and specially to know what was said about the φυγάδες. The name must mean the γαμοῖσι, when the δῆμος and the καλλυρίων had driven them out. Anyhow the analogies with Sparta, Thessaly, and Crete, which doubtless come from Aristotle, are much more to the purpose than the attempt at an etymology of the name. It is curious that further on in the Lexicon there is an abridgement of this same article under the spelling Καλλικύριαι. As there is a gap in the Lexicon from ἐδίδασκεν to ἐπώνυμοι, it tells us nothing about the γαμοῖσι. In the other Lexicons there is not much to our purpose, except the reading in the note to Hēsychios; Καλλικύριαι· εἰ ἐκαστοὶ ἐλθόντες γαμοῖσι δοῦλοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ τοῖς κυρίως ἐξέβησαν. Soudas copies the article in Phōtios, and adds a proverb; παροιμία καλλικυρίων πλείους τοῦτο ἐλέγχετο, ἵσταντο πλεῖστοι ἔβησαν ἰμφήνας· οἱ γὰρ καλλικύριαι δοῦλοι ἦσαν πλείους τῶν κυρίως αὐτῶν, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξέβησαν. So among the professed Παροιμογράφοι, Zēnobios (iv. 54, Parnass. Græc. i. 100) has Καλλικυρίων πλείοντες οὕτως ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐαλήθησαν εἰ ἐκαστοὶ ἐλθόντες γαμοῖσι καλλικύριαι ἴδον παροιμιώδως ἔλεγον, εἰ ποτε πλεῖστοι ἔβησαν ἰμφήνας, ὅτι πλείους ἦσαν τῶν καλλικυρίων· δοῦλοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι, καὶ τοῖς κυρίως ἐξέβησαν· ἢ δὲ αἰτία τῆς κλήσεως αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ παρωδοῦναι εἰς ταῦτα συνέλθωσαν ὥστε τοῖς κυρίως ἐγκρίσθαι.

One may doubt whether there was any real source of knowledge about these καλλυρίων beyond the passage in Herodotus. His words seem to be the groundwork for the one fact which Aristotle or anybody else had to tell about them. So it is with Dionysios when he likens them to the Roman clients (κλήνται), less happily than

the analogies which Phōtion seemingly learned from Aristotle. It seems vain to guess at the origin of the name; its other forms seem a lengthening of the *κυλλύριος* of Herodotus, perhaps with a desire to bring in something about *κύρια*. And there is also a notion of multitude which turns up in one or two forms. The really important question is how this seemingly Sikel element in Syracuse fared in the later revolutions. As they cast in their lot with the *δῆμος*, and as there is nothing to show that any part of the *δῆμος* was driven out or enslaved at the entry of Gelon, I have assumed that they abode to form a class among the inhabitants of Syracuse, a class which doubtless soon lost its distinctness. The *κυλλύριοι* may well have been the beginning of the *Hellenismos*.

The *κυλλύριοι* appear nowhere except at the stage where the *γαμόροι* are driven out. Of the *γαμόροι* we hear once or twice in other relations. We have seen the whole body of *Gamoroi*, the *populus* of Syracuse, sit as a court on an offender (see p. 14). To their driving out there are two references in Aristotle's *Politics*. In v. 4. 1 he tells the story of the quarrel of the two young men, which he brings in with the general remark; *γίγνεται μὲν οὖν αἱ στάσεις αὐτὴν περὶ μικρῶν ἀλλ' ἐκ μικρῶν, στασιάζουσι δὲ περὶ μεγάλων. μάλιστα δὲ καὶ αἱ μικρὰὶ ἰσχύουσιν, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς κερτοῖς γίνωνται*. He then adds, *οἷον συνέβη καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις; μετέβαλε γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία ἐκ δύο νεανίσκων στοσιασάντων*. Here the *ἀρχαίοι χρόνοι* can hardly mean anything but the whole time of the domination of the *Gamoroi*, though in this case it was the very end of the time. The words *μετέβαλεν ἡ πολιτεία* can refer only to some such change as the driving out of the *Gamoroi*. Plutarch (*Præc. Reip. Ger.* 32) also winds up the story to the same effect; *οὐ μὲν ἔπεισε* [the wise senator, see p. 38], *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τούτων στοσιασάντες, ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς μεγάλαις τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ἀνέτρεψαν*. The other allusion of Aristotle (*Pol.* v. 3. 5) distinctly refers to the driving out of the *Gamoroi*. Among instances of risings against oligarchies (*οἷον ἐν τοῖς ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις, ὅταν πλείους ᾖεν οἱ μὴ μετέχοντες τῆς πολιτείας, κρείττους γὰρ οἷονταί εἶναι*) he reckons *ἐν Συρακούσαις πρὸ τῆς Γέλωνος τυραννίδος*. It is, I think, plain that the dispute of the two young men was the occasion, though, according to Aristotle's great distinction, certainly not the cause, of the fall of the *Gamoroi*.

## NOTE III p. 30.

## MH KINEI KAMARINAN.

THE fame of the oracle doubtless comes from the reference in Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 701;

"Fatis nunquam concessa moveri  
Adjacet Camarina procul."

Here however there is a clear confusion between the lake and the town. Silius (xiv. 198) of course follows his master;

"Et cui non licitam fatis, Camarina, moveri."

Servius tells the story, and quotes the oracle, *μη κινει Καμαρίναν ἀκίνητος γὰρ ἀμείνων*, and adds, "quo contempto exsiccaverunt paludes, et carentes pestilentia, per eam partem ingressis hostibus, poenas dederunt." This may conceivably refer to the coming of the Carthaginians in B.C. 405. Suidas, in the article headed *μη κινει Καμαρίναν*, says simply *ἐβλάθησαν*, and adds, *ὅθεν ἡ παροιμία εἴρηται ἐν τῶν καὶ ταύτων βλαβερῶς τε νοσούντων*. He says further; *τοὺς δὲ φασὶ φύσιν δυσώδεις εἶναι τῆς Καμαρίνας, οὗ τοῖς κλάδοις ἀνασσευόμενοι ἀγρότερον ἔχειν*.

## NOTE IV p. 40.

## THE TEMPLES IN ORTYGIA.

THE two temples in Ortygia are well known. There is the better preserved one on the highest point in the island, that which is now the metropolitan church, and there is the other nearer the isthmus, of which part only has been brought to light. The former has been always understood to be the temple of Athênê, and the latter has been generally accepted as the temple of Artemis. These dedications are disputed by Schubring (*Die Bewässerung von Syrakus*, *Philologus*, xxii. p. 636, and *Der neu ausgegrabene Tempel in Syrakus*, xxxii. p. 361), who rules the higher temple to be that of Artemis, but does not fix the dedication of the lower temple. He is answered by Holm (*Topografia*, p. 174, *Lupus*, 93), who, successfully, as I think, defends the common view.

Schubring's chief argument is that Ortygia is the special seat of Artemis, not of Athênê. She was Artemis Alpheïda or Arethousia,

the Artemis out of whose epithet grew the story of Arethousa and Alpheios (Schol. Pind. Pyth. ii. 12; *ὅθεν Ἀλφειῶας Ἀρτέμιδος ὑπὸν ἐκείῃ καθιδρύθη*); she had a statue hard by the fountain of Arethousa (Ib.; *ἄλλας, ἱδρυται γὰρ ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀριθοίῳ*). Artemis therefore would be likely to occupy the most prominent site and the one nearest to Arethousa; and this description agrees with the metropolitan church and not with the temple nearer the isthmus. He remarks further on the early style of the commonly called temple of Artemis, as better agreeing than that of the metropolitan church with the story of Agathoklés in the time of the *Gamoroi*. He argues that the notion that the head temple (as the one that is now the great church clearly was) was dedicated to Athênê arose only from misunderstanding the words of Cicero. He (Verres, iv. 53, 55) mentions both, but has more to say about that of Athênê. His words are; "In ea [Insula] sunt sedes sacræ complures; sed dum quæ longe ceteris antecellunt; Dianæ una, et altera, quæ fuit antea istius adventum ornatissima, Minervæ." In c. 55 he describes the temple of Athênê, and the pictures which adorned it up to the time of Verres, at some length.

Assuredly the passages from Cicero, while they go a good way to prove that the two temples which we have to deal with are the two of which he speaks, go but very little way to prove which is Athênê and which is Artemis. The orator enlarges on the one which happened to supply him with most materials for his indictment against Verres. Yet the fact that the temple of Athênê should have supplied him with his chief materials, the fact that it was the temple specially chosen for the gifts and memorials of the rulers of Syracuse, may have some weight towards showing that the head temple was that of Athênê. But there is evidence which seems directly to prove that the temple of Athênê stood on the most prominent site in the Island. This is the passage quoted by Athênaios (xi. 6) from Polemôn, which must be given at length;

Παλῶν δὲ τῇ περὶ τοῦ Μορίχου ἐν Συρακούσαις φησὶν ἐπ' ἄρα τῇ κήρῃ πρὸς τῇ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἱερῇ ἐκτὸς τοῦ τείχους ἐσχάρας τιμὴ εἶνα, ἀφ' ἧς φησὶ τὴν κίλικα ναυπηλοῦσιν ἀναπλεῶντες μέχρι τοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνῆς ἀράτου ἀσπίδα· καὶ οὕτως ἀφίανεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κεραμίδας κίλικας, καθύστες εἰς στήλην ἀνθεῶν καὶ κηρία καὶ λιβανωτὸν ἄνθητων καὶ ἄλλ' ἅντα μετὰ τούτων ἀρώματα.

I must confess that I do not see the meaning of the words *πρὸς*





The reference to the temple of Athênê is perfectly clear. There must have been an armed figure of the goddess, the highest object in the city, and therefore the last to be seen by those who put to sea. And this can apply only to the site of the great church, not to the site of the temple near the isthmus.

It is another argument in favour of the claim of Artemis to the lower temple that her brother Apollôn had some rights there (see p. 43). This appears by a very ancient inscription on the steps of the temple (see Schubring, *Bewässerung*, 637; *Neu aufg. Tempel*, 363; *Topografia*, 163; *Lupus*, 80). It will be found at length in Rühl, *Inscriptiones præter Atticas*, p. 145. There seems to be a good deal of questioning, into which it does not concern me to enter, about the latter part of the inscription. But the former part seems fairly clear ;

ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΕΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ ΤΟ Ν  
ΚΑΟΝΙ

I should hardly have made the last word out for myself, but when experts tell me that we must read *Κλεομένης ἐποίησε τὸ Ἀπόλλωνι* (Schubring seems to see *Gelôn* rather than Apollôn), I can believe that it does. And that is enough to prove the point.

I do not see much strength in Schubring's other arguments, most of which are noticed by Holm. I am always afraid of too much trusting to the scholiasts on Pindar ; but I should certainly read the passages from them as implying that the *τερόν* and the *ἄγαλμα* of Artemis there spoken of were distinct, that the statue was close to Arethousa, and that the temple was elsewhere. There is surely nothing wonderful in a temple—of course implying a statue—and another statue, without a temple, in another place, belonging to the worship of the same deity. The style of the temple which we call Artemis is undoubtedly older than the style of that which we call Athênê. But the style of Athênê is surely primitive Doric, quite capable of coming within the time of the *Gameroi*, though the style of Artemis is earlier still. Why the first founders did not at once place Artemis on the highest point has not been revealed to me. If Archias had set down his own memorials like Winthrop, we should know many things which we now have to guess at.

## NOTE V. pp. 43, 139.

## ACHRADINA.

IN arguing the points of controversy which have arisen with regard to this part of Syracuse, we must distinguish between a question of words and a question of things. The date and the application of the word *Achradina* is one thing. The process by which the quarter commonly so called was taken within the Syracusan city, and the possible question whether the whole of it ever was so taken in, is another thing. These last are most important points in the history of Syracuse, and we can come to our conclusions about them, whether we apply the name *Achradina* to the whole of the quarter concerned or to part of it only.

I had come to my own conclusions as set forth in the text, when I was startled by an article by Mr. Haverfield in the *Classical Review* for March 1889, the main object of which seems to be to show that the name *Achradina* belongs to the lower part only of the quarter to which it is commonly applied. In most, if not all, plans of Syracuse, the name takes in both the high ground between the inlet of Santa Bonagia or Panagia and the Latommi, and also the low ground between the Latommi and the isthmus and the Great Harbour. *Achradina* thus takes in the whole eastern end of the hill of Syracuse, its whole face towards the sea, as well as the lower coast between the hill and the isthmus, including the Little Harbour. Its west side is marked on the upper ground by the cut wall commonly called the wall of Gelón (see pp. 44, 140), which must have been afterwards carried down to the Great Harbour at a point which would take in the docks. Mr. Haverfield argues that the name applies only to the lower ground. He holds that, "previous to 415, the fortified Syracuse lay to the south of Epipolæ." By this I understand him to mean that at that time what is commonly called Upper *Achradina* was not fortified. That would make the so-called wall of Gelón later than the year 415. He says too that "in no passage" is *Achradina* "described as an elevation of any kind." He says further that "the chief writers who use the name are Diodorus, Livy, and Cicero;" and he adds that "the orator is the first to mention it." Yet we find in Polybius, viii. 6, how Marcus [Marcellus] *ἔκτισεν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀχραδίνῃ*. (It is said that the text has been tampered with by some

epitomator; but there seems no doubt as to the word which concerns us.) And Livy (xxiv. 34), in describing the attack of Marcellus on Achradina, and the defence by Archimédēs, says, "Natura etiam juvabat loci, quod saxum, cui imposita muri fundamenta sunt, magna ex parte ita proclive est, ut non solum missa tormento, sed etiam quæ pondere suo provoluta essent, graviter in hostem inciderent." The Roman siege has its difficulties, to which we shall come in due time. Perhaps the words which Livy uses may seem inadequate to describe the rocky eastern shore of the hill of Syracuse. But they are still more inapplicable to the low rocks by the Little Harbour.

Plutarch too, dealing both with the time of Marcellus and with the earlier time of Timoleôn, speaks of Achradina in words which clearly take in both the upper and the lower level. In Tim. 18 the Corinthian Neôn

ἐκράτησε καὶ κατέσχε τὴν λεγομένην Ἀχραδινὴν, ἡ κρείτιστον ἰδὼκει καὶ ἀθραυστότατον ὑπάρχειν τῆς Συρακουσίων μέρος πόλεως, τρόπον τινα συγκειμένης ἐκ πλεόνων πόλεων. εὐπορήσας δὲ καὶ σίτου καὶ χρημάτων οὐκ ἀφῆκε τὸν τόπον, αὐτὸν ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν, ἀλλὰ φραζάμενος τὸν περιβόλον τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς καὶ συναψας τοῖς ἐρύμασι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν διεφύλαττε.

Ἄκρα and ἀκρόπολις here, it must be remembered, mean the Island (see vol. i. p. 352).

In the Life of Marcellus (18) the name of Achradina yet more distinctly takes in all Syracuse on the mainland, except Tyche and Neapolis—which last name most likely means Temenitēs. Marcellus has got over the wall,

ἔμεινε δὲ τὸ κατεργώτατον καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον (Ἀχραδινὴ καλεῖται) διὰ τὸ ταειχίσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑξω πόλιν, ἥς τε μὲν Νέαν, τὸ δὲ Τύχην ἀνομιλῶσιν.

Mark that ἡ ἑξω πόλις, which in Thucydides' day meant Achradina, as opposed to the Island, now means the newer quarters, as opposed to the Island and Achradina together. But Achradina here must take in the eastern part of the hill; for Lower Achradina and Tyche cannot be said to be built against one another. But even without these more distinct descriptions, it is enough that Livy describes the place attacked by Marcellus as a high place, and that not only Livy, but Polybios, called that place Achradina.

The fullest modern discussion of the points touching Achradina is Schubring's paper bearing that name in the *Rheinisches Museum*,

vol. xx. It is spoken of also by Holm (G. S. i. pp. 126, 104, 388), and in Holm and Cavallari's *Topografia* (Lupus, 27, 18, et seqq.). Schubring begins by saying that the general belief had been that Achradina took in both the upper and the lower ground, as defined above—Göller, for instance (p. 49), seems not to have doubted it—and he defends that belief against a paper of Cavallari published in 1845, which I have not seen and of which the author himself has not a copy, but which is more than once referred to by Grote. Schubring refers to Cavallari's paper as maintaining exactly the opposite doctrine to that of Mr. Haverfield, namely that Achradina meant only Upper Achradina and not Lower. This is exactly the description given by Grote (vii. 333), who refers to Cavallari;

"This fortified high land of Achradina thus constituted the outer city; while the lower ground situated between it and the inner city or Ortygia, seems at this time not to have been included in the fortifications of either."

He goes on to speak of the use of the lower ground as a place "partly for religious processions, games, and other multitudinous ceremonies, partly for the burial of the dead." That is, he conceives Achradina to have remained a distinct outpost down to the time of the Athenian siege, while I believe that it lost that character in the days of Gelon.

Schubring himself takes, one is tempted to say, needless pains to prove that Achradina took in the lower ground as well as the upper, a fact which will come before us over and over again in the course of our history, above all in the time of Dionysius. But, in so doing, he has made a most valuable collection of all the passages bearing on the history of Lower Achradina and all that was in and near it, the *agora*, the docks, the later Olympieion, and everything else to do with the matter. In his paper with the less attractive heading *Die Befestigung von Syrakus*, he has also several references to Achradina as to other parts of the city, which bear more than the paper directly dealing with Achradina on the way in which Achradina, thus defined, came to become part of the city which began on Ortygia.

My own notions, as set forth in the text, as to the nature and time of the process, and the relation of Achradina to what I conceive to have been the other detached outposts, have been suggested by various remarks of Holm, though I do not know that he ever fully commits himself to it as a complete view. His views as to Polichna

(see vol. i. p. 361), whether we accept them or not, come in to help us. Polichna may or may not have been a twin town with Ortygia; it was in any case a detached fortified outpost guarding one important road. I conceive Achradina and Temenitès to have held the same position on other roads. Achradina and its appearances and remains are fully described in the Topografia (Lupus, p. 27 et seqq.). The historical question is argued in the second part (Topografia, p. 170, Lupus, pp. 87 et seqq., 98 et seqq.). Holm fully admits that Upper Achradina was occupied before Gelôn's time, and that the Latomiai (Top. 178, Lupus, p. 95) formed part of its defences. He remarks (Topografia, p. 171, Lupus, p. 88) with great force that, when the coast-line of the Little Harbour was different from what it is now, Upper Achradina may have been almost as near to the Island as Lower. He argues (Top. 181, Lupus, 98, 99) that the western wall of Upper Achradina is not, as Schubring held it to be, the work of Gelôn, but that Gelôn first brought Upper Achradina and Ortygia together by fencing in Lower Achradina. Holm's view therefore is essentially the same as mine; and he brings out also clearly, though a little casually, the relations which I suppose to have existed between Achradina and the other outposts of Polichna and Temenitès (Top. p. 166, Lupus, 84-87). Schubring too (Bewässerung, 618) brings out the position of Temenitès, if not as a military post, yet as a detached suburb surrounding the temple.

We therefore see in the words of Thucydides (vi. 3), First, the Island; *ἡ νῆσος, ἐν ᾗ οὐκ οὐκὲν περιχυζομένη ἡ πόλις ἢ ἐντός ἐστιν*, Secondly, the Outer City, Achradina, Upper and Lower, to which I must add in Thucydides' day Tycha; *ὕστερον χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ ἐξ ἐκπροστυχισθείσα πολυάνθρωπος ἐγενετο*. This *προστυχισμός* I understand to be the work of Gelôn. He joined Ortygia and Upper Achradina by fortifying Lower Achradina. This enlarged enclosure was again enlarged during the struggle with the Mercenaries (see pp. 306, 312, and Appendix XXX) by the addition of Tycha. The whole formed in the year 415 before Christ a city as great as Athens—*πόλις οὐδὲν ἐλάσσον αὐτῇ γε καὶ αὐτῇ τῆς Ἀθηναίων* (Thuc. vii. 28). It is inconceivable that these words could have been used of a fortified Syracuse confined to the south of Epipolai.

As for the date of the first settlement on Achradina I do not know that there is anything to fix it. It is older than Gelôn; it need not be younger than Archias, though it must

be younger than Archias' first settlement. Schubring and Holm agree to place it before the year 664 B.C., the date of the settlement at Akrai, on the ground that the nearer outpost would be older than the more distant. And there is evidence which strikes me as stronger than it seems to strike Holm (Top. p. 178, Lupus, 95), to show that there were Latomiai before the year 648, and occupied ground hard by them. In that year, so Pausanias (v. 8. 8) records, Lygdamis of Syracuse was victor in the pankration. He must have deeply impressed the memory of his physical presence on the traditions of his own city; for Pausanias doubted whether he ought to accept the belief of the Syracusans that Lygdamis was of the same height as the true Hellenic Hēraklēs (*εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῇ Θηβαίῳ μέγεθος παρσένη ὁ Λύγδαμος ὅτε μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, λεγόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων ἐστίν*). It concerns us more that this athlete of the seventh century had a monument near the Latomiai: *τοῦτε πρὸς ταῖς λιθορυφίας ἐστὶν ἡ Συρακούσων μνήμη*. It is argued that the monument of Lygdamis need not have been of the age of Lygdamis. But the presumption at least surely is that Pausanias is speaking of a contemporary monument. It is argued further that the reference to the Latomiai merely means that there were Latomiai there in Pausanias' day, and that Pausanias used the name merely to mark the place of the tomb. But there are so many Latomiai at Syracuse that to say that a thing is near the Latomiai proves nothing. It is far more likely that the meaning is that the tomb was made near Latomiai then existing. If this be so, we distinctly see the Latomiai in the middle of the seventh century, less than a hundred years after the foundation of the city. The occupation and fortification of Achradina is therefore carried back at least to that time.

I hold then that Polichna, Tementēs, and Upper Achradina, were all, from a very early but untraced time, detached outposts of the city in the Island. Upper Achradina was joined to the Island under Geōn by the fencing in of Lower Achradina. Tementēs came to be joined on through the operations of the Athenian siege. Polichna, at its greater distance, never was joined on at all. The joining on of Tyche and Neapolis seems to be quite another story; they do not seem ever to have been detached outposts. That Euryalos was not a detached outpost from the beginning is one of the chief puzzles of our story.

The force and origin of the name Achradina we have to make out for ourselves from its use. The derivation from *ἀχρός* seems likely enough, though Schubring very properly warns us (Achradina, 54) that there is no authority for it. The only attempt at a definition is in a very confused entry in Stephen of Byzantium, from which we certainly do not learn much;

*Ἀχραδινή, νησος ἔχουσα πάλιν πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσας, ἣν ἐπολιόρησε Μάρκος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀχραδινή μοῖρα Συρακουσῶν. Κάραξ δὲ χώρις αὐτὴν καλεῖ καὶ νῆσον τὰ ἔθνη δὲ Ἀχραδινάων καὶ Ἀχραδίνος.*

It is surely enough that the name is constantly applied, as by Diodōros and Plutarch, to the lower ground, and that it is also, as by Polybios and Livy, applied to the upper ground. That is to say, it takes in both. It does not prove much to say that it is not used by Thucydides. Neither does he speak of Ortygia or of Tycha. He does (vi. 75, 100, vii. 3) speak of Temenitēs, because Temenitēs played a part of its own in the operations of the Athenian siege, in a way that neither Ortygia nor Achradina played, or, as established parts of the city, could well have played. It is rather more curious to note that Diodōros and Plutarch, who use the name freely elsewhere, do not use it in describing the Athenian siege. This just suggests the thought that, as the name was not used by Thucydides, so neither was it used by Philistos in his account of the siege. If so, the reason may be the same in his case. There is nothing to make us think that, when Diodōros used the name in describing the driving out of Thraeyboulos, he was carrying back a later name to an earlier time. There was much more opportunity for mentioning Achradina by a separate name in that story than there was in that of the Athenian siege. And the name, whatever its origin, does not sound as if it had been invented in later times.

The fullest picture of Achradina is that which Cicero (Verr. .v. 53) gives of it in his day, which is clearer as a picture than as a piece of topography;

*"Altera autem est urbs Syracusis, cui nomen Acradina est; in qua forum maximum, pulcherrimæ porticus, ornatissimum prytæneum, amplissima est curia, templumque egregium Jovis Olympii; ceterasque urbis partes una lata via perpetua, multisque transversis divisa, privatis ædificiis continentur."*

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Most of the particular things here spoken of, the *agora*, the *prytaneion*, the later Olympieion, were undoubtedly in the Lower Achradina, but this does not shut out the "*altera urbs*" from taking in the Upper Achradina also. The long wide street it would now be hard to trace; but it may well have climbed the hill.

A question has further been raised as to the present state of the greater part of Upper Achradina. It is certain that the first question on walking along any part of it is, Where are the houses gone! It is very hard at first sight to believe that this desolate-looking region, with the rugged stone constantly coming to the surface, can ever have been part of an inhabited city. The remark was made fifty years back by Mr Gladstone, and it is preserved by Mr. Dennis in his *Hand-book*. It must indeed occur to every one. But we soon get used to the undoubted sites of buildings, the foundations cut in the solid rock. Sometimes large spaces are cut out, which can have been only for temples or other large public buildings; there are other smaller cuttings which must have been for houses. It is certain that they are not equally scattered over the whole hill. The signs of houses are very thick at the south-east near the Capuchin monastery; further on, just beyond the gorge of the *Due Fratelli*, there is a group of cuttings for large buildings, but none of which one can be quite sure that they are meant for houses. There is another group at the extreme north, close by the gorge of the Panagia. But we need not suppose that dwellings were equally thick on every part of Achradina, any more than on every part of Epipolai. There they certainly were not, even after the building of the wall of Dionysius. Nor is there any need to suppose that every house had a cut foundation.

The most striking piece of wall-building or wall cutting in this part of Syracuse is the western wall which I hold to be older than Gelón (see p. 40). But a wall, built or cut, ran along the whole cliff, and it becomes historical in the Roman siege. Large fragments may be traced; there are some pieces near the gorge of the *Due Fratelli*, and some very marked bits rather further to the north. I do not profess to fix the date of this wall, but, if it was not made before the time of Dionysius, he was sure to make it.

The most amazing notion about Achradina, after that of the island in Stephen of Byzantium, is that it was the same as *Polichna*. Such seems to be the belief of a German commentator on Pindar,



Mezger, *Siegeslieder*, p. 43; "Gleichzeitig mit Ortygia, vielleicht sogar schon vorher, scheint auch auf dem Festlande die Höhe südlich vom Anapos bebaut worden zu sein, welche später den Tempel des olympischen Zeus trug, in dem noch zur Zeit des peloponnesischen Krieges das Verzeichniss der Bürger aufbewahrt wurde [see the passage of Plutarch referred to in vol. 1. p. 361]; dieser Stadttheil hiess Achradina." He had perhaps confounded the earlier and the later Olympieion.

## NOTE VI. p. 60.

## CHARÔNDAS OF KATANÊ.

THE Katanaian lawgiver Charôndas is one of those men whose names have become very famous while hardly anything is really known about their actions. The chief thing that we can say about him is negative. The account of Diodôros, who has moved him to Thourioi in the fifth century B.C., is a confusion quite as great as the confusion which we shall presently come to, by which Pausanias moved Anaxilas of Rhêgion the other way, from the fifth century to the seventh. And it is far less easy to explain. In the story of Anaxilas, wild as the chronological error is, we can see how it came about. But how came a lawgiver of so thoroughly primitive a type as Charôndas to get quartered in so modern a state of things as an Athenian colony of the time of Periklês? To carry back an ancient lawgiver into times yet more ancient, to make him the author of laws of a date much more modern than his own - both these are familiar processes. But here a primitive lawgiver and his laws with him are carried forward into a very modern period, a process to which it is not so easy to find a parallel. One may perhaps risk the guess that, as Charôndas was said to have legislated for several cities besides Katanê, Sybaris may in some accounts have been one of them. Then, when Thourioi occupied the place and took up the traditions of Sybaris, but without taking the name, the new city may have claimed the lawgiver of the old one, and may have spoken of him by its own name. If Charôndas legislated for Sybaris, to call him the lawgiver of Thourioi would be no more wonderful than when one hears men speak of "France" and "England" before any Frank or Angle settled in Gaul or Britain. The next stage would be for those who sought for greater accuracy of description to try to mend matters by bringing

Charondas within the times of the existence of Thourioi. This is the stage which we find in Diodorus. But the chronological confusion need not hinder us from using the account in Diodorus as being of as much or as little value as our other scattered notions of the primitive lawgiver of Katand.

The earliest mention of Charondas seems to be in the Republic of Plato, x. p. 600. His birth-place is not mentioned; but he is taken for granted as a lawgiver standing to Italy and Sicily in the same relation in which Solon stood to Athens; *οτι δε τις αὐτῶν τοῦτος νομοθέτης ἀγαθὸν γυγνόντων καὶ σφῆς ἀφελαιέων; Χαρίωντος μὲν γὰρ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας, καὶ ἡμεῖς Σάλακον· οτι δὲ τις;* He is mentioned several times in Aristotle's Politics; but the passage which has been commonly thought to tell us most about him (ii. 12. 5, 7) is now unluckily thought to be spurious or interpolated (Newman, Politics, ii. 376). Here he is described as a native of Katand, and as having legislated, not for Italy and Sicily generally, but for the Chalkidian cities only (*νομοθέτης δ' ἐγένετο Σάλακας ἐν Λοκροῖς τοῖς ἑσπερίαις καὶ Χαρίωντος δ' ἑκαταχίαις τοῖς αἰετοῦ πόλεσιν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τοῖς Χαλκιδικοῖς πόλεσιν· τὰς περὶ Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν*). He was a pupil (*μαθητής*) of Zaleukos, as Zaleukos and—strange to say—Lykourgos were of Thalés. The only thing peculiar to his legislation was his law about false witnesses, in which he first brought in the action called *ἐπίσηψις*, afterwards well known at Athens. It is further remarked that his legislation was more minute and precise than that of later times (*Χαρίωντος δ' ἴδιον μὲν αὐτῷ ἐστι πλεονεξία τῶν ψευδομαρτυριῶν (πρότερον γὰρ ἐποίησε τὴν ἐπίσηψιν), τῇ δ' ἀρεταίῃ τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ γλοσφορέστερος καὶ τῶν οὐ νομοθετῶν*). There is another mention of him in the Politics (i. 2. 5), from which it seems that we owe to him the delightful word *ἐμοσσεῖν*, the fellow to *ἐμύσσειν* and *ἐμογμύσσειν* (cf. Julius Pollux, viii. 111, under *δήμιον*). In iv. 12. 10 Charondas is quoted as illustrating the position that the best lawgivers were men of middle rank in their several cities (*τοῖς βελτίστοις νομοθέταις εἶναι τῶν μέσων πολιτῶν*); but as the others spoken of are the high-born Solon and the kingly-born Lykourgos—with the odd excuse *οὐ γὰρ ἔρ βασιλεῖς*—this does not tell us much. A little way on further (iv. 12. 6) he appears among those who legislated in an aristocratic spirit, with the object of taking in the commons by measures seemingly, but only seemingly, in their interests. The instance in the case of Charondas is that, in case of failure to attend as judges, or rather jurymen (*δικασταί*), he laid

on a heavy fine in the case of the rich and a lower in the case of the poor. It is of course meant that such a provision would have a popular look, but that it would really tend to fill the juries with rich men.

We do not learn much about Charôndas from these notices of Aristotle. For our purposes it does not much matter whether the passage at the end of the second book is Aristotle's writing or not. Whether written by Aristotle or by an early pupil, it would represent the received belief of the age and nothing more. The passage is as good evidence as we are likely to get for Charôndas' birth at Katané, and the careful confining of his legislation to Chalkidian cities contrasts favourably with Plato's loose talk about Italy and Sicily. Only the specimens of his laws which Aristotle gives have no very primitive sound. They seem better fitted for the full-grown commonwealths, aristocratic or democratic, of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

The Katanaian birth of Charôndas is asserted by the writer known as Herakleidês of Pontos (25), who says that the Rhêgines had an aristocratic constitution, and used the laws of Charôndas (*πολιτείας δὲ κατεστήσαντο ἀριστοκρατικῆς, χιλίοι γὰρ πάντα δικαιοῦσιν* [see p. 343, and below, Appendix XXXIII] *αἰρετὰ δὲ τμημάτων νόμοις δὲ ἐχρῶντο τοῖς Χαρόνδου τοῦ Καταναίου*). He goes on to mention the tyranny of Anaxilas, which is one of Bentley's arguments (Phalaris, 363) to disprove the date given to Charôndas by Diodôros, by showing that he lived before Anaxilas. The statement of Ælian (V. H. iii. 17) that he gave laws to Rhêgion when he was banished from Katané may be a piece of independent tradition, or it may be a mere surmise from the account of Herakleidês. Charôndas here comes in a list of philosophers who played a part in public life (*ἐπολιτευόμενοι οὖν καὶ φιλόσοφοι, κ.τ.λ.*), along with Zalsukos, Solôn, and others; *ἐπηγερόμενον γὰρ τὰ πικρὰ Ζάλευκος μὲν τὰ ἐν Λακκοῖς, Χαρόνδας δὲ τὰ ἐν Κατάσῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἐγγίρῃ, ὅτε ἐκ Κατάσῃς ἔφυγε*. Another of the passages quoted by Bentley to remove Charôndas from Thouriol is the long extract from Theophrastos in John of Stoboi (xliv. 23), where he quotes several of the Thourian laws, and contrasts them with the legislation of Charôndas, in this case on the subject of ready money (*ἥ ὅτι περ Χαρόνδας καὶ Πλάτων; οὗτοι γὰρ παραχρῆμα κελεύουσι δίδωαι καὶ λαμβάνειν, εἰς δὲ τις πιστεύσῃ, μὴ εἶναι δικήν, αἰτὸν γὰρ αἴτιον εἶναι τῆς ἐδαικίας*). The astonishing passage in Stephen of Byzantium (Κατάσῃ), which makes Charôndas legislate for Athens (*ἵστα Κατάσῃς Χαρόνδας*

*δ δίδωται τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις νομοθετῶν*) is explained by Holm (i. 401) to refer to Thourioi as an Athenian colony. But this is surely a little harsh. This passage is not the only one in which Charondas is connected with Athens; for Athēnaioi (x. v. 10), on the authority of Hermippus of Smyrna, a writer of the third century B.C., in his treatise *ἐπὶ Νομοθεσίᾳ*, speaks of his laws as being sung at Athens at the wine (*ἔθοντο δὲ Ἀθήναις καὶ ἐν Χαρωνδῶν νόμοις τῶν αἶνων*). This is not exactly what we should have looked for; but it seems to show that the laws of Charondas were composed in verse. And we find a yet more startling mention of the laws of Charondas as sung at a much greater distance from Katane than Athens. Bentley (373, 374) refers to the passage of Strabo (xii. 2. 9), where the people of Mazaka—afterwards Caesarea—in Kappadokia appear as using the laws of Charondas, and seemingly as having them sung; *χρῶνται δὲ ἐν Μαζακῶν τοῖς Χαρωνδῶν νόμοις, αἰρούμενοι καὶ νομοῦντες, ὥς ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἐξηγητὴς τῶν νόμων, καθὼς ἐν αὐτῇ Περσικῇ νομολογίᾳ*. The passage is puzzling; we should like to know how the laws of Charondas came to take root and to be so abiding in a distant and barbarian land, and we should like to know exactly what the Mazakene *νομοῦντες* did. Still it would seem that there was at Mazaka in Strabo's day something in verse which passed for the laws of Charondas.

These latter passages say nothing as to the birthplace of Charondas. I do not know that (except in Diodorus) he is anywhere referred to as a Thourian, save only by Valerius Maximus (vi. 5, Ext. 3), where he tells the story of his death, much as in Diodorus. Cicero refers to him twice, once (Legg i. 22) in a general way, along with his usual companions, Lykourgos, Solon, and Zaleukos. In the second place (Legg iii. 2), he is quoted as laying down the rule that men should not only obey their rulers, but should love and honour them ("nec vero solum obtemperent obedientque magistratibus, sed etiam ut eos colant diligentque praecribimus, ut Charondas in suis facit legibus"). This agrees with what King Cnut says in his letter from Rome.

From all this we may surely infer that Charondas was in some sense a citizen of Katane, and that he gave laws to that city and to some others in Italy and Sicily. Beyond this we can say very little. The suggestion of Holm that he was not of Katanian but of Dorian birth rests simply on the Doric form of his name, like

Pagôndas and Epameinôndas. The ending in *das*, he argues, would not have been used in Chalkidian Katanê. There is something in this objection, which does not seem to have occurred to any earlier scholar. Charôndas may have been a citizen of Katanê only by adoption, though in that case it is a little odd that he should be called *Καταναίος*. It is further to be noticed that whoever put together the *προϊμία νόμων* which pass for sayings of Charôndas in John of Stoboi, xlv. 40, must have looked on the natural language of Charôndas as being Doric. For he starts with a few Doric forms like *τὰς βουλευμένους*, and brings in one or two such now and then, as if to assert a principle, though he goes on for the most part in ordinary Greek. Is it possible, after all, that Charôndas was really of Sybaris and adopted at Katanê? This would account for the Thourian legend. In such a case he would be sure to be claimed for Thourioi, even though the actual laws of Thourioi were quite unlike his.

If we are thus uncertain as to the birthplace of Charôndas, we are still more in the dark as to his date. A general consent places him after Zaleukos, but who shall venture to fix a date for Zaleukos? Some make Zaleukos the teacher of Charôndas; some make Charôndas, some even make Zaleukos himself, into scholars of Pythagoras. That is to say, in anything to do with Italy or Sicily Pythagoras must be brought in at all hazards. As Phalaris could not get on without him, as even Numa Pompilius could not get on without him, so neither could Zaleukos and Charôndas. In such chronology as this we are out of all reach of archons and olympiads. Grote (iv 561) gives us the whole range of the sixth century B.C. to find a date for Charôndas. That may do well enough; but I should not have refused if he had added the seventh. We can only say that he belongs to the dim primitive period of Sicilian history, that he goes with Panaitios and Phalaris rather than with Gelôn and Anaxilas.

As for the matter of his laws, the remark of Aristotle, if it be Aristotle, that the only special thing about them was the law of *ἐπίτακψις* is hardly borne out by the other references made by himself and others. The law about ready money, quoted by Theophrastos, has a primitive and original sound. The most difficult statement is that of Aristotle which makes Charôndas take in the commons by a law professedly popular but really oligarchic. This

surely savours of a later state of things than we can fancy existing at Katané in his day. But the motive may be only Aristotle's surmise, as Grote seems to suggest in his note at vol. iv. p. 561; the matter of the law sounds ancient enough. Enforced attendance at assemblies is a thoroughly primitive notion (see Domesday in the very first page for the men of Kent), and it was long after carried out at Athens in a very primitive fashion (Aristoph. *Acharn.* 22). This is the only one among these laws or fragments of laws which has any kind of political character. It reads as if the *Gomoroí* of Katané had not been driven out, but had been compelled to admit the commons to some share of political rights. Charondas may well have been the lawgiver of a young democracy.

Of the laws which may be called rather social than political Diodóros (xii. 12-18) has preserved the substance of a good many in prose, his own prose of course, and in c. 14 he gives the substance of some in another shape, namely in the Iambic trimeters into which they were thrown by the comic poets (*ἀμφότερας δὲ τὰς προειρημένους πολλοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν δι' ἑμμέτρου ποιήματος μεμελυσσέμενοι*). But the ingenuity of Bentley (*Phalaris*, 374) has, out of one of these reports of Diodóros in prose and verse (xii. 12, 14), with the help of a quotation in Athénaios (xv. 50, No. 14 in the collection of *Skolia*), put together part at least of a genuine law of Charondas in the original metrical shape. Diodóros reports the law of Charondas *περὶ τῆς κοκομίας* in both shapes. It was νόμος ἐξηλλαγμένος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομοθέταις παρασκευάμενος, containing provisions for a *δικὴ κοκομίας*, with befitting penalties. It is the *προόμιος* of this which Bentley put together;

[Χαρώντου] λόγον, ὃ ταῖς, μετὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φίλει,  
τῶν δειλῶν δ' ἀπέχου γινώσκει δειλῶν ὀλίγη χάρις.

The Attic singers may have touched up the language and metre a little; but we surely have here the genuine ring of the "*lex horrendi carminis*." It was Bentley too (378) who discerned the trimeters in the first two lines of the law (Diodóros, xii. 14) which shut out from political life the man who gave his children a step-mother. It is most likely that Diodóros got at most of the laws in this way at secondhand, without seeing any original text. But the substance of these primitive provisions is surely genuine. They breathe the full spirit of the ancient lawgiver, whose business it is, not merely to make a political constitution, but to tell

his people how they are to behave in all matters. There is the law which I gave as a specimen in the text (see p. 60), which allowed divorce, but only with a condition which a good deal lessened the value of the privilege. One is perhaps a little startled at the zeal of the lawgiver of the sixth century B.C. for the promotion of reading—does *γράμματα* always imply writing? (c. 13)—but it may perhaps be explained by the very fact that the accomplishment was a rare one. Then there is the law which Diodôros (c. 15) so greatly admired, which ordains that the orphan's estate should be looked after by his father's kinsfolk, who had an interest in improving it, while the orphan himself should be looked after by his mother's kinsfolk, who had no interest in shortening his possession of it. Then, while other lawgivers punished the coward in war with death, Charôndas (c. 16) made him sit three days in the *agora* in woman's clothes. Lastly, there is the provision (c. 17) that the proposer of a new law should come into the assembly with a halter round his neck, and the law against bearing arms in the assembly which I have already referred to (see p. 62) and which is said to have cost the lawgiver his life. All are of the primitive type; it is inconceivable that they can come from the real statute-book of Thourioi in the days of Herodotus and Lysias. It is yet more inconceivable that they are sheer inventions, "transparent gauze" or what not, of poor Diodôros. They are genuine fragments, modified no doubt a good deal in the handling, which comic poets and others had handed down from the days of Charôndas to the days of Diodôros.

The laws preserved by Diodôros are after all real laws, though often dealing with subjects which we now look on as lying beyond the reach of legislation. In this they differ from the collection of vague moral and religious precepts preserved by John of Stoboi (xliv. 40) under the heading *Καρόνδα Καραναίου προοίμια νόμων*. These are not laws, but sermons or proverbs according to their length, in which no faith can be put, and which we may be sure are a forgery of a late time, "neo-Platonic" or otherwise. One towards the end, beginning *γυναῖκα δὲ τὴν κατὰ νόμον ἑκαστος στυγίτω* (cf. S. Paul ad Eph. v. 33), is remarkable; it seems aimed in a hidden way at the favourite vice of Old Greece.

## NOTE VII. p. 64.

## PHALARIS AND THE BRAZEN BULL.

THERE is something very striking in the great renown of Phalaris compared with the very slight real knowledge which we have about him. The sources are endless, but they are all incidental. Not only is there no contemporary narrative—for that we should not look in the sixth century B.C.—; but, owing to the loss of those books of Diodoros in which the acts of Phalaris must have found a place, we have no consecutive narrative of any kind. We should be thankful for the most meagre annals—"annales brevissimi"—which would enable us to put together a few undoubted facts in an ascertained order. How little we really knew about Phalaris is curiously shown by the very short space which he fills in the narrative of Grote (iv. 509, 510). Grote's practical mind felt no call to collect and harmonize the scattered notices about Phalaris, or to speculate as to how or why he became such a favourite subject of legend and talk of every kind. What Grote finds to say about Phalaris goes into less than two pages; but those two pages are precious, as we see that he more than leans to belief in the reality of the bull. There is certainly no reason to doubt the historical reality of Phalaris, and the evidence for the bull is very strong. The direct evidence is strong; there is also the argument that, if the bull were real, we at once understand, what otherwise is so hard to explain, the deep and lasting impression which a man of whom so little is really known has made on men's minds from his own time till now. Without his bull, Phalaris would be no more than a hundred obscure tyrants in other Greek cities. Once grant the bull, and we at once see why he has lived in men's mouths from the days of Pindar onwards. About a tyrant who was guilty of so strange a freak of tyranny it was worth while to collect or to invent anecdotes and to point moral warnings. It was even worth while, in a spirit of ingenious contradiction, to devise orations and to forge letters to prove that the lord of the brazen bull was not quite so black as he had been painted.

The date of Phalaris seems to be now generally agreed on within a few years. The arguments of Bentley (Dissertation on



the Epistles of Phalaris, p. 27 et seqq.) may be thought to have set that question at rest. The first statement in the Chronicle of Eusebius (Roncalli, i. 323) which places his tyranny about 655 (Ol. xxxi. 2, "Phalaris apud Agrigentinos tyrannidem exercet") and his fall about 622 (Ol. xxxix. 3, "Phalaridis tyrannis destructa") cannot be received as both these dates come before the foundation of Akragas in 580. Of this alleged earlier date Clinton (F. H. i. 236) seems to take no notice, but only of the later date assigned by Jerome (Roncalli, i. 326), namely B. C. 570 (or 565, see Bentley, p. 28), which is also accepted by Bunbury (Dict. Biog., Phalaris); "Græciam (?) Phalaris tyrannidem exercuit xvi annos." This will fix his reign to about B. C. 570-554. So Soudas (Φάλαρις) places him in the fifty-second Olympiad, though his value is a little lessened by the words that follow about the letters, and by his speaking of him as *τυραννίσας Συρακίας πόλιν*. We are thus able to fix the date of Phalaris with as near an approach to certainty as we are likely to get in such a matter. I would not rely on any statement as to the date of Stésichoros, as the evidence for bringing Phalaris and Stésichoros into any relation with one another is more than doubtful.

This date being accepted, and the received date of the foundation of Akragas being accepted also, one consequence follows which seems not to have struck some of the chief writers on the subject (see Bentley, 322; Bunbury, Dict. Biog., Phalaris; see on the other hand Siefert, Akragas, 60). If Phalaris seized the tyranny ten years after the foundation of the city, he could not have been a native of Akragas. All the natives of Akragas at that time must have been young children. It proves nothing to pile together passages in which Phalaris is spoken of as *Ἀκρογανῆσις* or "Agrigentinus;" for he doubtless was a man of Akragas in the only sense in which anybody else then could be, a citizen but necessarily not a native. We should most naturally look for his birthplace in Gela, the metropolis of Akragas; but the statement that he was a native of Astypalaia, though it comes from no better source than one of the forged letters (xxiv. p. 128, *ἐγὼ δὲ ἐμαυτὸν αἶδα Φάλαριν Ἀστυδάμαντος υἱὸν, Ἀστυπалаία τὸ γένος, πατρίδος ἀπισταρημένον*; cf. Arsenios, *Ionis* [Violetum], 466), comes under the rule that, while the spurious document is of no value for the points which it seeks to establish, it may (or it may not) be of value for incidental points. It is always possible that the forger, either of the false

Phalaris or of the false Ingulf, may have had before him some sources of information which we have not. Phalaris could not have been born at Akragas. He may very well have been born at Astypalaia; and it is hard to see what should have put Astypalaia into the forger's head if he had not seen some record or tradition to that effect. If he had named any of the great cities of Sicily or of Greece, this argument would not apply, but, when it comes to Astypalaia, it is brought under the rule "credo quia impossibile." Siefert quotes the passage, and accepts the birth-place, and Grote, who (v. 274) wonders at the consideration which Siefert shows to the letters, accepts it without remark. It really proves nothing to quote, as Bentley does, such an incidental notice as that of Cicero (Verres, iv. 33), where Scipio, on giving back the bull to the Agrigentines, says, "equum esse illos cogitare, utrum esset Siculis utilis, suisne servire an populo Romano obtemperare, cum idem monumentum et domesticæ crudelitatis et nostræ mansuetudinis haberent." Phalaris, wherever he was born, had become a Sikeliot and an Akragantine.

A curious, but not very important, question has been raised about his name. Among the dark sayings of Lykophrôn (Alexandra, 717) we read, in speaking of the Sirens and the Campanian coast,

τὴν μὲν Φαλήρου τύρσις ἐμβασιμένην  
Γλάυς τε βέβρου δέξεται τέγγων χθόνα.

One might have taken no notice of this, were it not for the scholiast, who says, αὐτοὶ δὲ Φάληροι τύραννοί ἦν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τοὺς ἐπιφενομένους πρὸς αὐτὸν δεινῶς κολάζων καὶ ἀνακρῶν, μέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν β. Διτίαν,

τὴν κείνου Φάλαρος πρῆξιν ἀπελάσατο.

(The longer scholia of Tzetzés are to the same effect.)

Kallimachos, as we shall see, has more than one mention of Phalaris; but surely this hardly proves that the Φάληρος of Lykophrôn has anything to do with our Φάλαρις.

I do not know that a father is assigned to Phalaris anywhere but in the passage just quoted from the forged letters. When John Tzetzés (Chil. i. 643) says that Stésichoros

διήχθηρσε Φαλάρῃ τῷ Ἀστυपालαίῃ  
ἀνδρὶ τῆς Ἐρωθείας μὲν, πατρὶ δὲ τοῦ Παιρόλα,  
υἱῷ τοῦ Λεωδάμαντος, Ἀεράγαντος τυράννου,

he is simply following the letters, as when further on he talks about Tauromenion. So he himself says,

αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ τῶν Φαλάρειος ἐκείνου τοῦ πανούφου  
ἐπιστολῶν σοι γέγραφε ταύτην τὴν ἱστορίαν.

But the mother of Phalaris, though nameless, plays some part in the story, which shows that Phalaris was not looked on as very advanced in life. In Cicero (Div. i. 23) she dreams a dream, not—according to the approved practice—before his birth, but at a time when he must already have risen to some measure of importance. He had dedicated some images of the gods in his house, among them a statue of Hermēs holding a *patera* in his hand. Out of the *patera* the gods seemed in the dream to pour out blood upon the earth. The blood bubbles up, and fills the whole house; “Quod matris somnium immanis filii crudelitas comprobavit.” Cicero tells the story on the authority of Herakleidēs of Pontos, an author from whom (Frag. H. st. Græc. ii. 223) we get some other notices of Phalaris, and specially another of his mother. When the tyranny was upset, she was burned, seemingly in the bull (*ἐνέπηρσεν δὲ δῆμος καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς φίλους*). This looks as if Herakleidēs, if his works were perfect, would have something more to tell us about the mother of Phalaris.

And now as to the great question of all, the brazen bull itself. It does seem hardly possible to get over the distinct witness of Pindar, followed by every later writer. Pindar is as early a witness and as well informed a witness as we could reasonably look for. A notice from Stesichoros would doubtless have been better still. But the mention of the bull by Pindar at least amounts to proof that the story was fully believed in Sicily about eighty years after the fall of Phalaris. It is perhaps a little odd that the mention of it is found in an ode (Pyth. i. 184) addressed to Hierôn, and not in one of those addressed to Thêrôn. The poet takes Croesus—could he have known the story recorded by Herodotus in i. 92?—as the model of a mild ruler as opposed to the cruelty of Phalaris;

οὐ φθίνῃ Κροίσου φιλόφρων ἀρετῇ  
τὸν δὲ ταῦτον χαλκῆς κευτῆρα νηλέα νόον  
ἔχοντα τέλαριν κατέχει πεντὴ φάτις,  
οὐδέ νῦν φόρμιγγι ἑταυρόφῃσι κωνανίαν  
μαλθακὴν ταῖδων ἑάρασι δέκνεται.

Diodóros, who, though he wrote so long after, represents the earlier Sicilian writers whom he had before him, naturally mentioned the bull in the lost books where Phalaris came in chronological order. This we shall see from fragments presently to be quoted. He has also more than one incidental reference to the bull in other places. In xix. 108, having occasion in his narrative to mention the hill of Eknomos near the mouth of the southern Himera (see vol. i. p. 65), he says that this was the place where the bull was kept. He adds, with an etymology in which few are likely to follow him, that the spot took the name of *Ἐκνομος* from the unlawful deeds of the tyrant (*τὸν Ἐκνομον λέγον, ὃν φασὶ φρούρας γενεήσθαι Φαλάριδος· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ λόγῳ παρρησιάζονται τοῦ τύραννου τοῦτον χαλκῶν, τὸν διαβεβημένον πρὸς τὰς τὸν βασιλευμένῳ τιμωρίας, ὑποκαταμένον τοῦ παρρησιάζεσθαι διὰ καὶ τὸν τόπον Ἐκνομον ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀντιχεύοντες ἀνομήας πρηνεργουμένης*). In another place (xiii. 90), when describing the Carthaginian sack of Agragas in 408 B.C., he says that the bull of Phalaris (*ὁ Φαλάριδος ταῦρος*) formed part of the spoil. He then goes on to argue against Timaios; *τούτων γὰρ τοῦτον ὁ Τίμαιος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις διαβεβαιωσάμενος μὴ γινώσκειν τὸ σίναλον, ὡς αὐτῇ τῆς τύχης ἡλέγχθη*. The fortune which confuted Timaios was the bringing back of the bull from Carthage by the younger Scipio, and the sight of it at Agrigentum by Diodóros himself (*Σκίπιος γὰρ . . . ἐκπορεύσας Καρχηδόνα, τοῖς Ἀφρικανταῖσι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν διαμεινόντα παρὰ τοῖς Καρχηδοναῖσι, ἀπακρίστας τοῦ ταύρου διὰ καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἱστοριῶν γραφομένων ἦν ἐν Ἀφρίκῃ*). Polybios too (xii. 25) argues against Timaios. He first tells the story of Phalaris and the bull (see below, p. 464), and then describes Timaios as denying both that the bull brought from Carthage was the genuine bull of Phalaris, and even that there ever had been any bull of Phalaris at all. He himself argues that the bull brought from Carthage was genuine, because it had the door in the shoulder through which the victim was put in;

*Τούτου τοῦ ταύρου κατὰ τὴν ἱπικράτους Καρχηδονίων μεταπλεόντος ἐξ Ἀφρίκωντος εἰς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ τῆς θυρίδος διαμνημονεύσης περὶ τὰς συνουσίας, δι' ἣν κινεῖσθαι καθίσταται τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν, καὶ ἐτέρῃσι δι' ἣν ἐν Καρχηδόνι παρρησιάζεσθαι τοιοῦτος ταῦρος οὐδαμῶς δυναμένην εὐρεθῆναι τὸ παρῆναι, ὅμως Τίμαιος ἐπιβέβηκε καὶ τὴν κοινὴν φήμην ἀντιστατίζων καὶ τὰς ἀποφάσεις τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων ψευδευαίων, φάσκει μὴ εἶναι τὸν ἐν Καρχηδόνι ταῦρον ἐξ Ἀφρίκωντος μήτε γινώσκειν τοιοῦτον ἐν τῇ προσηρημένῃ πόλει.*

It seems plain, as it did to Bentley (p. 512), that both Polybios and Diodôros meant to charge Timaios with saying that there never was any bull of Phalaris at all. To this Diodôros thinks it answer enough to say that the bull was brought back from Carthage by Scipio. Polybios further infers the genuineness of Scipio's bull. But Polybios seems further to imply that Timaios said something about the bull which Scipio brought from Carthage (τον ἐν Καρχηδόνι ταῦρον). But if the bull brought back by Scipio in B.C. 146 was the bull that was carried off in B.C. 408, Timaios, living about B.C. 352-256, could have known the bull only by hearsay, unless he went to Carthage to see it. But neither of Timaios' critics quotes his exact words; and there is another report of them from which it would seem that Timaios neither denied the existence of Phalaris' bull, nor said anything about any bull at Carthage. This is shown by a reference to him in the scholiast on Pindar (Pyth. . 185), from which it appears that what he really said was that the original bull of Phalaris was thrown into the sea when his tyranny was overthrown, and that a bull shown in his own time at Akragas was not the real bull, but—a statement most precious to the mythologer—a harmless image of the river-god Gelas. The words are;

Τὸν τοῦ Φαλάριδος ταῦρον οἱ Ἀκραγανῖται κατεπότιωσαν, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος. τὸν γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει δεικνύμενον μὴ εἶναι τοῦ Φαλάριδος, καθάπερ ἡ πολλῶν παρέχει δόξα, ἀλλ' εἰκόνα Γέλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

Nothing can be plainer. And I really do not see why Bentley (p. 512) should have spoken quite so scornfully of any who should prefer the scholiast on Pindar to Diodôros and Polybios (on the other hand see Ebert, *Σκελιών*, p. 69 et seqq.). In this case the scholiast is not guessing, but quoting Timaios, and seemingly quoting him accurately. The very significant bit about the river-god must be a genuine bit of Timaios; so must the statement that the real bull of Phalaris was thrown into the sea. No scholiast could ever have invented or dreamed either of them. One point remains. Diodôros says that the bull which Scipio brought back was taken to Carthage in B.C. 408. Polybios does not say this, and it is not clear that he means it. As far as dates go, the bull which was shown at Akragas in Timaios' day might have been the bull which Scipio brought back. For it might have been taken to Carthage, not in B.C. 408, but when Akragas was a Carthaginian possession after the time of Timaios. And it may be that Polybios

means this when he says; τοῦ ταύρου κατὰ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν Καρχηδονίῳ μεταπεχθέντος ἐξ Ἀράγωντος εἰς Καρχηδόνα. But it is not likely that the bull which Timaios took for an image of the river-god could have had the door in the shoulder on which Polybios relied as the sure sign of the bull of Phalaris. There may very well have been two bulls. Phœnician subtlety was surely equal to making a bull after any model, if Greek or Roman visitors to Carthage were found to be seeking for one. The immediately important point is that Timaios in no way denied, but asserted, that Phalaris had a brazen bull, and that he burned people in it. We have thus an universal consent in favour of the bull reaching from Pindar downwards.

The way in which the bull was used is minutely described by Polybios, and the description quite agrees with the few words of Pindar. The man was put into the hollow bull; then a fire was lighted beneath, and the sufferer was roasted to death (*πανταχόθεν παροπτόμενον καὶ περιφλεγόμενον διαφθείρεσθαι*). His cries of pain were by some mechanism made to imitate the roaring of the bull (*κατὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀλγιδύνης, ὥστε βοῆσαι, μυκηθμῷ παραπλήσιον τὸν ἦχον ἐκ τοῦ κατασκευάσματος προσπίπτειν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν*). Diodōros, in his ninth book, mentioned the name of the artist, Perillos or Perilaoe, and the story that he was himself put to death by his own engine. This appears from a fragment (ix. 19) which must be greatly abridged; *ὅτι Περίλαος ὁ ἀνδριαντοποιὸς Φαλάρει τῇ τυράννῳ κατασκευάσας βούν χαλκοῖν πρὸς τιμωρίαν τῶν ἀμαφύλων αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἐπιεράθη τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς τιμωρίας*. John Tzetzes (*Chil. i. 646* seqq.) refers to Diodōros, as well as to Pindar on one side and to Lucian (to whom we shall come presently) on the other, as authorities for the bull;

*γράφει περὶ τοῦ ταύρου δὲ Διονυσίου ὁ Ζύρος,  
Διόδωρος καὶ Πίνδαρος σὺν ταύταις τε μερίαι*

He gives the story of Perilaoe at length. We find it also in the scholiast on Pindar (*Pyth. i. 185*), whom we quoted a little time back. He further quotes a passage of Kallimachos; *κατασκευάσας δὲ αὐτὸν φασὶ Περύλαον καὶ πρῶτον ἐν αὐτῷ κατακαῆναι, καὶ Καλλίμαχος*

*πρῶτος ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν ταῦρον ἐκαίεσεν, ὅς τὸν ἀλεθρὸν  
εἶπε τὸν ἐν χαλκῷ καὶ πυρὶ γιγνόμενον.*

The same story appears in Ovid (*Art. Am. i. 653*), where, by a familiar comparison, he couples Phalaris with the mythical Bousiris;

"Et Phalaris tauro violenti membra Perilli  
 Torruit, infelix imbuat auctor opus.  
 Justus utarque fuit, neque enim lex sequior ulla est,  
 Quam necis artifices arte perire sua."

He tells the story at greater length in the *Tristia*, iii. 11. 39, where he evidently refers to the same bull as that described by Polybios. The artist is made to say to the tyrant;

"Munera in hoc, rex, est mens sed imago major.  
 Nec sola est operis forma probanda mei.  
 Adspicis a dextra latus hoc adaperitile tauri?  
 Huc tibi, quem perdes, conpicendus erit.  
 Protinus inclusum lentis carbonibus ure:  
 Mugiet, et veri vox erit illa bovis."

When he asks for a reward, Phalaris puts him into the bull;

"Nec mora; monstratis crudeliter ignibus ustus  
 Exhibuit querulos ore tremante sonos."

One may add Valerius Maximus, ix. 2, Ext. 9, and, as John Tzetzes says, *σὺν τοῖς τοῖς τε μυθίοις*.

It is worth noticing that in the fragment of Diodōros the bull is said to have been made *πρὸς τιμωρίαν τῶν ὁμοφύλων*, while in the scholiast on Lykophrōn Phalaris appears as *τοὺς ἐπιτεγουμένους πρὸς αὐτὸν δεινῶς κολλάων καὶ ἀναιρῶν*. This is a stage in the growth of legend. If Phalaris did put men into a brazen bull, they were no doubt his political enemies at Akragas. He was a Greek tyrant imitating Phœnician ways, but he was a Greek tyrant after all. As soon as men had begun to liken him to Bousiris (see p. 71), Echetos (see Arsenius, 461), Gêryonês, and other purely mythical oppressors, he was conceived as, like them, the enemy of strangers. Instead of a Greek tyrant somewhat outdoing the usual measure of a Greek tyrant's cruelty, he becomes an ogre or a two-headed giant. We find him in this stage in Plutarch's *Parallela*, 39, directly after stories of Bousiris and Gêryonês. He tells the story of Perillos—with him he takes the Latin form—as follows;

Φάλαρις, Ἀκραγαντίνων τύραννος, ἀπότομος τοὺς παρόντας ξένους ἐστρέβλει καὶ ἐκόλαζε. Πέριλλος δὲ τῇ τέχνῃ χαλκουργοῦ, δάμαλιν κατασκευάσας χαλκῇν, ἔδωκε τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὡς ἂν τοὺς ξένους κατακαίῃ ζῶντας ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ δὲ μόνον τότε γινόμενος δίκαιος, αὐτὸν ἐνέβαλεν. ἔδωκε δὲ μυκηθμόν ἀναδιδόσθαι ἢ δάμαλιν. ὡς ἐν δευτέρῳ Αἰτιῶν.

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When Phalaris had once got this kind of reputation, it was easy to charge him with unusual cruelties. He uses other forms of fire besides the brazen bull. He puts people into caldrons, and, if the Latin translator of Herakleides of Pontos is right in his version, he made them undergo the supposed fate of Empedoklés against their will. He was (Her. 37) *καρπωμένη πάντας ὑπερβαλλών*. He not only slew many—other tyrants did that—but he slew them with strange tortures (*τιμωρίαις παρανόμοις ἐχρήσατο*). The brazen bull comes in among others; *τοὺς μὲν εἰς λίθινον ζέοντα, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τοὺς κατῆρας τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπίσπελλε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ εἰς χαλκοῖν ταῦρον ἐτίβαλλε καὶ παύειεν*. I suppose the *κατῆρας* (which we shall hear of again) are, as the Latin translator takes them, those of Ætra. From this the transition to Phalaris' cannibal-diet is perhaps a little sudden. His alleged eating of sucking children is brought in in the most grotesque fashion in Athénaios (ix. 54), in a discourse on the eating of sucking creatures in general, pigs, lambs, fawns, and any other. We are suddenly carried to Perseus and Archémoros at that stage of their lives, though it does not appear that any tyrant proposed to eat either of them; then comes what concerns us; *Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ βίῃς εἰς τοῦτό φησιν ἀμείνητος Φάλαριν τὸν τύραννον εἶδεναι ὅτι γαλαθὴνὰ θυνάσθαι βρέφη*.

As to the extent of the dominions of Phalaris, there is really no distinct evidence for making them reach beyond the territory of Akragas. It is simply the wild exaggeration of a late writer when Soudas says, *Φάλαρις Ἀκράγαντινος, τυραννέας Σικελίας ὅλης*. Phalaris has been very largely accepted as having ruled at Himera, and it is of course possible that he may, as his successor Thérôn certainly did, have made himself master of Himera as well as of Akragas. But, if so, it must have been by a conquest of Himera made in the character of lord of Akragas. For there is in truth nothing to connect Phalaris with Himera, except the story in Aristotle's Rhetoric referred to in p. 66. In that story there is no mention of Akragas, no conquest of Himera; Phalaris is a man of Himera who makes himself tyrant of Himera in the usual way by asking for a guard. It is plain that Aristotle has put one name for another, either Himera for Akragas, or Phalaris for some tyrant of Himera. The latter is more likely, as the mention of Sténachoros is enough to fix the story to Himera. It would be a very easy confusion to bring in the well-known name of Phalaris



instead of the doubtless much less known name of the real Himeraian tyrant. Nothing was easier (see Grote, v. 286) than to put the name of one tyrant for another, and we have indeed found it so throughout our story. Perhaps the greatest achievement in that way is that of Nonnos, commentator on Gregory of Nazianzum (whom I am sure I should never have thought of but for the memorable account of him given by Bentley, p. 24), in which the story of the bull is so told that Dionysios takes the place of Phalaris, while Phalaris himself takes the place of Perilaoa. We might know more about the matter if we had in full the passage from Philistos (see Theon, Progym. ii. 4; C Müller, Fragm. i. 187) where he told some fable about a horse. But no name is preserved of either the tyrant or the city. And there is yet another version of the story of Stésichoros, in which the obscure tyrant of Himera has yielded his place, not to Phalaris but to Gelôn (Conon, Narrat. 42; Westermann, *Μυθολογία*, p. 144; Phôtios, 139, Bekker). Gelôn here becomes a demagogue (Γέλων δὲ Σικελιώτης, τυραννίδι ἐπιθέσθαι διακούμενος, Ἱμεραίων ἰδιωτάς τε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀναγῶν ὑπερεμάχεσθαι), asking for a guard and so forth, and Stésichoros tells the citizen the fable, just as he does in Aristotle. This tale no one need refute; but it is useful as showing how little the story in Aristotle goes to prove any connexion between Phalaris and Himera. The tale is a mere confusion of names, which may have been somewhat helped by the real connexion, though of quite another kind, between Thêrôn and Himera. In fact there is no real evidence to show that Phalaris was a conqueror anywhere, or that he ruled anywhere except over Akragas and its territory. He is indeed said to have conquered Leontinoi. It is possible that this may have come from Hêrakleidês or whatever was the source from which Hêrakleidês got the story about Phalaris throwing people into *κρατῆρες*. But the only actual mention of a conquest of Leontinoi by Phalaris comes as an explanation of a proverb, αἰὲν Λεοντῖνοι περὶ τοὺς κρατῆρας. On this the commentary of Arsenios (22) is, ἐστὶ τῶν αἰὲν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγκειμένων· οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Λεοντῖνοι περὶ πότους ἐσχόλαζον. Φάλαρις δ' αὐτοὺς καταπολεμήσας εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας ἔρριψεν, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ παροιμία. (So in the *Parœmographi*, Diogen. ii. 203; Mant. i. 33.) Here again it is to be supposed that the *κρατῆρες* are those of Ætna. But it is not quite clear whether the meaning is that there were two explanations of the saying, or that Phalaris is conceived

as practising a grim joke, throwing those who were busy about every-day *spavies* into the *spavies* of the burning mountain. Here again just as in the brazen bull and in the story of the caldrons, fire is looked upon as Phalaris' instrument of torture.

The casual allusions to Phalaris, many of which we have come across already, are simply endless; their number shows how much he was in people's minds in all ages. The story of the bull is perhaps enough to account for this; but we have further to explain the growing up of another conception of Phalaris which is quite contrary to the earlier and no doubt genuine tradition. This is that which sets Phalaris before us as a just and mild ruler, who, if he ever was led into any cruelties, was led into them against his will. This view of course reaches its height in the famous forged Letters. After Bentley's matchless demonstration, it might seem needless to say a word about them. One simply wonders how anybody could have been so easily taken in. It is amazing that any one who had the faintest glimmering of Greek history or Greek literature could have believed in the genuineness of an elaborate collection of letters in the later Attic dialect attributed to a prince of an age when one is thankful for a line or two of an inscription written from right to left, a prince too who, if he did write anything, could not fail to have written in an early form of Doric. It is amazing that men should not have seen the spuriousness of writings which speak of Phintias, Halimna, and Tauromenion, ages before those cities were founded. It is most amazing of all that, after Bentley had proved his case, men should have thought that the victory lay the other way, and that Pope should have made the great scholar the subject of a jeering couplet. Yet all this is not more wonderful than what we have seen in our own days. There is at least one man who, after all the labours of Palgrave, Riley, and others, asserts the genuineness of the false Ingulf, who must therefore believe that William the Conqueror tried to root out the English language, that Ingulf studied at Oxford in the time of Eadward the Confessor, and that he was presented to the Emperor Alexios Komnēnos twenty years before that prince began to reign. And later still, the more grotesque forgery of the 'Battle Abbey Roll'—a forgery so transparent that, when I wrote the History of the Norman Conquest, it never came into my head to speak of it—has been gravely dealt with on the

hill of Senlec itself, and Edinburgh and Quarterly reviewers have treated text and commentary with much solemnity. If Ingulf and the Battle Abbey Roll can appear again, Phalaris may appear also. Still, till he does, there is no need to do Bentley's work over again, and the spuriousness of the letters may be taken for granted.

Still several questions arise out of the letters. In the case of any forged writing, it is always possible that the forger may have had materials before him which are now lost, and therefore that the forgery may accidentally preserve some scraps of truth. It has become almost an axiom that a forged charter is no evidence for the point which it wishes to establish, but that it may easily be evidence for any incidental points on which the forger was likely to be well-informed, and about which he had no motive to deceive. Considering the vast mass of Sicilian history which is lost, it cannot be ruled to be impossible that the forger may have had the means of knowing some facts which we do not know, and may have sometimes used his opportunities. I have ventured (see p. 65) to hint that we may have such a case in the statement of the letters that Phalaris came from Astypalaia. And beyond all this there is the main question of all, what put it into anybody's head to forge letters in the name of Phalaris. It is not like forging letters for Euripides or Plato or anybody who was likely to have written letters. A Sicilian tyrant of the sixth century is such a strange person to fix upon. Phalaris must somehow have got a reputation as a writer of letters or as a writer of some kind before any one could be taken in by this particular forgery. There is of course the question whether the existing letters were forgeries in a bad sense, distinctly designed to deceive, or whether they were, like many writings of the kind, simply rhetorical exercises, written without any evil purpose. We shall very soon come to examples of such, of which Phalaris himself is the subject; but it may be thought that the existing collection of letters is too large and elaborate to admit of such a judgement of charity. Anyhow people were taken in very early. Phōtios (Ep. 207) refers to letters which in his day passed for letters of Phalaris; but he at least had his doubts. A scholar like him was not so easily deceived as some others. Nor is it absolutely certain that Soudas (Φάλαρις) refers to the present letters, when he says, not without a kind of truth, that Phalaris *ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὰς καὶ θαυμασίας*; but the chances are that he does. When we turn to John of Stoboi, we

and that all his references (viii. 68, xlix. 16, 26, lxxxvi. 17, Exc. Joan. Dam. i. 12) are clearly to the letters as they now stand (2, 30, 92, 144). So we have seen that John Pzetzes quotes them as undoubted authority. And of course it is not wonderful that so late a writer as Arsenios (Ίάσινα, 466) gives us three sayings of Phalaris, all of which come from the letters (27, 107, 144). The extracts are of course rich in beautiful sentiments; some of them set forth the evils of tyranny from the experience of one who knew all about it.

Now how did this new version of Phalaris spring up? We must look for its origin in the love of rhetorical display and in a certain spirit of ingenious contradiction. The process of "rehabilitation"—that, I believe, is the right "literary" word—has always a certain kind of attraction about it, and it began early. It began most likely in sheer love of display. More cleverness could be shown in asserting a manifest paradox than in upholding a truth that nobody doubted (see Polyb. xii. 26 b). The *ἑρως λόγος* of Aristophanes has always had many votaries, and in no age has it been easy to tell how far their support has been conscious. Among the writings of Isokrates we have one which undertakes the defence of the monster of old times whom so many coupled with Phalaris, of Bousiris himself. One Polykrates, it seems, had written a defence of Bousiris and a discourse against Sókratês. Isokrates takes him in hand to show him what the counsel for Bousiris ought to say. So it was with Phalaris. He had got so bad a reputation that clever men who had nothing better to do than to practise their cleverness made it an exercise of skill to see whether something could not be said on behalf of one who had had so much said against him. In the first stage there would be no attempt to deceive, or to do anything worse than to show off. People would admire the cleverness of the *ἑρως λόγος*, but they would still remember that it was the *ἑρως λόγος*. In a later stage, whether the writer meant to take them in or not, he did take them in, as we see by the cases of Soudas and John of Stoboi. The former stage is surely to be seen in the two discourses headed with the name of Phalaris which go under the name of Lucian. Whether they are his or not is of comparatively little moment. We have seen (see p. 71) how Lucian spoke of Phalaris when he had no special call to speak otherwise; if he really wrote the two discourses, the fact that he had so spoken

would add a little keenness to what he now said on the other side.

The two discourses are worth looking at with some care when we come, from finding out what little we can about the real acts of Phalaris, to this later stage of seeing what people said about him long after. There is no reason to think that they were written with the least purpose to deceive. They are simply exercises to show how cleverly a man could talk on a side which he knew to be wrong. The first discourse is made in the name of Phalaris by his *θεσποι*, who are sent by him to Delphoi to offer the brazen bull to Apollon. They speak of him by this neutral style of *ὁ ἡμέτερος θυμίστην*; he himself speaks delicately of his *ἀρχή*; but he presently lets it out that other people spoke of him as *τύραννος*, and he is even obliged to speak of himself as belonging to that class (c. 8; *ἡμῖν τοῦτο πολλὰ ἀναγκαϊότερον τοῖς τυράννοις*). He explains that many envious and slanderous people spoke ill of him; but he has a good defence. The writer has forgotten, like most other writers, that neither Phalaris nor his enemies could have been born at Akragas; he is conceived (c. 2) as having been born and brought up in the city *ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ τὸν ὄψανόν ἐν Ἀκράγατι ὄν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος εὖ γεγενηὸς καὶ τραφεὶς παιθερίῳ καὶ παιδείᾳ προσεσχηκώς*. There were divisions in the city (*διήρητο δὲ ἡμῶν τότε ἡ πόλις*), in which Phalaris had always taken the popular side (*δημοτικὸν ἑμαυτὸν παρέχων*) and had practised every virtue of a citizen. But when his enemies plotted against him and sought to slay him, he seized power (*ἐκπεύμενος τῇ ἀρχῇ*) in self-defence and with the approval of all good citizens (*ἐπαινοῦντες ἄνδρες μέτριοι καὶ φιλοπόνητοι*). Under his rule (c. 3) the city was free from disputes (*ἐγὼ δὲ ἔρχων, ἡ πόλις δὲ ἀστασίαστος ἦν*); his government was mild, no slaughters took place, no banishments, no deeds of lust or violence, no illegal action of his body-guard (*δορυφόρων ἐπιπέμψας*). He kept the people in good-humour with shows, feasts, and doles (*τὸν δῆμον ἐν θεαῖς καὶ διασπαῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσι καὶ δημοδοκίαις διήγον*), and he adorned and strengthened the city with fortifications, buildings, and aqueducts. In this boast we seem to see an echo of the story told by Polyainos (see p. 67) which makes Phalaris rise to power through a contract for building. He had even (c. 4) thought of giving up his power (*περὶ τοῦ ἀφῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ καταθέσθαι τὴν θυραστείαν δονοποιήσας*). But his enemies (c. 4) plotted against him in every way. They collected arms; they sent embassies to Athens and Sparta

—Sparta, ancient queller of tyrants, is better conceived than Athens; they designed Phalaris for some frightful fate, as they confessed under torture (*δηρὸν ἀποθνήσκοντες ἔξιστον*). From all these dangers he escaped by the favour of the gods, specially of the god of Pythô, who revealed things to him in his dreams (*μυθήματα δὲ Πιθῶς ἀπεκρίνεν καὶ προείλετο καὶ μαντικὰς ἐπιστὰς ἐκτελέσας*). He was driven to take care of himself and to punish those who plotted against him. Tyrants were a much mistaken class; some, himself of course among them, were the best and gentlest of rulers; but once call a man a tyrant, and he was supposed to belong to the bad class, and men sought to slay him. This argument, drawn out at some length, is of some importance as showing how the word *τύραννος* still (c. 7 et seqq.) referred, not to the way in which power was used, but to the way in which it was gained. Phalaris had no pleasure in killing people or in beating them, quite the other way; but any man would rather put another to death than, by saving that other alive, be put to death himself. Yet he had spared many out of old friendship (*παλαιὰν συγγένειαν πρὸς αἰσχροὺς μνηστρονίους*), some of whom he names (c. 9), Akanthos, Timokratês, and Leôgoras his brother. Of these, Akanthos—"Akanthos" *τὸν οὖν* he is called—seems to be himself one of the envoys, so that he must be conceived as a conspirator whom the mild treatment of Phalaris had turned into a friend. The names suggest some curiosity; one would like to know whether they come from any tradition or any earlier writing, or whether they were simply invented by Lucian for dramatic effect. Then (c. 10), with a seeming reference to the tale which represented him as a Bouciris to strangers, Phalaris appeals to the many guests who have visited Akragas, who would report what good treatment they had received from him. At this stage Pythagoras could not be kept out; the sage had heard a bad report of Phalaris; but, when he saw the truth, he left him with mingled feelings of admiration and sadness (*ὅλα μὲν ἑνὶ ἑκὸς ἀπεκρίνεν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπαύσατο, δαήμονας ἐκείνους καὶ τοὺς ἀμνηστρονίους καὶ ἑαὶν τοὺς ἀστυνίκους ἀπόστητος*). At last (c. 11) comes the story of the bull. Perilaos, a native craftsman, skilful in his art, brought it to Phalaris, who at first simply admired the workmanship, and said that it was worthy of being sent as a gift to Apollôn. The artist then explained at length what was its real object, and the mechanism by which the cries of the sufferers were to make music for the enjoyment of Phalaris (*ἃ βοῇ*

δὲ διὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν μὲν σοι ἀποτελείσει οἷα λεγόμενα καὶ ἐπανήσει θρη-  
νῶδες καὶ μεκῆσται γυνεῖται, ὥς τὸν μὲν κολάζεσθαι, σὲ δὲ τέρπεισθαι  
μεταξὺ καταλούμενον). Phalaris, wroth at the proposal (c. 12), sets the  
engine to work on Perilaos himself; but designing the bull for an  
offering, he has him taken out before he is quite dead (ἐτι ζῶντων καὶ  
ζῶντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξαίρεισθαι κελεύσαι, ὥς μὴ μάνει τὸ ἔργον ἰναποθανόν).  
His body is cast out unburied, and Phalaris sends the bull as an  
offering. The θεοροί wind up (c. 14) with a few words of their own,  
in which they pray the Delphians to accept Phalaris and his offer-  
ing, and press their own claims to be listened to as men of Akragas,  
Greeks and Dorians.

One or two things may be noticed in this discourse. One illus-  
trates the difficulty (which we find also in the speeches which Hero-  
dotus puts into the mouths of Gelon and the envoys from Athens  
and Sparta, see p. 179) of finding a nomenclature which exactly  
suits the relations between colonies and their motherland. The  
Akragantines are Greeks and boast of being so (c. 14); Ἕλληνες  
τε ἔσμεν καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον Δωριεῖς. Yet they use, not only Ἑλλάς, but  
Ἕλληνας, in a sense simply geographical (c. 4), in which Akragas  
has no share; ἐπικαλοῦντο εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ  
Ἀθηναίους, and afterwards (c. 17) ἀκούω καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἕλλησι  
πολλοὺς γενέσθαι γυρῶντας σοφούς, κ.τ.λ. Of course there was a  
sense in which Akragas or any other place where Greeks had  
settled was part of Ἑλλάς; Peloponnēsos and the neighbouring  
lands were not the whole of Ἑλλάς, but only ἡ συνεχὴς Ἑλλὰς. But  
in ordinary speech Ἑλλάς was the geographical name of a certain  
part of the earth's surface of which Akragas formed no part. And  
if Akragas, Syracuse, any other Greek settlements, were parts  
of Ἑλλάς, they were only scattered parts; Sicily, as a whole, was  
no part of Ἑλλάς; it was only in the neighbouring mainland that  
there was a μεγάλη Ἑλλάς stretching from sea to sea. And when  
Ἑλλάς was opposed to the land of the Akragantines, it is not won-  
derful that Ἕλληνας, as the name of its inhabitants, should be op-  
posed to the Akragantines themselves, Ἕλληνες as they were.

There is in the discourse a curious reference to a punishment of  
sacrilege seemingly practised at Delphoi. The envoys say (c. 6)  
that, if the Delphians blamed Phalaris for the severities forced on  
him by necessity, they were as if any one should see a temple-  
robber hurled from the rock near Delphoi, and, instead of thinking  
of his crime—ὥς νύκτωρ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν παρήλθε καὶ κατέσπασε τὰ ἀναθήματα

καὶ τοῦ ξύρου φέρεται—should blame the cruelty of the Delphians, in that they, Greeks and pretenders to a sacred character (Ἕλληνας τε καὶ ἱεροὺς εἶναι λέγοντας), could bear to inflict such a punishment on a fellow-Greek, and that hard by the temple.

The second piece headed "Phalaris" is supposed to be a speech made by an orator in the Delphian assembly. Some one (c. 6) had spoken against receiving the bull, on the ground of the cruelties of Phalaris. But he who so spoke had not been at Akragas; those who had been there spoke differently. The orator (c. 1) speaks of Phalaris as ἀνὴρ ἀνδρόντες εὐσεβῆς, and presently (c. 5) as μέγας. He argues that Apollōn must approve of him and his offering, or he would not have given his envoys a successful voyage. But the Delphians have nothing to do with his goodness or badness; it was not usual to debate about receiving an offering or to discuss the character of him who offered it, they took all that came. The question (c. 11) does not touch Phalaris only and his bull, but all kings and rulers and every body else who consult the oracle and make offerings (τὸ θεῖον τιμῶντες εἰς αὐτὸ τοῖσιν οἷον αὐτὸν χαλεπὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ πάντες βασιλεῖς καὶ πάντες ἀνδρόντες ὅσοι τὸν χρόνον τῷ ἱερῷ, κ.τ.λ.). The Delphians (c. 7) were priests and not judges; they had to offer sacrifices and to help to set up offerings; they need not trouble themselves whether people beyond sea had a good or a bad tyrant (τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλεῖς ἀναισθητοῦ παλιωπαγματοῦν, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἔθνη διακρινεῖν εἴ τι εἴσονται, καὶ δεῖν θίαν καὶ τιδὴν θεραπεύειν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ συνεπαρθεῖν εἰ πέμψῃ τις, σκοποῦντες καθήκοντα εἰ τινα τῶν ἐκτὸς τῶν ἱερῶν βασιλεῖς ἢ ἀδίκως τυραννοῦνται). Again we see the possibility of a righteous tyrant; and this while the word is still used in its strictly Greek sense; the "tyranny" of the Empire had not yet begun.

Nothing can be plainer than that these two pieces are more rhetorical exercises, mere displays of cleverness in argument, written without any intention to deceive anybody as to matters of fact. There is an element of satire in both speeches, and it comes out very strongly in the second. They were written as a conscious paradox, which the writer no doubt greatly enjoyed. But the speeches are witnesses to the interest which still attached to the name of Phalaris. If not out of these very speeches—which, it must be remembered, are distinctly referred to by John Tzetzes (see above, p. 464)—certainly out of some other writings of the same class, grew the famous forgery of the letters. I say forgery, without ruling whether the writer really meant to



deceive. As a matter of fact, he did deceive, as is shown by John of Stoboi and John Tzetza. Lucian or whoever it was, amused himself with a clever paradox. The paradox took, and grew into a favourable tradition about Phalaris, opposite to the older and truer picture. In such a state of mind the letters, nothing like so clever as the speeches of Lucian, were welcomed and believed.

The tendency arose rather early to connect Phalaris with other names which were famous in Sicilian history or legend without much regard to chronology. Of this the story about Stésichoros is an early case. Stésichoros and Phalaris might have come across one another, though certainly not in the way in which they do in the legend; it was the celebrity of the two names which brought them together in this impossible fashion. One trembles at writing the word Pythagoras; according to the most likely chronology, the connexion of Pythagoras with the Greek colonies of the West came after the time of Phalaris. Still the temptation to bring the two men together was great. It was doubtless strengthened by the stories of the relations between Plato and Dionysios, elder and younger. One tyrant suggested the other, and one philosopher suggested the other. In the speeches of Lucian, Pythagoras is brought in, according to this spirit, as an admiring and sympathizing visitor of the tyrant. Such a part would of course not do for those who clung to the elder tradition of Phalaris; if Pythagoras had anything to do with him, it must have been in quite another way. In the *Life of Pythagoras* by Iamblichos (c. 32), Pythagoras appears as the destroyer of the tyranny of Phalaris, and the mysterious Hyperborean Abaris, a person about whom it was safe to say anything, is brought in with him. Never perhaps were so many words wasted in telling a story which after all is told without a single detail. But we gather (§ 221) that an oracle of Apollón declared that Phalaris would be destroyed whenever his subjects should become stronger and united (*τεκμήριον μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν χρησμῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, τότε τὴν κατάλειπεν διασημαίνοντων τῷ Φαλάριδι γενήσεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅτι κρείττονες καὶ ὁμοσυντικώτεροι γένοιντο καὶ συνιστάμενοι μετ' ἀλλήλων οἱ ἀρχόμενοι*). This they became through the preaching of Pythagoras (*οἳ καὶ τότε ἐγένοντο Πυθαγόρου παρόντος διὰ τὰς ἐφηγγίαις καὶ παιδείαις αὐτοῦ*). The preaching which had this good effect was naturally displeasing to Phalaris *ὑμέραντος τῶν νεώτατων*—but Pythagoras preached boldly to the tyrant himself, suspecting (c. 217)

that Phalaris would condemn him to death, but knowing that he was not destined to die at the hands of Phalaris (*ἵσταντο μὴ ἐκ Φαλάρου ἀλλ' ἐκ πλείων ὁμίλων, ὅπου δὲ εὐδὴς ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν Φυλάρχου μύθωνται*). The matter of his discourse throws no light on the character of Phalaris or on the politics of Akragas; but Phalaris does in the end condemn both the wise men, Pythagoras and Abaris, to death; they are happily rescued by the rising of the people against him on that very day, in which the tyrant is slain and they are delivered.

This story (on which see Bentley, 47, 48, 501, 516) is much less satisfactory reading than the clever argument of Lucian. We specially miss the bull; a deliverance of the two sages from the very belly of hell, whether wrought by miracle of Apollōn or by the human agency of Akragantine revolutionists, might have been made something of. Pythagoras appears as going about upsetting tyrannies everywhere (c. 10, 32), among which—for Iamblichos did not foresee the coming of Bentley—he finds one to upset at unborn Tauromenion. In this last blunder, as well as in the bringing in of Pythagoras and Abaris, we get a distinct point of connexion between Iamblichos and the letters. Among these last is one (77) from Phalaris to Abaris, and another (79) to Pythagoras, in both of which the tyrant, victim of slander, sets forth his own virtues and asks for a visit from the sage. Between them comes a letter of stern rebuke from Abaris to Phalaris, which seems to be doubly spurious, not only not the work of Abaris, but not even the work of the original forger. These points of coincidence show that the forger must either have read the Life of Pythagoras or else must have drawn his Abaris and Pythagoras, as well as his Tauromenion, from some common source. One might guess that he had not read the discourses of Lucian, or he would surely have brought in the implied story of Akanthos, out of which something effective could easily have been made. And one wonders that he made no use of the story of Charitōn and Melanippos. It is possible that, if the forger was a Christian, he may have thought that tale, in its actual shape, not edifying; but it could with very little trouble have been changed into something as harmless as the story of the treatment of Damon and Pythias by Dionysos.

When once the philosophers had come in, it was easy to put the name of one for another. To make Zēnōn of Elea a contemporary of Phalaris was a wilder freak of chronology than any

that we have yet come across; but so he appears in the story in Valerius Maximus (iii. 3. Ext. 2). Here Zênôn is put to all manner of tortures by Phalaris, that of the wooden horse (eculeus) among them. He confesses nothing, but exhorts the people of Akragas to rise, on which they stone Phalaris. As in the story in Iamblichos, we miss the bull, and his absence seems to show that this is no genuine legend of Phalaris, but a confusion with another story in Diogenes Laertius (ix. 4. 5), borrowed from a fragment of Diodôros (Lib. 10). In this Zênôn acts in the same way towards a tyrant, so it is to be supposed, of his own Eleia, called either Nearchos or Laomedôn. The confusion of names and places is very much the same as in Aristotle's story about Stésichoros.

The general story of the fall of Phalaris seems to be fairly well ascertained. No philosophers play any part in it. For the Pythagoras of sophistic invention we have to substitute the Télémachos of genuine tradition. But the question is still left open to us whether we are to look on Télémachos as a patriot or as a rival tyrant, whether he stood to Phalaris in the relation of Timoleôn to Dionysios or only in that of Gelôn to the sons of Hippokratês.

## NOTE VIII. p. 98.

## THE EVENTS AFTER THE EXPEDITION OF DÔRIEUS.

WERE any wars waged by Carthage or by the Phœnician towns in Sicily which had become Carthaginian dependencies against Gelôn or any other Sikeliot ruler or commonwealth at any time between the failure of the Spartan attempt at settlement on Eryx and the great Carthaginian invasion which ended in the battle of Himera? In the absence of any general consecutive narrative of Sicilian affairs—for one part of them we have now a consecutive narrative in Herodotus—we have again to seek our answer to this question in a number of scattered notices. As the evidence is not very clear I have not ventured on any distinct narrative in the text; I thought it safer to consider the matter in the present shape. The subject has a good deal of interest in itself, and it becomes of greater importance since a scholar whose opinions cannot be slighted has made use of the doubtful statements about it to dispute the received date and circumstances of the battle of Himera itself.

The first piece of evidence to which we naturally go on the subject is the speech put by Herodotus (vii. 158) into the mouth of Gelôn when answering the Athenian and Lacedæmonian envoys in B. C. 480. As the speech is commonly understood, Gelôn is made distinctly to assert that he had been engaged in a war with Carthage before the coming of those envoys, and that that war was waged specially to avenge the death of Dôrieus. His words are;

*Αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐμὲ πρότερον δευδίοντα βαρβαροὶ στρατῷ συνεδάψασθαι, ἐπε-  
μοι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεον ἐνῆντο, ἐπισκήμενόν τε τὸ Δωριός τοῦ  
Ἀναξανδρίδου πρὸς Ἑσσαναίων φόνον ἐκπρήξασθαι, ὑπετείνοντές τε τὰ  
ἐμπόρια στελεθεροῖν, ἀπ' ἧς ὑμῖν μέγιστον ὄφελος τε καὶ ἱκανίστην  
γεγόναι.*

It needs no proof that Gelôn, or Herodotus in his name, here refers to something which Herodotus conceived to have happened before the coming of the envoys. He speaks of a well-known past event, of the nature of which we might wish that he had told us more, but of the general date of which, as something happening before 480 B. C., there can be no doubt. He makes Gelôn speak of a war with Carthage in which he had already been engaged; he cannot possibly refer to the great Carthaginian invasion and the battle of Himera, which Herodotus records some chapters later (165-167). Herodotus may, as some think, have given a wrong date to the battle of Himera; he may, though it is not likely, have divided a single Carthaginian war into two; but he clearly believed that Gelôn was at war with Carthage twice, once before the embassy and once after it. I therefore cannot understand how Holm (G. S. i. 416) can use these words of Herodotus in c. 158 as argument against the date—the same day as Salamis—which Herodotus himself in c. 166 gives to Himera. He adds indeed “dass Herodot selbst diese Worte anders versteht, ist kein Hinderniss meiner Denkung.” Now it may be possible to prove Herodotus to be altogether wrong in his story; but it is beyond belief that he could have misunderstood his own meaning in this way. There are in short two questions. First, Did Herodotus give a wrong date to the battle of Himera? This question does not concern us till later in our story. Secondly, Was Herodotus mistaken in asserting an earlier war between Gelôn and the Carthaginians? This is the question which we have to deal with now.

Herodotus then distinctly affirms, through the mouth of Gelôn,

that Gelón himself waged a war with the Carthaginians and the men of Segesta, with the avowed purpose of avenging the death of Dŏrieus. The result of this warfare was, he says, to set free certain havens, from which setting free the cities of Old Greece had derived great advantage. I freely confess that I do not know what this last part of the story means. It was doubtless so clear to Herodotus, or to those who told him the story, that it did not seem to need any explanation. I cannot venture, with Grote (v. 292), to read *ἡμῶν* for *ἐμῶν*. I confine myself to the general statement of a war in which it is implied that Gelón was victorious. It is implied further that Gelón had to withstand an invasion; for he complains that, when he asked for help from Old Greece, none came. As far, he says, as the Greeks of Old Greece had done anything, Syracuse and all Greek Sicily might be a possession of the barbarians (*οὔτε ἐμεῖ εἰκεν ἦλθετε βοηθήσαντες οὔτε τὸν Δαρκίον φόνον ἐκπληξόμενοι τὸ δὲ κατ' ἡμῶν, τὰς ἀπάρτα ὑπὸ βαρβάρων νέμεται*). Of course there is no need to suppose that any barbarian host came to Syracuse or anywhere near Syracuse. All that Gelón means is that he drove back Punic invaders of some part of Greek Sicily, which invaders, if he had not driven them back, might have reached Syracuse or any other part.

There is indeed a difficulty as to the date, a difficulty of which Holm himself, who asks triumphantly 'Aber wann?', does not seem to see the stress. Dŏrieus perished not very long after 510 B. C. Gelón did not become master even of Gela till 491. A Phœnician advance threatening Greek Sicily generally, a Greek war waged to avenge the death of Dŏrieus, must surely have happened before the latter date. But Kleandros was tyrant as early as 505; Gelón was a chief officer under his successor Hippokratēs, and seemingly under Kleandros also (see below, Appendix XI). What if Gelón refers to a war in which he may well have played a leading part, though not in the highest command as himself tyrant? Herodotus might easily make a slip of this kind in dates and names. He or his informants might make Gelón speak of a war as happening during his own reign when it had really happened during the reign of one of his predecessors. They would hardly make Gelón speak of a war which was yet to come as if it had happened some years before.

And the inference which we naturally make from the works of Herodotus really falls in with the account which Diodŏros gives of the foundation and history of Hērakleia. That account is indeed

very confused. It comes in casually in the mythical part of his history, and he most likely put his narrative straight when he came to the right place for it in one of the lost books. He describes (iv. 23) the wrestling of Héraklēs and Eryx, and the lease granted to the then inhabitants till such time as a Hérakleid should come to claim his inheritance. He then adds ;

*ἔπειτα καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι πολλοῖς γὰρ ὕστερον γενεαῖς Δωριεὶν δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιος καταστήσας εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀναλαβὼν ἔκτισεν πόλιν Ἡράκλειαν. ταχὺ δ' αὐτῆς αἰέτωμας, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι φθονήσαντες ἄμα καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ ποτε πλείων ἰσχύσασα τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἀφείληται τῶν Φοινίκων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, στρατεύσαντες ἐπ' αὐτῆς μεγάλας δυνάμεις καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἐλόντες κατίσκαψαν.*

He adds ; *ἀλλὰ περὶ τούτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς αἰεταῖς χρόνοις ἀσυγράφομαι.*

In all this Diodōros was most likely writing from memory. When he came to the more minute research needed for the direct narrative of the enterprise of Dōrieus, he no doubt found out his mistake. That mistake I take to be that for the moment he forgot the actual fate of Dōrieus, and fancied that what was done by his follower Euryleōn was done by himself. What Diodōros tells us about Hérakleia becomes perfectly intelligible, if we take it of the Minōa occupied by Euryleōn. Minōa was afterwards called Hérakleia. Surely it was now that it took the name. Dōrieus meant to make a Hérakleia on one site. Euryleōn did make a Hérakleia on another site. Except in this casual mention of its destruction, we do not hear of Hérakleia again till deep in the fourth century, after it or its site had been ceded to Carthage in a.c. 383. That is to say, the Hérakleia founded by Euryleōn was destroyed by the Carthaginians in the war which Gelōn speaks of in Herodotus. If it was ever rebuilt as a Greek place, perhaps as an outpost of Akragas, it passed to Carthage by the treaty with Dionysios, and it rose to its later importance as a Phœnician town. As such, it was known in Greek as Hérakleia, and in Phœnician as *Ras-Melkart*. So far the statements of Herodotus and Diodōros really fit well into one another. But it must be remembered that all the statements are incidental. Such is not only that of Diodōros, but those of Herodotus also, both the speech of Gelōn in the seventh book and the account of Euryleōn in the fifth. In this last Herodotus describes the occupation of Minōa or Hérakleia by

Euryleôn; he makes no mention of its later fate, which we get in a confused way out of Diodōros.

We ask further what was the position of Segesta at this time, and still more what was that of Selinous. I do not exactly understand Placæ (*die Tyrannis*, i. 288), when he says;

"Händler hatte indessen Gelôn, wie dieser bei Herodot sagt, schon früher mit ihnen [Karthagern] gehabt, indem Egesta sich in den Schutz derselben begab, er aber daran dachte, die Karthager unter Mitwirken des griechischen Stammlandes völlig von der Insel zu vertreiben; nur war es nicht zu Feindseligkeiten gekommen."

Segesta was an ally of Carthage in the battle with Dōrieus, and neither Gelôn nor any other Greek could have any interest in settling the relations between the two barbarian cities. A far more interesting question is what was the position of Selinous just at this time. The story of Dōrieus so nearly repeats that of Pentathlos that we are almost tempted to assume that it must have repeated it in one point more, and that Selinous must have been an ally of Dōrieus in his warfare with Carthage and Segesta. But, as a matter of fact, no such alliance is spoken of. We hear nothing of Selinous in any quarter trustworthy or otherwise, between the tyranny of Thêrôn which followed the great defeat by the Phœnicians (see p. 81) and the tyranny of Peithagoras which we find existing directly after the fall of Dōrieus. Nor does Herodotus bring in Carthaginians or Phœnicians of any kind as at all affecting Selinous, when he describes the rise and fall of Euryleôn's power there. Our next notice of Selinous is that from which we learn the relations of the city at the time of the war of Himera (*Diod. xi. 21*). How do we explain the difference between the Selinous which is the zealous ally of Pentathlos in his warfare with the Phœnicians and the Selinous which at least engaged to help the Phœnician invader in his war against Gelôn and Thêrôn of Akragas? Between those two dates Selinous must have fallen into the position of a dependent ally of Carthage. This could not have happened immediately after the death of Pentathlos, when Carthage had as yet no Sicilian dominion. But it may very well have followed the defeat of Dōrieus, perhaps not at the very moment, but within a few years. The foundation of Hêrakleia, the revival of the scheme of Greek colonization which had just been thwarted, could hardly have frightened Carthage quite so

much as Diodóros says; but it would be a special motive for action. The revolutions of Selinous, the tyranny and overthrow of Euryleôn, would give the opportunity. Then Carthage comes down on both the towns which Euryleôn had held. Hérakleia is destroyed; Selinous becomes a dependency of Carthage. Greek Sicily in general is threatened. Then comes the war of which Gelón speaks, the war waged by the Greeks of Sicily, by Gela at all events, against the Carthaginians to avenge the death of Dóriens. Help is sought for in Old Greece; but in vain. But Gelón or some other champion from eastern Sicily, most likely Gelón acting as lieutenant to one of his predecessors in the tyranny, hinders the storm from spreading further eastward. He even obtains by treaty some commercial advantages which were useful to Old Greece as well as to Sicily. But he is obliged to leave Hérakleia a ruin, and Selinous a dependency of Carthage.

Something like this was clearly meant by Herodotus, and something like this fits in with our very scanty notices elsewhere. Even if it is needful to suppose that Herodotus, or those from whom he got his story, made Gelón claim to himself some of the acts of Hippokrates or Kleandros, this is much easier to believe than that he was capable of the monstrous confusion and contradiction which is attributed to him in the view taken by Holm.

Duacker (*Geschichte des Alterthums*, vi. 664) has an account which I could wish that he had drawn out more fully, but which agrees with my own notions so far as to admit the general fact of an earlier war with Carthage in which Gelón took a part. This, he truly holds, is shown by the words put into his mouth by Herodotus. But he must either allow a very long time between the death of Dóriens and the action of Gelón, or else he has not noticed the chronological difficulty which I have spoken of above. For he not only makes Gelón apply to Leónidas, who did not become king of the Lacedæmonians till B.C. 491, but speaks of him as "Fürst von Syrakus," which he did not become till B.C. 485. The application to Leónidas comes from the passage in Justin, xix.1, which, in the last text of Rühl, stands thus;

"Itaque Siciliæ populis propter adiduas Karthaginensium injurias ad . . . Leonidem fratrem regis Spartanorum, concurrentibus grave bellum natum, in quo et diu et varia victoria præliatum est."



Duncker must have read "Leonidam," according to the conjectural emendation mentioned by Meltzer, i. 492. He takes this passage of Justin and the speech of Gelôn in Herodotus to refer to one and the same application to Sparta. I had always thought that the passage in Justin referred to the expedition of Dôriens, and that his name had dropped out of the text. An invitation to Dôrius from Selinous or any other Sikeliot city is likely enough; they must have known well that he was coming. As Duncker puts it, when the request to Leônidas was refused, then "Gelon nahm es auf sich, weiteren Erfolges der Karthagen auf Sicilien entgegen zu treten." Cf. vii. 217.

The passage in Justin is followed by the strange story of the embassy of Darius to Carthage;

"Dum hæc aguntur, legati a Dareo, Persarum rege, Karthaginem venerunt adherentes edictum quo Pœni humanas hostias immolare et canina vesci prohibebantur mortuorumque corpora cremare potius quam terra obruere a rege jubebantur; petentes simul auxilia adversus Græciam, cui inlaturus bellum Dareus erat. Sed Karthaginenses auxilia negantes propter assidua finitimorum bella, ceteris, ne per omnia contumaces viderentur, cupide parvere."

I confess that I am a little surprised at the respect with which this story is treated by Meltzer (i. 207, 499), Duncker (iv. 527), and Busolt (ii. 259), who charges it on Timaios, whose criticism on the brazen bull might have pleaded for him. Duncker even warns us that it must not be supposed, because he accepts this "Verhandlung" between Darius and Carthage, that he at all accepts an alliance between Xerxes and Carthage. On the other hand, the story seems to me to be a jumble between the alliance of Xerxes with Carthage and the story of Gelôn requiring the Carthaginians to give up human sacrifices. Darius is made to sin against his own religion by requiring fire to be used to consume dead bodies. The only point the least in favour of the story is that eating dog's flesh does seem (see Meltzer, i. 499) to have been an usual custom of some of the Libyan tribes, though surely not of the Carthaginians. Duncker (iv. 527) seems to put the transaction as early as B.C. 512. I should have thought that, if anything of the kind happened at all, it must have been just before Marathôn.

It certainly seems to me most likely that one of the results of

this first Punic war on the part of Syracuse was that Selinous now became a dependency of Carthage. But it would be hard to prove the case either way. Duncker (vii. 379), just before the battle of Himera, makes Selinous join Carthage then for the first time; "Es trat in den Schutz Karthagos." He then adds in a note, "Hamilkar konnte nicht den Selinuntiern doch nicht gebieten, ihm ihre Reiter zu schicken, wenn die Stadt nicht zuvor zu Karthago getreten war." Benndorf (die Metopen, 8) makes Selinous join Carthage out of revenge for the destruction of her metropolis Megara by Gelôn. See pp. 131, 240. Curtius (G. G. ii. 439) knows that they came "aus Hass gegen Akragas." Why?

#### NOTE IX. pp. 115, 317.

##### ANAXILAS AND THE NAMING OF MESSANA.

It hardly needed the ingenuity of Bentley (Phalaris, p. 149 et seqq.) to point out that Pausanias (iv. 13) has made a confusion as to the date of Anaxilas quite as great as that which Diodôros (see above, p. 451) has made as to the date of Charôndas. He has moved him back from the early years of the fifth century B.C. to the first half of the seventh. We may feel pretty sure that this story, like the narrative of the Messenian wars to which it is a supplement, comes from the lost Messenian epic of Rhianos.

In this version the second Messenian war is over. Eira has been taken, according to Pausanias' chronology, in B.C. 668 (Ol. 28. 1). The remnant of the Messenians, under the sons of Aristomenes, Gorgos and Mantiklos, are planning settlements in various parts. One of their schemes is to occupy Sardinia, described, as usual, as the greatest and most fortunate of islands (*ἡ ἀριστοὺς καὶ εὐδαμονὴς νῆσος*). At that time Anaxilas was tyrant of Rhégion; he was fourth in descent from Archidamidas, who had migrated from Messênê to Rhégion at the time of the taking of Ithômê which ended the first Messenian war (724 B.C. according to the chronology of Pausanias, iv. 13. 7). He now sent and invited the Messenians of the second dispersion to settle in Italy. When they came, he told them that he had a quarrel with the Zanklaïans who had a fair city and territory in Sicily; this he

promised to give to them as their new home, if they would join with him in driving out its present possessors (*ἐλθούσας ἔλγεσθαι ὡς Ζαγκλαῖοι διάφοροι μὲν εἰσιν αὐτῷ, χάραν δὲ εὐδαίμονα καὶ πόλιν ἐν καλῇ τῆς Σικελίας ἔχουσιν, ἣ δὲ σφίσιν ἐθέλειν ἔφη συγκατεργασάμενος δοῦναι*). The Messenians agree; Anaxilas gives them a passage to Sicily, he fights against the Zanklaeans by sea, and they by land; each is successful, and Zanklê is besieged by land and sea. Presently the wall is taken, seemingly by storm (*ἀλίσκομένου ἤδη τοῦ τείχους*); the Zanklaeans take sanctuary in temples and at altars. Then Anaxilas exhorts the Messenians to slay the suppliants and to make slaves of the rest of the people of Zanklê, men, women, and children (*Ἀναξίλας μὲν οὖν τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις παρεκλείντο τοὺς τε ἱκετεύοντας Ζαγκλαίων ἀποκτείνειν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ παισὶν ἀνδραποδίσασθαι*). But the Messenian leaders, Gorgos and Mantiklos, shrink from such a crime. They had themselves suffered unrighteously at the hands of men of their own kin; let not the lord of Rhégion constrain them to sin in the like sort against fellow-Greeks (*παρηγοῦντο Ἀναξίλαν μὴ σφᾶς ὑπὸ συγγενῶν ἀνδρῶν πεπονθότας ἀδίκῃ, ὅμοια αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀνθρώπους Ἑλλήνας ἀναγκάσαι δρᾶσαι*). The Messenians bid the Zanklaeans at the altars rise; they exchange oaths and occupy the city in common, changing the name from Zanklê to Messaenê (*τοὺς Ζαγκλαίους ἀνίστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βωμῶν, καὶ ὅρους δόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ παρ' ἐκείνων λαβόντες ἕκησιν ἀμφότεροι κοιτῇ ὄνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει μετέθεσαν Μεσσηνίην ἀντὶ Ζάγκλης καλεῖσθαι*). All this was done about B.C. 564 (OL. 29). And the witness of the story in Pausanias' day was the temple and statue of Hēraklēs Mantiklos, the foundation of the Messenian Mantiklos, outside the walls of Messana (*Μάντικλος δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Μεσσηνίῳ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐποίησε, καὶ ἵσταντο ἐκτὸς τείχους ὁ θεὸς ἱδρυμένος, Ἡρακλῆς καλούμενος Μάντικλος*).

It is perfectly clear that the kernel of this tale is the real account of the treatment of the Zanklaeans in B.C. 493 by Anaxilas, Hippokratēs, and the Samians. The date is changed; Messenian exiles are put instead of Samian exiles; the refusal of the Samians to kill the Zanklaeans handed over to them by Hippokratēs appears in a poetical form; they are now made suppliants at altars. How much the Persian recovery of Ionia and the events which followed it were in the mind of the inventor of the tale is shown by his bringing in a proposal to settle in Sardinia, which is made up, almost word for word, out of two stories in Herodotus. The

first is i. 170, where Bias of Priênê counsels the Ionians to found a Pan-Ionian city in Sardinia, and there to dwell, *ἐνὶ πόλει Ἀνακίῳ Μεσσηνίων* (cf. v. 114). The other is v. 106, where Histæon promises Darius to bring Ζανκλή, *ἐνὶ ᾧ τῆς Μεσσηνίας*, under tribute to him. Rhianos, or whoever it was, worked these details from the real story of the Samians into his imaginary story of the Messenians. There were several things to suggest the carrying of Messenian exiles to Zanklê. There was the later name of the city; there was the probable fact (see vol. i. p. 586) that Messenians of the dispersion after Aristomenês did settle at Rhêgion, and that under the auspices of Zanklê. It was a very slight change to settle them at Zanklê itself, where they most likely did show their faces. As for the details of the settlement, the story of the Samians stood ready to be transferred. Moreover Anaxilas himself, for a reason which we shall come to directly, is spoken of as Messesian (Herakleides, Pont. xiv. Frag. Hist. Græc. ii. 219). This last was quite enough to suggest bringing him into the story at the expense of chronology. One would have hardly thought it necessary at this time of day to prove the falsehood of the Messenian story and of the date in the seventh century. Yet in the Dictionary of Geography, art. *Messenia*, the Messenian settlement appears with the date 668 B.C. but without any mention of Anaxilas, the article on whom, by the way, in the Dictionary of Biography, not having the letters E. H. B. at the end, is of the very feeblest. But the oddest thing is that, under the article *Messenia*, the story is told with a reference to the article *Messene*, which, being marked by those letters, of course gives the right account with the right date.

I have written thus far with full confidence; I have a further suggestion to make which may be thought more daring. While the details of the story in Pausanias—that is, as I hold, the account in the poem of Rhianos—are clearly taken from the settlement of the Samians, it is possible that the story itself may have been suggested by a real event somewhat later. We have the fact that Zanklê did change its name to Μεσσηνὴ, or rather Μεσσηνα. This is witnessed by Herodotus (vii. 164) when, telling the story of Kadmos of Kôe (see pp. 110, 181), he says that he joined with the Samians in occupying Ζάγκαρον τῆς ἐς Μεσσηνίαν μεταβλήσαντος τοῦ ὀνόματος. This surely does not mean that the Samians changed the name to Μεσσηνὴ, which they could have no motive for doing, but only that

the city which was called Zanklê when Kadmos settled there was called Messênê when Herodotus wrote. Thucydides (vi. 4) records the settlement of the Samians; and adds that they were driven out by Anaxilas (see p. 115) and that he changed the name of the city to Messênê;

Τοὺς δὲ Σαμίους Ἀναξίλας Ῥηγίῳ τύραντι αὐτὸν πολλὰ ὕστερον ἐκβαλὼν καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ξυμμίκτην ἀνθρώπων εἰκισας Μισσηήνην ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πατρίδος ἐννομήματι.

This, as I have noticed in the text, is a somewhat singular and sentimental motive for a change of name. It is dangerous to dispute the authority of Thucydides; but there is really some reason to think that the city was still called Zanklê for some years after the time of Anaxilas. Diodôros (xi. 48), recording the death of Anaxilas in 476 (see p. 241), still calls him δ' Ῥηγίου καὶ Ζάγκλης τύραντος; and in c. 76 Ῥηγίοι μετὰ Ζαγκλάδων drive out his sons (see p. 315). This is placed in the archonship of Euippos, which should be 461 B.C., but the dates in Diodôros just then are a little confused (see Clinton, Fast. Hell. ii. App. c. 8). Directly after this comes the general settlement of Sicily, and now, for the first time, we hear of Messênê. The mercenaries and strangers and ξυμμίκτοι ἄνθρωποι are set to dwell ἐν τῇ Μισσηείᾳ (see p. 316). From this time we hear no more of Zanklê. This looks very much as if this was the time when the change of name took place; it even looks, if one may say so, as if Thucydides had transferred the settlement of the mixed multitude from the time which followed the fall of the sons of Anaxilas to the time of Anaxilas himself. Note further that the third Messenian war in Peloponnesos (467-457) was at any rate going on about this time, and that, as the dates in Diodôros cannot be exactly trusted, and as the settlement would hardly be carried out in a single year, nothing is more likely than that, when the Messenian exiles were finding homes at Naupaktos and other places, another body of them should be settled at Zanklê, and should give their name to the place. This seems more likely than the reason for the name given by Thucydides. And there must be some reason why Diodôros—who, we must always remember, represents the earlier Sicilian writers, and who is always careful, if not always correct, in his nomenclature—suddenly at this point changes from Zanklê to Messênê. It would be an objection if we could believe that Mikythos, in the inscription of his offerings at Olympia (see p. 302, and below,

Note XXII), spoke of Messana by that name. Pausanias (v. 26. 5), in arguing, one hardly sees why, against statements of Herodotus which do not contradict his own, says that those inscriptions imply Mikythos' possession of Rhégion and Messana; Ἑλληνίδας εὐτὶ πόλεως Ἐγγύειν τε παρὶδὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πορθμῷ Μεσσήνην δίδωσιν. It is clear that these are not literal copies of the inscriptions. Messana could not be described as ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ πορθμῷ Μεσσήνη till after the foundation of the Peloponnesian city of the name. The word on the offerings may quite well have been Ζάγκλη, for which Pausanias substituted Μεσσήνη after the manner of modern translators.

If we accept this date for the change of name, the story which Pausanias has borrowed from Rhianos becomes all the clearer. Rhianos took a real Messenian settlement at Zanklé in the fifth century B.C. and carried it back into the seventh.

The early coins of Messana have the legends MESSENIION and MEZZANIION (Coins of Sicily, pp. 100, 101), mostly with the letters running from left to right, but some of each follow the elder way. The spelling MEZZENIION (Μεσσηνίων in the later alphabet) seems the older; but the Doric spelling prevailed, as is shown by the Latin form *Messana*. The modern *Messina* of course comes from Μεσσήνη. This had most likely come into use in Byzantine times; it is *Messène* and *Messine* in the Greek charters of the Norman kings. That the spelling should fluctuate soon after the new settlement and change of name is not wonderful. Some remnant of the Samians or some other Ionians of some kind must have been there to bring in the Ionic spelling for a while, but the Doric majority prevailed in the end. Of course the Doric form belongs equally to the Peloponnesian and to the Sicilian Μεσσήνη; but for Sicilian purposes it is convenient to keep the form *Messana*, made familiar by its Latin use, for the Sikeliot city.

Some of the Messanian coins have a running hare on one side and Nikè crowning mules in a chariot on the other. For the meaning of this Julius Pollux (v. 75) quotes Aristotle Ἀναξίλας δ' Ἐγγύειος εἴδους, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ, τῆς Σικελίας τινα ἀγίονος λαγῶν, ὃ δὲ εἰσαγαγόν τε καὶ θρόψας, ἐμὸν δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπία πηήσας ἀπήνη, τῇ κομίματι τῶν Ἐγγύειων ἐντίπασεν ἀπήνην καὶ λαγῶν. (We see Hierón eating hares in p. 262.) There must here be some confusion between the Sicilian and Italian dominions of Anaxilas; but the explanation is most likely legendary; if I am right as to the change

of name, it must be so, unless Messana under its new name copied a Rhégine coin.

And now for a word or two as to Anaxilas himself and his connexion with the elder Messênê, which, as we have seen, even led to his being called *Μεσσηνιος*. He appears in Aristotle (Pol. v. 10. 4), along with Panaitios and Kleandros, as one of the tyrants who rose to power by upsetting an oligarchy. But what kind of oligarchy did he upset? Strabo (vi. 1. 6) quotes from Antiochos of Syracuse his account of the founding of Rhégion, and the share taken in it by Messenian exiles. Though the settlement was Chalkidian and its founder brought from Chalkia, yet the descendants of these Messenians formed, according to Antiochos, an exclusive body out of whom the magistrates, or at least the generals, of Rhégion were always chosen. This privilege lasted till the rise of Anaxilas. The words are; *διόπερ οἱ τῶν Ῥηγίων ἡγεμόνες μέχρι Ἀναξίλα τοῦ Μεσσηνίου γένους διὰ καθίστατο*. The word *ἡγεμόνες*, not an usual one to express magistracy in a Greek commonwealth, must mean at least as much as I have just said. It might possibly mean more; it may imply something like a dynasty, whether under the title of kingship or not. Reading the passage by the light of our other knowledge, we may understand the words to mean that Anaxilas put an end to this superiority, whatever it was, on the part of the Messenian families in Rhégion or some of them. But the words by themselves might have been read to mean that Anaxilas was the last of a Messenian dynasty in Rhégion. The other account is that of Hérakleidês of Pontos (see above, p. 486), who, as I have already said, speaks of Anaxilas himself as a Messenian, that is, we must suppose, a member of one of these Messenian families. This must also be the meaning of Thucydides (vi. 4) when he says that Anaxilas changed the name of Zanklê to Messana after the name of his own ancient country (*ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τοῦ ἐρχαίου πατρίδος*). Hérakleidês does not mention any superiority of the Messenians in Rhégion. After mentioning the joint Chalkidian and Messenian settlement, he goes on; *πολιτείας δὲ καταστήσαντο ἀριστοκρατικὴν*· *χθισὶ γὰρ πάντα διοικοῦσιν, αἰρεταὶ ἀπὸ τμημάτων, νόμος δὲ ἔχοντο τοῖς Χαράνδου τοῦ Καταναίου, ἐτυράνευσεν δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀναξίλας Μεσσηνιος*. A senate of a thousand, chosen—it is not said by whom—out of possessors of a certain amount of property, is a very different thing from the

exclusive predominance of certain families. It is a form of government which might mark a stage of transition from exclusive oligarchy to democracy (see p. 349, and below, Appendix XXIX). But it is perhaps a little too artificial for the times before Anaxilas, whom Aristotle would seem to have conceived as upsetting an oligarchy of the more old-fashioned type. It is to be noticed that the writer uses the word *δυναστεία* in the present, so, if we were sure that these scraps came from the elder Hērakleidēs, we might suppose he was describing the constitution of Rhégion in the fourth century B.C. Antiochos, reported by Strabo, is much higher authority, though his meaning may not be perfectly clear.

We have a few other notices of Anaxilas. Dionysios of Halikarnassos, in a fragment (ix. 4), speaks of him as seizing the akropolis of Rhégion, a thing which might be taken for granted of any tyrant in any city that had an akropolis. He gives no further details. From one of the scholiasts on Pindar, Pyth. ii. 34, it would seem that he himself ruled in Zanklê and that he placed his son Kleophrôn or Leophrôn as deputy-tyrant in Rhégion (*Ἀναξίλας καὶ Κλεόφρων ἐ τοῦτον ποιεῖ Ἰταλίας ἔσται τύραννος ἐ μὲν ἐν Μεσσηνίᾳ τῇ Ζακύνθῳ, ἐ δὲ ἐν Ἑγγύῳ τῇ περὶ Ἰταλίας*). We should certainly have expected the partition of power to be the other way, and the statement may be a mere confusion of expression. The phrase of *Ἰταλίας τύραννος* is also odd. Is it because the power of Anaxilas began in Italy, or did the scholiast reckon Sicily to Italy? In another scholion on Pyth. i. 98 he is *Ἀναξίλας ἐ τοῦ Ἑγγύου βασιλεὺς*.

The war of Anaxilas and his son against Lokroi (see p. 240) must be the same which is referred to in the dark story in Justin, xxi. 3; "Cum Rheginorum tyranni Leophronis bello Locrenses premerentur, voverunt, si victores forent, ut die festo Veneris virgines suas prostituerent." Such a sacrifice—to Ashtoreth, one would think (see below, Appendix XXV)—would be even greater at Lokroi, where women held so great a place, than elsewhere. If there is any truth in this tale, one might see a reference to it in the emphatic mention of the *Ζεφύρα Ἀσπὲς καυδίνος* in Pindar, Pyth. ii. 18 or 35. It might have been held that the terms of the vow did not apply when the Lokrians were delivered without victory.

It is hard to believe that this Kleophrôn or Leophrôn—the names must be the same—who was capable of acting such a part as this, could have been one of the young sons of Anaxilas who



succeeded under the guardianship of Mikythos. And the authority of Herodotus is certainly higher than any other. We must therefore suppose that Leophrôn died before his father, and that there is some confusion when Dionysios, *Exc* 10 (p. 2359, Reiske), after a short mention of Anaxilas, adds, *Λεόφρων τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέδωκε*. There is another mention of Leophrôn in Athênaios, i. 3, where he appears as an Olympic victor, celebrated, like his father, in an ode of Simônîdês. Others are spoken of who made the sacrifices and feast; *τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίησε Λεόφρων Ὀλυμπίασιν, ἐπὶ νίκῳ γράψαντος τοῦ Κεῖου Σιμωνίδου*.

Justin (iv. 2), speaking of the tyrannies in Sicily, contrasts Anaxilas as a just ruler with the cruelty of the others ("postquam singulae civitates in tyrannorum imperium concesserunt, quorum nulla terra feracior fuit, horum ex numero Anaxilaus justitia cum ceterorum crudelitate certabat"). And that Anaxilas left behind him a certain reputation for good government might appear from the easy succession of his sons under the care of Mikythos.

All this is quite possible. The foreign policy of Anaxilas seems as bad as it could be; but that is consistent with a mild rule at home. Lewis the Twelfth was the Father of his People in France; Italy looked on him in another light.

There is a saying of Anaxilas or attributed to him preserved by John of Stoboi (xliv. 17), which falls in with this possible better side of him; *Ἀναξίλαος ὁ τύραννος ἐρωτηθεὶς τί τῆς τυραννίδος μακαριώτατος, εἶπεν τὸ μηδέποτε εὐεργετοῦντα μικθῆναι*.

NOTE X. pp. 116, 131, 214, 241, 242, 245.

#### CHROMIOS SON OF AGÊSIDAMOS.

CHROMIOS is a case of a man who was of no small importance in his own day, and who, as such, had his deeds recorded by the historians of Sicily, but whose name would, as far as we are concerned, have utterly perished, if he had not won victories in the games. As he had that luck, he was commemorated in two odes of Pindar. The odes by themselves tell us something, and the scholiasts who undertook their interpretation have preserved to us some passages of lost writers in which Chromios is mentioned.

The two odes addressed to Chromios are, in the common reckoning, the first and the ninth Nemean; but the victory commemorated in the latter ode was clearly won, not at Nemea, but in the Pythian games at Sikyôn. The scholia to these odes naturally contain a good deal about their subject, and there are some other notices of Chromios in the scholia to other odes.

The name of Chromios' father comes from Nem. i. 29 (43). From the prominence given in the first ode to the legend of Hēraklēs it has been reasonably enough inferred (Mezger, *Pindars Siegeslieder*, 98) that he claimed a Herakleid descent. There can be no doubt that he was originally a citizen of Gela. It is absurd enough when a scholiast (Nem. i. 8) says, thus time without any Timaios to quote, *Χρόμιος ἠνίοχος ἦν ἱέρωνος παιδὸς θύειν εἶτας ἄτε δὴ βασιλευσι συνὸν καὶ ἄριστοι ἐν τῇ ἰσχυρῇ ἐπιδότῃσι καὶ ἤρξαντο ἀποστὰς τοῦ ἱέρωνος κατ' ἐκιντὸν ἐκποροφείν*. It is a more rational scholiast who, on Nem. ix. 95, infers from Timaios that he was an *ἐραῖρος* of Gelôn. His first appearance is at the battle by the Halôros, when, as another scholiast in the same page (Abel, 277) oddly puts it, *συνεμάχοντο Γέλωνι συμμάχῳ τοῦ Ἰσποράτου ὁ Χρόμιος καὶ ἤριστονεν*. I cannot understand why Mr. Lloyd (p. 312) should have fancied that Chromios was fighting on the Syracusan side. The only thing the least like it is that the comparison with Hektôr might better suit a defeated warrior. The passage, Nem. ix. 39 (94), runs thus in Bergk;

. . . λέγεται μὲν ἔσσοι μὲν κλίος ἀνθῆσαι Χερμάδου χεῖμασι  
 Ἀγχοῦ, βαθυπρόφυτοι δ' ἀμφ' ἐκταῖς ἑλάρου,  
 ἐνθα ῥέας πόντον ἀνθρῶσαι καλίσαι, διδομεν  
 ταῖς τοῦ Ἀγηαδάρου φέγγος ἐν ἄλυσιν πρήναι.

ῥέας is a mere guess. The scholiasts read, with the manuscripts, Ἀρείας. The word puzzled them, but one at least thought it had something to do with Ἄρης, if only because of the battle. ῥέας πόρος is said to mean the Ionian sea, with reference to the μέγας πόντος ῥέας in *Æsch. Prom.* 837. But it is hard to see what that has to do with the battle of the Halôros, which must have been fought a good way inland, though Mezger does say, "*ἐνθα an der Mundung*." Surely "*ford of Arês*" is much more to the purpose. It is a likely enough name for a passage of the river, which it would be vain to look for now.

Timaios mentioned Chromios at the battle of the Halôros. The scholiast says (Nem. ix. 95);

περὶ ταύτων τὸν ποταμὸν συνίστη Ἰπποκράτει τῷ Γέλωνος τυράνῳ πρὸς Συρακοσίους πόλεμος· ὁ δὲ Γέλων οὗ οὗτος ἑταῖρος [the MS. reading is Γέλων οὗτος ἑταῖρος ὅς] ἱππάρχει τότε Ἰπποκράτει ἐν δὲ τούτῳ φησὶ τῷ καλέμῳ εἰκὸς τὸν Χρόμιον ἐπιδείξασθαι πολλὰ ἔργα κατὰ τὴν μάχην. περὶ δὲ ταύτων τοῦ πολέμου Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ διδῇλωκε· καθάπαξ γὰρ, φησὶν ὁ Δίδυμος, οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην μάχην ἔχομεν εὐρεῖν παρὰ τὸν Ἑλλῶρον τῶν συνημακότων τῷ Χρομίῳ τυράνῳ, ὅτι μὴ σὺν Ἰπποκράτει τοῦ Γέλωνος πρὸς Συρακοσίους.

I suppose the correction of the text must be allowed; but one would like to know what Timaios really wrote.

Pindar, in the lines immediately following those just quoted above, speaks of other exploits of Chromios by land and sea;

πολλὰ μὲν ἐν κονίᾳ χίρσθ, ἐν δὲ γειτονίᾳ πόντῳ φάσσομαι.

And so in 34 (80);

. . . Χρομῖον περὶ ὑπασπίζων παρὰ πελοπόννησος ἵπποις τε ναῶν τ' ἐν μάχαις.

The sea-fight is doubtless that by Kymē (see p. 250), and I must see a reference to expected danger from Carthage (cf. Pyth. i. 73 (140)) in the πείρα ἀγάνωρ φονικοσπόλων ἐγχείων (28 or 35), even if I use a small φ in deference to experts.

Chromios of course moved to Syracuse with Gelon. To this fact we owe the striking local opening of the first—the real—Nemean ode, which has come before us as part of the topography of the city (see vol. i. p. 353). The scholiasts too are rich in matter bearing on the mythical origin of the ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφειοῦ. We have to thank them for several speculations about Alpheios and Ἀρτεμις Ἀλφειῶσα (see vol. i. p. 356). But we are now more concerned with the picture of the house of Chromios at Syracuse, and of Pindar at its gate waiting for his dinner and singing meanwhile; Nem. i. 20 (30),

ἔστιν δ' ἐν' ἀδελφαῖς θύραις  
ἀνδρὶ φιλοξέειναι πολλὰ μελεπόμενος,  
ἔνθα μοι ἁρμόδιον  
δείκνυν ἀποδόμηται.

How high Chromios stood with Gelon is shown by his marriage with the tyrant's sister, and by his being left as a guardian of the tyrant's son along with Aristonous (see p. 214). So witnesses Timaios, as quoted by the scholiast on Nem. ix. 95;

ὥς δὲ καὶ ὁ Γέλων τῷ Χρομίῳ ἐχρήτητο ἑταῖρῳ δῆλον πάλιν ἐξ ἑνὸς φησι Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ δευτέρῳ γράφειν οὕτως· ἐπιτρόπους δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς μετ' ἐκεί-

νον [Polyzēlos, one would suppose] καίστησεν Ἀριστόνου καὶ Χρόμιον τοὺς κηδεστὰς. τοῦτοις γὰρ δ' ἔλεον δίδωκε τὰς ἀδελφάς.

Mr. Lloyd (323) suggests that Chromios and Aristonous were brothers; there seems no evidence one way or the other.

Chromios, comrade and brother-in-law of Hierôn no less than of Gelôn, remained in equal favour with Hierôn after his accession. Chromios therefore could not have taken the part of Polyzēlos (see p. 236 and Appendix XXIII). He was employed in the honourable and successful mission by which Lokroi was secured against the threats of Anaxilas (see p. 141). So at least says the scholiast on Pyth. ii. 34; Ἀναξίλα τοῦ Μεσσήνης καὶ Ἑγγίαν τυράννου Λοκροῖς πολεμῶντος, Ἰέρων πέμψας Χρόμιον τὸν κηδεστὴν διαπεύθεσεν αὐτῷ εἰ μὴ καταλίσσαιο τὸν πρὸς αὐτοῦς πόλεμον αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ Πήγιον στρατεύειν.

When Hierôn gave himself out as founder of Ætna, Chromios was one of those who received the citizenship of the new city. Both the odes are addressed to him as Chromios of Ætna. And the references to Ζεὺς Αἰτναῖος (i. 6), and by implication in ix. 28-30=66-70, must surely refer to this. That he did not any more than Hierôn himself, break off his connexion with Syracuse, is plain from the opening of the Nemean ode (i) already quoted. The opening of the Sikyonian ode (ix) speaks in the like sort of the house of Chromios at Ætna;

καμίσωμεν παρ' Ἀπώλλωνος Σικιώνος, Μοῖσαι,  
τὸν τιεκτίσταν ἐς Αἴτναν, ἐνθ' ἀναστετάμεναι ζείνων νεώκωνται θύραι,  
ὄλβιον ἐς Χρομίον οἶκον.

Zeus is also implored (29 (70)) to bless the citizens of Ætna generally;

μοῖραν δ' εἵνομον  
αἰτίω σε παῖδ' ἑσπερὸν Αἰτναίων ὑπάγειν.

As it happened, there was hardly time for any παῖδες Αἰτναῖοι to grow up before the lawful owners of the soil came back (see p. 323). The μοῖρα εἵνομος must be compared with the dream in Pyth. i. 61 (129) about the position of the young Deinomenēs as constitutional king of Ætna (see pp. 245, 274). In that character Chromios was to act as his Mayor of the Palace. Such at least would seem to be the meaning of the scholiast at the beginning of the ninth Nemean; δ' Χρόμιος οὗτος φίλος ἦν Ἰέρωνος, κατασταθεὶς ἐκ' αὐτοῦ τῆς Αἴτνης ἐπίτροπος. One would like to know what became of him when the Deinomenid dynasty, overthrown at Syra-

case, kept his hold on the two towns which successively bore the name of Ætna.

The date of the two odes has been largely discussed by the commentators on Pindar. Among recent writers Mezger (98 et seqq.) has much to say, and Mr. Bury in his edition of the Nemean odes (Introduction to Nem. i. and Appendix C). The Nemean ode is certainly older than the Sikyonian. It was clearly written when Pindar was in Sicily. Both were written, as the description of Chromios as "of Ætna" shows, after Hierôn's foundation of Ætna in B.C. 476. The Nemean ode contains the greater amount of general local matter; the Sikyonian enlarges more on the personal exploits of Chromios. Neither, as Mr. Bury remarks, contains any mention of Hierôn. The commentators seem pretty well agreed, though Mr. Bury has some doubts, that the Nemean victory of Chromios was in B.C. 473. The ode, and the visit of Pindar which it implies, would come as soon as might be after.

I should, unlike Mr. Bury understand the opening words of the Sikyonian ode as implying a visit of Pindar to Chromios in his house at Ætna, as the Nemean implies a visit to him in his house at Syracuse. The starting of Pindar from Sikyon in company with the Muses is of course a figure in either case. The allusions in the Nemean are mainly Syracusan; we hear of *Ζηδε Αἰρναίου χάρις*, and that is all. It is in the Sikyonian ode that we get the blessings on the *παῖδες Αἰρναίων* and the distinct mention of *ἀνὰ κρήνην Αἶτνα*. I must confess that these last words would have led me, if I had had no guides, to fix both odes, and therefore the visit of Pindar, to a time nearer to B.C. 476. But the evidence of the odes to Hierôn seems to show (see Bury, Appendix C) that Pindar was not in Sicily till B.C. 474. The exact date of his visit concerns his commentators more than it does me. He assuredly did go thither.

The commentators on the poet, old and new, naturally know a great many things, both about Chromios and about other matters, which a mere historian of facts cannot be expected to know. Sometimes one is even tempted to think that they know more than the poet himself ever thought of.

## NOTE XI. p. 123

## THE FIRST RISE OF GELÓN.

Our earliest mention of Gelón comes from a passage in Herodotus (vii. 154), where unluckily something seems to have dropped out of the text. It runs thus ;

ἔχοντας δὲ Ἱπποκράτης τὴν τυραννίδα, ὁ Γέλων, εἰς Τηλίαν τοῦ ἱεροφάντου ἀπόγονος, πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων καὶ Αἰνησιδήμου τοῦ Πασαϊκοῦ δεῖν δορυφόρος Ἱπποκράτους . . . μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον δι' ἀρετὴν ἀπεδέχθη πάσης τῆς ἵππου εἶναι ἱπάρχου.

This must be compared with a fragment of Timaios (85, C. Müller, i. 213), preserved by a scholiast on Pindar, Nem. ix. 95 ;

ὅτι μὲν οὖν Γέλωνα ἱππαρχεῖν κατέστησεν Ἱπποκράτης, σαφὲς ὁ Τίμαιος ποιήσει γράφων οὕτως· Ἱπποκράτης δὲ μετὰ τὴν Κλεάνδρου τελευτὴν, ἅμα μὲν τοῦ Γέλωνος ἐν τῇ τεταγμένῃ μεμνημένος, ἅμα δὲ τοῖς Γελοῖσι χάρισασθαι βουλόμενος, μεταπεμφόμενος αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαλέσας πρὸς τὰς πράξεις ἀπάντων τῶν ἱππέων τῆς ἐπιμέλειαν ἐκείνῳ παρέδωκεν.

This and the place in Herodotus clearly refer to the same event. But we do not know what the event was. The unhappy *lacuna* in Herodotus hinders us from knowing more than that, after the accession of Hippokratēs, Gelón, in company with Ainēsidamos and many others, did something. The valour displayed by Gelón, which led to his appointment to the command of the cavalry, would seem to have come a little later. For there immediately follows the list of Hippokratēs' conquests and Gelón's share in them ;

πολιορκέοντος γὰρ Ἱπποκράτους Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίους καὶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ Λεοντίους, καὶ πρὸς Συρηκουσίους τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων συχνοὺς, αὐτὸς ἐφαίετο ἐν τοῦτοις τοῖσι πολέμοις εἶναι ὁ Γέλων λαμπρότατος.

When we look to Timaios to fill up the gap, we find him, as reported by the scholiast, disappointingly meagre ; but then we do not feel at all certain that we have his exact words. Some (see Abel, 276) have found a *lacuna* here also. Anyhow some fighting somewhere followed the death of Kleandros, in which Gelón kept his post, seemingly when some others did not. Herodotus may have gone on to say that Ainēsidamos kept his post as

well. Also Gelón was very popular with the Syracusans, more so, it would seem, than Hippokratês. It would even seem that Hippokratês used the popularity of Gelón to strengthen his own power.

Here is hardly material even for guessing. But it would be pleasant if one could think that we have found another reference to the Punic war after the death of Dôrieus. And one is even tempted to ask whether some faint echo from the same quarter may not be heard amid the astounding confusion of a scholiast on the ninth Nemean (93) who makes the battle of Helôros a victory over Carthaginians (*ενίκησε γὰρ [Χρόμιος] ἑταῖρα Καρχηδονίους συμμαχῶν Γέλωνι τῷ τυράννῳ τῷ Ἰπποκράτους διαδόχῳ*). But this may only be a jumble between Helôros and Himera. Anyhow the scholiast has found defenders. See Abel, 275.

On the other hand, when we remember that Kleandros was killed, it is not unlikely that some disturbances in Gela followed before Hippokratês got full possession of the tyranny. The good will of the people towards Gelón might almost make us think that he took the popular side. Is it possible that Hippokratês came into power by a kind of compromise, of which the promotion of the popular favourite was a condition?

Anyhow Herodotus does not say that Gelón was a *δορυφόρος* of Hippokratês, but only that Aínēsídamos was. And it is odd to translate *μοναρχίῃ* by "tyranny," *τυραννίς* by "reign," and *δορυφόρος* Ἰπποκράτους by "in the king's body-guard."

## NOTE XII. p. 131.

## GELÓN'S TREATMENT OF MEGARA AND KAMARINA.

THE fact of the destruction of Kamarina by Gelón comes from the clearest of evidence. It is recorded by Herodotus, vii. 156; *Καμαρινίους πάντας ἰς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀγαγὼν πολέητας ἐποίησε, Καμαρίνης δὲ τὸ δασυ κατέσκαψε*. So Thucydides witnesses also (vi. 5); *αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Γέλωνος ἀνάστατος γενομένη*. The destruction was also recorded by Philistos in his third book (Fr. 17; C. Müller, i. 187), as appears from the scholiast on Pindar, Ol. v. 19, *Φίλιστος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φησὶν ὅτι Γέλων Καμάριναν κατέστρεψεν Ἰπποκράτης δὲ πολέμησας Συρακούσιους καὶ πολλοὺς αἰχμαλωτοὺς λαβὼν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τούτου ἀποδοῦναι*

*ἔλαβε τῆς Καμάρας καὶ συνέκρινεν αὐτῇ.* It is of course the Scholiast, not Philistos, who puts things in wrong order. If one likes to speculate, Thucydides may have heard the story from Philistos, or both Thucydides and Philistos may have taken it from Antiochos.

None of these writers comparatively near the time give us any motive for the act. What was at least its occasion we learn from a very unexpected source. *Æschines*, in his speech against *Ktésiphôn* (190), makes mention of *Glaukos* in a singular way. The orator contrasts *Dēmōsthēnēs* with some of the worthies of past times, and adds, καίτοι πυθόμεθα γ' αὐτὸν μᾶλλον λέγειν ὅτι οὐ δέσσω ποτὶ καμυβάλλων αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν κρυόντων ἔργα· οἷδ' ἂν Φιλάμμωνα φήσαι τὸς πύκτης Ὀλυμπίῳσι στεφανωθῆναι νικήσαντα Γλαῦκος τὸν παλαιὸν δέκιονος πύκτην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν θυροιστάς. On this the Scholiast (ed. Schulz, Lips. 1865) says of *Philammōn*, with strange confusion, πύκτης δέκιονος Ὀλυμπιονίκης. ἐνίκησεν ἑαυτῶν τῇ πεμπτῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι. ἦν δὲ τῇ σέμνῃ μέγας, καὶ ἀσυνδύχτος Ἱπποκράτους τοῦ Λεοντίνου τυράντου δεδιδύχατο τὰ πράγματα, καὶ κατασταθεὶς ὑπὸ Γέλωνος ἐν Καμαρίνῳ καταψήφισαμένους αὐτοῦ Καμαρινάων θανάτῳ ἀνέρεθ. Of *Glaukos* he adds, Καρύστιος ἦν οὗτος. It is odd to call *Hippokratēs* tyrant of *Leontinoi*; and it is plain that the Scholiast must have meant that *Glaukos*, not *Philammōn* who won his victory in the year 394, acted under *Gelōn*. But I think we may safely accept the story as a fact about *Glaukos*. It is the kind of tale which a later writer would neither dream nor invent; it must come from *Antiochos* or some other good lost source.

In this case the later writer helps very well to supply the cause of a fact recorded by the earlier. We are less lucky with our later helper in the case of *Megara*. *Herodotus* (vii. 156) tells us distinctly how *Gelōn* dealt by *Megara*;

Μεγαρίαις τε τοῖς ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ὅτε πολιορκούμενοι ἐς ἑξαμηνίην προσεχώρησαν, τοῖς μὲν αὐτῶν παχίαις, ὑπερμένους τε πόλιν αὐτῇ καὶ προσδύσαντας ἀπολείεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο, ὅπως ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, πόλιντας ἐπαίξον· τοὺς δὲ δῆμον τῶν Μεγαρίων, ὅτι ἐόντα μεταίτιας τοῖς πόλεμον τοῦτον αἰδὲ προσδικόμενον κοινὸν οὐδὲν πείσασθαι, ἀγαγὼν καὶ τοῖτους ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἀπείδοτο ἐν' ἱξοσυγῇ ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

I know not how to fit into this clear statement of *Herodotus* the not very clear story told by *Polyainos*, i. 27. 3; Γέλων τὸ Μεγαρικὸν βουλόμενος καταλύσει ἀπέλασε μὲν ἐκάλει τοὺς ἐβίλονται Δωριεῖς, διογήνην δὲ τῇ Μεγαρίᾳ ἄρχοντι χρήματα παρὰ δύναμιν ἐπαταξάν· ὁ δὲ



τοῖς πολίταις. οἱ δὲ τοῖς τέλεσιν ἐπεγορεύοντες ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν τὴν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐπήκουσαν ὑποβαλόντες αὐτοὺς τῇ Γέλωνος δυναστείᾳ. This must mean something; but it is hard to see what. It must have some reference to the removal of Megarian citizens to Syracuse, but it is hard to see in what way.

The transplantation of the Megarians is also recorded by Thucydides, vi. 4; ἔτη οἰκήσαντες πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακόσια ὑπὸ Γέλωνος τυράννου Συρακοσίων ἀνίστησαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ χώρας. The date is thus fixed to 483 B.C., but it is singular that Thucydides does not mention the grant of Syracusan citizenship to the *παχίαι* = *grossi*, of Megara. To the later state of Megara he refers elsewhere. In vi. 49 we hear of Μέγαρα, ἃ ἦν ἐρημία, ἀπέχοντα Συρακουσῶν οὔτε πλοῦν πολὺν οὔτε πόδιν. In vi. 94 we again hear of the destruction by Gelôn, with the addition, Συρακόσιοι αὐτοὶ ἔχουσι τὴν γῆν.

## NOTE XIII. pp. 137, 202.

## GELÔN AS GENERAL AND KING.

As a rule, it is vain to ask as to the formal position of any Greek tyrant, because, as tyrant, he had no formal position. But it is always possible that with the illegal position of tyrant he may have combined the title of some lawful magistracy. And there are signs in some cases that it was so. I hope to show in due time that Dionysios reigned at Syracuse under cover of the office of *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ*, and there are some grounds for thinking that the same was the case with Gelôn. And appearances which are at least worth discussing farther suggest, with more likelihood than in other cases, that Gelôn may have been formally elected king.

We must remember the peculiar circumstances under which Gelôn acquired the dominion of Syracuse. He came in as a conqueror from outside; but as a conqueror who seems to have been admitted without resistance, and, as I have argued (see pp. 128, 136), under some kind of compact. A formal title of some kind is therefore more likely in his case than in the case of those tyrants who rose to power by fraud or violence within the city. One might not go so far as Mitford, who (ch. x. sect. i. vol. ii. p. 219, ed. 1835) was as certain about the whole matter

as the author of the last German theory on any subject. He knew that "the expedient in which both parties [*Gomeroi* and commons] concurred was to appoint Gelôn supreme moderator between them, making him king of Syracuse." But that he was admitted with the rank and powers of *στρατηγὸς ἀντοκράτωρ* seems not unlikely.

One cannot attach the slightest importance as a matter of fact to the story told by Polyainos (i. 27. 1) in which Gelôn is looked on as a Syracusan rising to the tyranny in the usual fashion in his own city. He is chosen general with full powers (*στρατηγὸς ἀντοκράτωρ χειροτονηθείς*) in the war with Hamilkar, here called Imilkôn. He gives in his accounts (*εὐθέως δὲ τῇ ἀντοκρατορίᾳ δόχῃ*) and appears unarmed (*γυμνός*) before the armed people (cf. the law of Charôndas referred to in p. 62). After some talk, they elect him general again, and he becomes tyrant (*οὗτο δὲ παρακληθεὶς δεύτερον στρατηγὸν ἐκτὶ στρατηγῶν τύραννος ἐγένετο Συρακούσιος*). This is evidently the same scene as that which Diodôros (xi. 26) describes on Gelôn's return from Himera (see p. 202), which ends with the people saluting Gelôn as *king*. The whole circumstances are misconceived, but Polyainos must have found the title of *στρατηγὸς ἀντοκράτωρ* applied to Gelôn somewhere, as indeed it is incidentally given to him by Diodôros, xiii. 94. We read there that one motive for making Dionysios *στρατηγὸς ἀντοκράτωρ* was that Syracuse had done such great things under Gelôn as holder of that office; *ἐπὶ τούτῳ Καρχηδονίῳ τὰς ἐπιδόματα μισθίδας περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν συνήθησαν στρατηγούντων Γέλωνος ἀντοκράτορος*. With this before us, it seems not unlikely that Diodôros recorded the appointment of Gelôn to that office in his lost tenth book. The office is one which would do very well to cloak the reality of tyranny. It conferred large legal powers; it supplied an easy means of illegally enlarging those powers. It was by abusing the powers conferred upon him under that lawful title that Dionysios was able to seize the tyranny. All this suggests the thought that both Gelôn and Dionysios may have used the title in any formal document, and even that it may have been renewed by periodical elections like the renewed grant of extraordinary powers to Augustus. A salubrious assembly, with the spearmen ready to act if needed, would vote anything. We have unluckily no records of any formal acts of the Syracusan state, in other words, no inscriptions, of this period. The words on Hierôn's helmet (see p. 251)

belong to inscriptions of another class, where we do not look for formal titles even from an acknowledged king.

But in the case of Gelón the question is complicated by the further question of Gelón's alleged kingship. If the kingly office was conferred on him at all, it was doubtless on his return from the victory of Himera (see p. 202). That he was made king by a formal vote is certainly not implied in his being greeted in a moment of enthusiasm as εὐεργέτης, σωτήρ, καὶ βασιλεὺς (Diod. xi. 26). But Diodóros certainly seems to have thought that such a vote was passed. The next time (xi. 38) that he has to speak of him, he brings him in with some solemnity as ὁ βασιλεὺς Γέλων; Gelón bequeaths a βασιλεία to Hierón, and, by a slip of forgetfulness, we are told (xi. 38) that Gelón ἐπαετῇ χρόνον ἔβασιλευσε. The same language is applied to Hierón, and even to Thrasyboulos (xi. 67) in recording his fall. That Pindar constantly calls Hierón βασιλεὺς (a point on which I shall say something in Appendix XXVII) proves very little in itself; it may perhaps be held to prove a little more when we notice that, among all his praises of Thérón, he never applies the title to him. The only other person to whom he gives it is Arkesias of Kyrênê, an acknowledged king. What Herodotus would have called Gelón, if he had had any stories to tell of him after Himera, we cannot say. I cannot help looking on the words ὁ βασιλεὺς Συρακοσίων in the mouth of the Athenian envoy (see p. 177 and Appendix XIX) as more or less sarcastic; but, if the title came into common use in the last days of Gelón and was continued under Hierón, it might easily get used before its time in a Syracusan story. We should specially like to know whether Diodóros found any such distinction even in Timaios, much more in Philistos or Antiochos. That would of course settle the matter, only we cannot know by mere guessing. As it is, it may be that Diodóros has somehow transferred the kingship of the second Hierón back to the first Hierón and to Gelón. The fragment of Timaios quoted by the scholiast on Pindar, Ol. ii. 29, certainly seems to apply the name βασιλεὺς, not only to Hierón, but also to Thérón (see Appendix XXIII and XXX). But can we be certain that we have the author's genuine words? The second Hierón, there is no reason to doubt, was made king by a vote, as Agathoklés had before taken the title, with or without a vote. But this was in times when the Macedonian princes had made kingship again familiar to the Greeks; and Agathoklés certainly took the title

to put himself on a level with the Macedonians. We cannot argue back from these cases to times when kingship anywhere among Greeks, unless at Kyréné, was a mere survival.

On the whole, I would not positively deny the kingship of Gelôn and Hierôn but it seems much safer not to assert it. The greeting may pass for a kind of idolatrous homage, applying to a man epithets which strictly belonged only to the gods. In Macedonian times we get plenty of this, as in the famous hymn to Démétrios *καταβάνης* in Athénaios (vi. 63; cf. Plut. Dem. 10). And something of the kind is heard of earlier, as the worship paid to Lysandros at Samos, and the change of the local feast of the Héraia into Lysandria (Plut. Lys. 18; Athen. xv. 52).

It is not to be forgotten that it is quite possible that the power of Gelôn may have been confirmed by a legal vote after the battle, without bestowing on him the title of king. He may have come in by a compact, and yet not as *εργαρχὸς αὐτοκρατορ* or with any formal title. In any case the lord of Gela was *de facto* master of Syracuse, as he was of several other cities. Only he chose to make himself much more at home at Syracuse than elsewhere. That is all. A later stage, which would naturally come either just before or just after the battle, would be to turn this irregular and invidious kind of power into something known to the law. A grant of the powers of *εργαρχὸς αὐτοκρατορ* would just meet the case. It is therefore open to us to believe that Gelôn was made *εργαρχὸς αὐτοκράτορ* when he first came in, and that he was made king after the battle of Himera. It is also open to us to believe that he never was king, but that he was made *εργαρχὸς αὐτοκρατορ* in the scene described by Diodóros, of which Polyainos seems to have got hold of a confused report. I cannot believe that he came into Syracuse as king. And in any case it is well not to be over-positive any way.

Plato (*Die Tyranis*, i. 294) seems to have no doubt as to the kingship conferred after the battle. "Der Name eines gesetzlichen Königs wurde ihm gegeben."

## NOTE XIV. p. 133

## AGĒSIAS OF STYMPHALOS.

ABOUT this Agēsiās the scholasts on Pindar have a good deal to say; but it is not much to the purpose. I certainly cannot understand the words *συνοικιστῆρ τῶν κλειῶν Συρακοσῶν* (Ol. vi. 6 or 8) as meaning nothing more than that Agēsiās was a descendant of a companion of Archias. The scholiast's way of talking seems wonderfully simple; *τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἀληθές· οὐ γὰρ οὗτος συνῴκισε τὰς Συρακούσας· ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐγκώμιον εἰληφεν· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἐκείνων δ' Ἀγησίας τῶν συνοικισάντων.* Or again; *συνοικιστῆρ τε, ὅτι οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ σὺν Ἀρχίᾳ παρεγένοντο ἐν Συρακούσαις, οἱ Ἰαμίδαι, ἀφ' ὧν εἰκὸς παραλαβεῖν τινες.* Surely *συνοικιστῆρ* must mean something more than this. It would have more force if one could suppose that Agēsiās, especially if a settler from elsewhere, had done something which entitled him to claim a share in Gelón's honours as founder of the enlarged Syracuse. And though Agēsiās is called *ἀνὴρ Συρακόσιος* in v. 18 or 30, this would prove no more than the like name applied to Hierón and others, or than the name *Αἰρναῖος* applied to both Hierón and Chromios. The lines towards the end, all about the two homes of Agēsiās, certainly read more naturally of one who had made himself a new home at Syracuse without giving up his old home at Stymphalos, than of one whose only connexion with Stymphalos was that his mother came thence. Hierón and Chromios again suggest an analogy; v. 98 or 165;

*σὺν δὲ φιλοφροσύναις εὐηράτοις Ἀγησία δέξατο παῖμον  
οἰκισθεὶς οἰκᾷδ' ἀπὸ Στυμφαλίων τευχέων τοτιτισσόμενον  
μητέρ' εὐμήλοιο λείποντ' Ἀρκαδίας.*

If this means nothing more than that Agēsiās was the son of a Syracusan father and a Stymphalian mother, he must have kept up a closer connexion than usual with his mother's city.

On the other hand, it seems clear that the mother of Agēsiās was Stymphalian; v. 77 or 130;

*εἰ δ' ἐτύμασι ὑπὸ Κυλλήνας ἔρπαι, Ἀγησία μάτρωνι δούρῃ  
ναυστάκωντες ἰδάρησαν θύῃν ἰόντοισι, κ.τ.λ.*

But this would not necessarily prove that his father was not Stymphalian, if his mother's forefathers were in any way the

more eminent. To judge by the ode, the *μῆτραι δῶδες* were certainly lamids; it is not clear that the father of Agésias was, whether his own birth was Stympthalian or Syracusan. Altogether the ode seems better to suit a foreign settler like Phormis than a native Syracusan. Anyhow I cannot accept the scholiast's explanation of *συνοικιστής*. It seems a mere guess, and a weak one. The word must mean something more. He is more likely to have preserved a fact in what he says about the death of Agésias; see p. 309.

There are one or two notable things in the ode which concern us more directly than the beautiful story of the birth of Iamos. There is the flattery of Hierón, from which the odes to Chromios are free. But it is a fine passage (92 or 156), and it well brings out the worship of the goddesses of Sicily;

εἰπὼν δὲ μεμῦσθαι Συριακουσῶν τε καὶ Ὀρτυγίας  
τὰν Ἱέραν καθαρῇ ἐκάπτετο θέσαν,  
ἄρτια μηδόμενος, φοινικέπεζον  
ἀμφέπει Δάματρά, λευκίππου τε θυγατρὸς ἱερτῶν,  
καὶ Σηρὸς Αἰγυπίου εὐρέως.

#### NOTE XV. p. 140.

##### THE MOLE AND BRIDGE OF ORTYGIA.

THAT before the time of Thucydides Ortygia had ceased to be an island is implied in the words of his which are quoted in p. 139. By Strabo's time it had become an island again, but it was joined to the mainland by a bridge. So he witnesses when speaking of Syracuse (vi. 2. 4); *ἡ δ' Ὀρτυγία συνίστηι γέφυρά πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον πρόσγινος ὁδῶν*. But it is from Strabo also that we learn how the union which Thucydides implies was made, and he helps us to an approximate date. He is speaking (ii. 3. 8) generally of such changes, whether by filling up or cutting through; *ἐσταῖσα [sc. Leukaa] μὲν δὲ διακοπαὶ χειρότεμντοι γεγένησιν· ἀλλήλῃ δὲ προσχώσεις ἢ γεφυρώσεις, καθάπερ καὶ τῆς πρὸς Συρακούσαις νήσου· νῦν μὲν γέφυρά ἐστιν ἡ συνάπτικουσα αὐτὴν πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον· πρότερον δὲ χῶμα, ὡς φησιν Ἰβυκος, λογαίου λίθου, ὃν καλεῖ ἐκλεκτόν*.

This shows that the mole was made in the time of Ibykos. For

he clearly speaks of it as a new thing in his day. His exact words have been luckily preserved to us by a scholiast on Pindar, Nem. i. 1. See Boeckh, ii. 427, Bergk, iii. 244; Abel, Scholia, 17. In Bergk's edition the lines stand thus;

... παρὰ χέρσον  
λίθινον ἐκλεκτὸν πολλήμιναι βροτῶν  
πρόσθε δὲ νῦν πεδ' ἀγαμέδων  
ἰχθύες ὁμοφάγοι νέμονται.

There has been some questioning as to the meaning of ἀγαμέδων, νηυσὶν (several spellings). It is enough for Sicilian history that a mole of stones was built where fish had been wont to swim, and that the work was done somewhere about the middle of the sixth century B.C. We get near to this by the date of Ibykos (see p. 154). He seems to have been specially struck with the fine cutting of the stones. It was doubtless an early example of such care applied to a work of that kind.

On the strength of this mole one of the scholiasts on Pindar (Pyth. ii. 9) makes Ortygia a peninsula; Ὀρτυγίαν δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Συκελίας χερρόνησόν φασιν αὕτη γὰρ νῆσος εἶσα τὸ πρότερον συνήφθη τοῖς Συρακούσiais. Compare the same scholiast on the beginning of the ode.

The bridge spoken of by Strabo was as old as the time of Cicero. At the beginning of the great description of Syracuse (Verr. iv. 52) he says; "Eorum portuum conjunctione pars oppidi quæ appellatur insula, mari disjuncta angusto, ponte rursus adjungitur et continetur."

The good Fazello (i. 169) sums up the changes in a curious way, and carries on the tale to his own day;

"Prima igitur pars Chersonesus est, quæ ab initio Omethormos, quod simile balneo est Latinis; mox Ortygia, denique Naxos græca, latine vero Insula dicitur. Hæc cum ab Ætolia primam, deinde a Siculis, et demum a Græcis fuit occupata, peninsula erat, et nondum tota mari circumflua, ut ex Thucydide et Strabone meminimus. Postea vero exuperante mari abrupto Isthmo, insula est facta, et reliquis partibus angusto ponte adjuncta, ut Cic. memorat. Apposita Syracusis insula (lib. primo inquit Strabo) quæ hoc tempore ponte continuatur ad terram, prius quidem ager erat Logæo ex lapide quem electum vocat Ibycus. Verum non manu facta est, sed exaggeratione. Hæc Strabo. Mæa vero ætate, et pluribus ante annis ex congestis delatæ urbis, ac proximæ arcis ruinis

terum in peninsulam redacta, tenui Isthmo Siciliæ erat adjuncta."

He goes on to mention the cutting of the present channels by Charles the Fifth. Now that the gateways of the Emperor have been so brutally destroyed, the channels and bridges are meaningless, and it would save trouble to come back to the state of things recorded by Ibykos.

#### NOTE XVI. p. 149.

##### STÉSICHOROS OF HIMERA.

STÉSICHOROS was so closely connected with Himera that Pausanias, who, in x. 26. 1, refers to him as Stésichoros, in 26. 9 refers to him again as 'the Himeraian;' *κατὰ τοῦ Ἱμεραίου τὴν πόλιν*. But, as he was not in strictness Stésichoros, so, according to some accounts, he was not in strictness a man of Himera. The change of name comes from Hēsychios of Milētos (Flach, 201, and O. Müller, iv. 194), who is followed by Soudas; *ἐκλήθη δὲ Σησίχορος ὅτι πρῶτος καθαρῶς ἔστησεν, ἐπεὶ πρότερον Τισίας ἐκαλεῖτο*. For his father we have the choice of several names, Euphorbos, Euphēmos, Eukleidēs, Hyetēs, and finally Hesiod himself. Eukleidēs, as Holm remarks, is the name of one of the founders of Himera (see vol. i. p. 411), but he could not have come from Matauros. The descent of Stésichoros from that town is mentioned as one version by Hēsychios, and by Stephen of Byzantium, in whose geography Matauros is in Sicily (*Μάταυρος πόλις Σικελίας, Λοκρῶν κτίσμα . . . Σησίχορος Εὐφήμεν παῖς, Μάταυρινος γένος, ὃ τῶν μελῶν ποιητής*). Hēsychios mentions another account which brought him from Pallantion in Arkadía. In Plato, Phædrus, p. 244, he is *Σησίχορος ὁ Εὐφήμεν Ἱμεραῖος*.

The parentage of Stésichoros as the son of Hesiod and Klymenē is distinctly set forth in the alleged fragment of Aristotle's *Politien* (115 C. Müller, ii. 144). This is the story which is referred to by Thucydides (iii. 96), and which is told in different ways by Pausanias (ix. 31. 5) and Plutarch (Sept. Sep. Con. 19). We are not concerned with the exact relations between Hesiod and Klymenē, as we may be sure (see Mure, *Hist. Greek Lit.* iii. 132) that Stésichoros could be said to be their son only in a figurative sense. We may believe that the story about the nightingale is no less



figurative. It is prettily told in the *Ἐκφρασις* of Christodóros in the *Anthology*;

Στησίχορον δ' ἐνόησα λιγύθριον, ὃν ποτε γαῖα  
Σικελίῃ μὲν ἔφερβε, λύρη δ' εἰδίδασκεν Ἀπόλλων  
ἁρμονίην ἐπὶ μητρὶς ἐνὶ στελέγχουσις ἰόντα  
τοῦ γὰρ τιπομένουσιν καὶ ἐν φέροι μολεῖντο  
ἔκποθεν ἱερόφατος ἐπὶ στεμμάτων ἀγδάν  
λάβρη ἐφεζομένη, κίχρη δὲ ἀνέβάλλετο μολπήν.

(The epithet of the *μολπή* brings us within the range of Plato's pun about *λίγεια* and *λίγυες* in *Phædrus*, p. 237.)

Hesychios gives Stesichoros two brothers, Helianax and Mamertinos. According to Strabo (vi. 1), there was a town *Μαμέρτιον* in Bruttium, and its gentile was, Sikel-fashion, *Μαμερτῖνος*. The real name seems to be *Μαμερκοσ*, another Italian name which we shall come across in Sicily. This appears from Proklos on Euclid (ii. 19), who quotes Hippias of Elis. (Some read Ameristos, which is less likely.) Hesychios perhaps had something about the "*Mamertina civitas*" in his head. Mamertinos was *γεωμετρίας ἑμπαιρος*, while Helianax was *νομοθέτης*.

Of the tomb at Katanê Hesychios says;

οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Παλλαντίου τῆς Ἀρκαδίας φυγόντα αὐτὸν εἰσεῖν φασὶν εἰς Κατάνην, καὶ ἐκεῖ τελευτῆσαι καὶ ταφῆναι πρὸ τῆς πύλης ἣτις ἐξ αὐτοῦ Στησιχορείας προσηγόρευται.

Souidas adds, under πάντα ὀκτώ;

οἱ μὲν Στησίχορον φασὶν ἐν Κατάνῃ ταφῆναι πολυτελῶς πρὸς ταῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Στησιχορείας λεγομέναις πύλαις. καὶ τοῦ μνημείου ἔχοντος ὀκτὸ κίονας καὶ ὀκτὸ βαθμοὺς καὶ ὀκτὸ γωνίας.

Julius Pollux (ix. 100) quotes the same proverb, but removes the tomb to Himera;

Στησίχορος ἐκαλεῖτό τις παρὰ τοῖς ἀστραγαλίζουσι ἀριθμὸς ὃς εἰδὼν τὰ ὀκτώ. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἰμέρᾳ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τάφου ἐξ ὀκτὸ πάντων συνεθέντα πεποιημένον τὴν πάντ' ὀκτώ φασὶ παροίμην.

The reference to Pallantion is anything but clear. Is there any confusion with what Pausanias says (viii. 3. 2) that Stesichoros mentioned that town in the *Cléryonêis*?

Eustathios also (II. xxiii. 88, p. 1289. 60 cf. Od. i. 107, p. 1397. 39) has another proverb connected with an octagonal tomb of Stesichoros at Himera;

ἐλέγετο δὲ τις ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ Στησίχορος, ὃ τὴν ὀκτάδα δηλαδὴ σημαίνων, ἐπεὶ ὃ ἐν Ἰμέρᾳ τῇ Σικελικῇ τάφος τοῦδε τοῦ μελοποιῦ ἐξ ὀκτὸ γωνιῶν συνέκιστο.

There may have been two tombs; but if there was only one, Katané is the most likely. No one would be likely to invent or dream a tomb at Katané for the man of Himera. But all that we get from Stésichoros about Himera comes from the very doubtful passage of Himerios (Or. xix. 3), where, among other poets who praised certain cities, we read καὶ λόγους περὶ Στησίχορου. Bergk (iii. 226) dutifully supplies Himera.

There seems to have been an odd tendency to connect Stésichoros with proverbs about numbers. Besides eight, he has to do in a very dark way with three. This comes in the strange proverb quoted by Suidas and by Diogenianus (Cent. vii. 14, Paræm. Græci, i. 288) and Apostolus (xiii. 18, Paræm. Græci, ii. 578), εἰδὲ τὰ τρία Στησίχορου γινώσκουσιν? It is said ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναιδύνην καὶ ἀμοίβαν. Suidas adds, ἐπειδὴ εὐδόκιμος ἦν, which hardly makes matters clearer.

The change made by Stésichoros in the Greek conception of Hēraklēs comes from Athēnaion, xii. 6; τοῦτον [Ἡρακλῆα] οἱ εἰσι πομπῇ κατασκευάζουσιν ἐν ληστοῦ σχήματι μόνον περιπορεύμενον, ξύλον ἔχοντα καὶ λεωτῆρ καὶ τῆρα καὶ τοῦτα πλάσαι πρῶτος Στησίχορος τὸν Ἱμεραῖον, καὶ ἑτέροι 5 ὁ μελεποῖδε, πρεσβύτερος δὲ Στησίχορου, δε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Στησίχορος μαρτυρεῖ δε φησιν ὁ Μεγαλειδης, οὐ τοῦτον εἰσὶ περιτίθειν τῇ στυλῇ ἀλλὰ τὴν Ὀμηρεῖν. Stésichoros is also said (Schol. ad Homod. Theog. 287) to have described Gērýonēs with six hands, six feet, and wings (cf. Æsch. Agam. 870). All this seems to point to barbaric influence; but it shows that there was an earlier, a more purely Greek, Hēraklēs. Very little is recorded of this Xanthos. See Bergk, iii. 204.

The poem on Skylla (Bergk, iii. 210) is referred to by the scholiast on Apollōnia, iv. 828, where the poet speaks of Ζεῦλλον Αἰωνεῖν. Just before, at v 825, the scholiast has some Sicilian matter, and he tries to localize things at Tauromenion. It is Ælian (V. H. x. 18) who refers to Stésichoros as telling the story of Daphnis (see vol. i. p. 293), and it has been thought that the story of the five dogs of Daphnis in the History of Animals (xi. 13) came from Stésichoros' poem on him.

The story of the Palinodia is doubtless best known from the reference in Plato, Phædrus, p. 243, where the verses are quoted;

οὐκ ἔστ' ἔννεμος λόγος ἄλλος  
οὐδ' ἔστιν ἐν νηυσὶν ἐκείλμαν,  
οὐδ' ἔστιν ἐν σίργων Τροίας.

And the story is told by Isokratēs (Hæles, 72). But the fullest

version is that which comes in the story of Leónymos as told by Pausanias, iii. 20. 11. (See p. 152.) Pindar, who in the ode to Thérôn places the Island of the Blessed, and Achilleus in it, in the Ocean, refers to the Euxine story in Nem. iv. 49 (or 80),

ἐν δ' Εὐξείῳ πελάγει φαίναντ' Ἀχιλλεύς  
νῆσον.

But it is hard to see how the marriage of Achilleus and Helen can be reconciled with the teaching of the Odyssey, iv. 563 et seqq. Justin (xx. 3) speaks of the Dioskouroi as fighting on the Lokrian side at the Sagras, and says that the news was known at Olympia the same day, much as in the legends of Regillus and Pydna.

The passing of the soul of Homer into Stésichoros (like that of the Dictator Caesar into William Rufus) is asserted by Antipatros in the Anthology, vii. 76;

Στασίχαρον, ζαπληθὲς ἀμετρήτου στόμα Μούσης,  
ἐκτέρπεν Κανάτος αἰθαλδὸν δάπεδον,  
οὐδ', παρὰ Πυθαγόρου φυσικῶν γένει, δ' ἔριν Ὀμήρου  
ψυχὰ ἐνὶ στήθεσσι δεύτερον ἔκιστο.

Simônidês, in the fragment quoted by Athénsios, iv. 172 (see Bergk, iii. 206), is satisfied with bracketing the two poets;

οὕτω γὰρ Ὀμηρος ἰδὲ Στασίχαρος δέεισε λαοῖς.

And it is something to think that the loveliest fragment of all came in a tale in which Sicily must have played no small part (see Bergk, iii. 209);

Ἄελιος δ' Ὀπεριονίδας δέπας ἐγκατέβαντες  
χρέσσον, δόρυ δ' Ὀππεανοῖο περὶ σπῆν  
ἀφίκουθ' ἱερὰς ποτὶ βένθεα νυκτὸς ἱερμῶς  
ποτὶ ματέρα κορυμδῖαν τ' ἄλοχον παῖδ' ἄν τι φιλον;  
ὃ δ' ἐς ἄλσος ἔβη  
δάφνησι κατὰ σκιον ποσσὶ πάϊς Διός

From Tartessos and Erytheia the son of Zeus came in the end to Eryx, to the baths and the hills that were to be those of Himera. But I wonder as much as I did many years back, how Mure (Hist. Greek Lit. iii. 251) could have brought himself, "for the sake of his own verse," to "substitute ear for cup." But the way of translators is hard.

## NOTE XVII. p. 166.

## THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN PERSIA AND CARTHAGE.

It is curious how things turn about. When Grote wrote, it was needful to insist, with a little hesitation, that there was some connexion between the Persian invasion of Old Greece and the Carthaginian invasion of Greek Sicily. In answer to Mitford and Dahlmann, who denied any connexion between the two (see Mitford's note at the end of ch. x. sect. 1), the great master argued (v. 294) that "there seems good reason for believing that the simultaneous attack on the Greeks both in Peloponnesos and in Sicily was concerted between the Carthaginians and Xerxes—probably by the Phœnicians on behalf of Xerxes." It is now taken for granted in the last German book, not only that the two invasions were planned in concert, but that Carthage acted as a vassal of Persia. Diodōros is taken to task for not having the wit to see this and for foreshadowing Grote's view. On the other hand, a well-known German book, not very much older, falls back on the views of Mitford against which Grote argued. And a smaller and less known German book, a little earlier again, supports the intermediate doctrine of Grote. In such a case one may perhaps be allowed to exercise a little judgement for oneself.

The fullest discussion of the matter is that in Meltzer's *Geschichte der Karthager*, i. 204-210 and 493-499. But human nature, at least insular nature, gives way before this last wilderness of words and references heaped together on pages raised to the highest measure of physical repulsiveness that the printer's skill can give them. One is tempted to keep to Duncker (*Geschichte des Alterthums*, iv. 527, vii. 217, 381) and Busolt (*Griechische Geschichte*, ii. 259), whose pages one can at any rate read and understand. I have got something out of Meltzer, this time as at other times; but it is hard work. Meltzer, it seems (p. 494), put forth an earlier treatise on the subject, of which he did not think very highly when he came to write his greater work. But it is hard of him to snub a praiseworthy little *Abhandlung* (Persien und Karthago; von Moritz Pfalz; Naumburg, 1869), seemingly because its author speaks respectfully of Meltzer's own earlier labours.

Pfalz seems to me to make on the whole a very good defence of Grote's position, though he quite underrates the position of Carthage at the time (p. 23). Duncker rejects the treaty altogether; Busolt accepts the extreme statement the other way, that Carthage acted as the vassal of Persia. Mommsen, into whose department the question hardly came, seems (R. G. L. 294) to doubt as to the treaty. But he puts forth in the strongest words the practical fellow-working of Persia and Carthage.

The only objection that I can see to a belief in the joint working of Persia and Carthage is that there is no mention of it in the earlier writers. Now the one extant earlier writer in whom we could look for any mention of it is Herodotus. But the wonderfully casual way in which Herodotus refers to the war in Sicily at all (see below, p. 518) really makes his mere silence of no force. And it is mere silence; he has not a word that tells the other way. The two writers from whom our account comes are Ephoros and Diodōros. Diodōros is of course said to represent Timaios, though I know not why he may not represent Antiochos. The story of Diodōros implies a treaty between the two barbarian powers on equal terms, while the version of Ephoros has been thought to imply that Carthage acted in the matter as a dependent ally of Persia. This last comes from a fragment (C. Müller, ii. 264) preserved by the scholiast on Pindar Pyth. i. 126. It is perhaps well to remember that this scholiast is one against whom his very editors cry out as a "portentum," and denounce his "stupor" and his "indoctum ingenium." And well they may when he thinks that Pindar could have read Ephoros. One commentator says "nefas est corrigere hujus scholiastæ stuporem." Another undertakes his defence, and makes him say, what he may certainly have meant to say, that Ephoros had read Pindar. Now Ephoros, as quoted by this unlearned man, is made to say that, at the time when the envoys from Old Greece come to Gelôn (a yet more unlearned man on the same page says *Hitrôn*), beseeching him to come to the general council of the Greeks (*ἰκετεύοντες εἰς τὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων σύλλογον ἰλθεῖν*), Persian and Phœnician envoys came to Carthage, bidding the Carthaginians to get together the greatest fleet they can, to sail to Sicily, and having overcome those who took the Greek side, to sail to Peloponnesos (*ἐκ δὲ Περσῶν καὶ Φοινίκων πρέσβεις πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, προστάσσοντας* [the other form of "stupor" has *καλεσόντας*] *ὡς πλείστον δύναιτο στόλον εἰς Σικελίαν τε βαδί-*

(*ἐν καὶ καταστρεφόμενοι τοὺς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φρονοῦντας πλεῖν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσου*). The vassalage of Carthage to Persia is held to be implied in the casual use of the words *προστέτοντες* or *κελεύοντες*, as opposed to *ἐννεύοντες*. From this point of view Diodóros, copyist of Timaios, is severely rebuked by Busolt for not understanding the state of things, and for imagining a mere treaty (*Vertrag, συνθήκη*) where there was a royal command (*Befehl*). His story (xi. 1) is that Xerxes, wishing to destroy all the Greeks everywhere (*βουλόμενος πῶς τὸς Ἕλληνας ἀνωτάτω πᾶσι*), sent an embassy to Carthage and made a treaty (*διαπραβείσατο πρὸς Καρχηδονίους περὶ πνευματίας καὶ συνθήκῃ πρὸς αὐτοὺς*). The terms are the same as those in the other story, except that nothing is said about the Carthaginians going on to Peloponnesos when they had done with Sicily (*ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος κορυφαίους Ἕλληνας στρατοῖα, Καρχηδονίους δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις μεγάλας παρασκευάσασθαι δυνάμεις, καὶ καταπολεμήσαν Ἕλληνας τοὺς περὶ Σικελίας καὶ Ἰταλίας αἰκίσαντας*).

The question then is this; Do these passages prove joint action on the part of Persians and Carthaginians? If they do, Did that joint action take the shape of an alliance between two independent powers or that of an order issued by the Great King to the vassal commonwealth of Carthage? For the joint action there is the distinct assertion of the source or sources of Diodóros, and also of Ephorus, who is clear on this point. Against it there is no evidence whatever, only the silence of Herodotus and the surmise of modern scholars that it could not be so. But why? The Carthaginians and the Great King had a common interest; what was more obvious than that they should enter into an alliance to promote it? And if it should be said that the diplomacy of the Great King was commonly of another kind, that he was more in the habit of demanding earth and water than of entering into equal alliances, the answer is easy. He found himself in circumstances where that kind of diplomacy would not work, and he had the best possible agents for diplomacy of another kind ready at hand in the men of the Old Phœnicia. Those who fought so well for him against the Greek would be equally ready to work for him in the other way. The agency of the Old-Phœnicians is distinctly asserted by Ephorus — *ἐκ Περσῶν καὶ Φοινίκων πρεσβυς πρὸς Καρχηδονίους*. Their mission is doubtless consistent with the vassalage of Carthage; but it

assuredly does not imply it, and on the whole it looks the other way.

For that vassalage I certainly see no evidence whatever. We know perfectly well that Kambysés designed the conquest of Carthage; but we know equally well that he never carried out his plan, because his vassals of the Old Phœnicia would not serve against their colonists. Herodotus (iii. 19) adds emphatically, *Καρχηδόνοι μὲν οὐτε δουλοσύνην δίδουσαν πρὸς Περσίαν*. Nor can it possibly prove anything to say, what cannot be doubted, that Kyrénê acknowledged the Persian overlordship. That brings us no nearer to any Persian authority over Carthage. It is enough that, when Herodotus wrote, Carthage was independent, and that he knew of no time when it had been otherwise. Surely nothing can be proved by the wild story in Justin referred to above in p. 483. Even if it is at all founded on genuine records, the story is so blundered as to be quite incapable of proving anything. Indeed one cannot get rid of the notion that the alleged orders of Darius—it is Darius and not Xerxés—may come out of some confusion with the well-known story of Gelôn. It really can prove nothing if we like to believe, on the authority of Megasthenês (Josephus c. Ap. i. 20, and Strabo, xv. 1. 6), that Nebuchadnezzar overran Africa and Spain as far as the pillars of Héraklès and beyond. If he did, the story of Kambysés shows that his authority in those parts did not pass on to his Persian successors. Indeed I do not see that even the account in Ephorus really implies any Persian superiority over Carthage. The reading fluctuates between *ἐλεῦσεν* and *ἐπορεύσεν*, a kind of difference which shows that we cannot be at all sure that we have the author's genuine words. There is no need to press either word to its fullest sense. The diplomacy of the Great King was likely to be a little overbearing in its formulæ, even when addressed to an equal ally. The words *ἐλεῦσεν* and *ἐπορεύσεν* might not be bad words to express it, especially when there is a contrast with *ἐκείνους* to be enforced. In later times European states have sometimes put up with such pretensions on the part of barbarian potentates, when no practical loss was likely to follow. The Carthaginians were doubtless quite sharp enough to do the like on occasion. What I do not believe is that their commonwealth stood in any terms of acknowledged dependence on Persia. If it were so, it is strange that we never hear of it at any other time.

## NOTE XVIII. pp. 160, 192.

## THE DATE OF THE WAR OF HIMERA.

HERODOTUS, it is well known (vil. 166), reports without comment the Sicilian tradition according to which the battles of Salamis and Himera were fought on the same day (*πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰδε λέγουσι ὡς συνεβίη τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρῃ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Γέλωνα καὶ Θέρμους μάχαι Ἀμίλων τὸν Καρχηδόνιον καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὸν Πέρσην*). There really seems no reason against believing this story, except a feeling that it is too good to be true. It is of course quite possible and quite likely that, if the two battles happened at all nearly at the same time, a story would spring up that they happened on the same day. A statement to that effect would give way to a small amount even of unlikelihood, much more to the slightest proof the other way. But here is no proof and no unlikelihood; the two battles may as well have happened on the same day as not. Herodotus says that they did; the alternative statements go for very little. Diodorus (xi. 24) says that the fight at Himera happened on the same day, not as the fight at Salamis, but as the fight at Thermopylai. This may be suspected of being an improvement on the earlier statement of Herodotus. I should have suspected a tendency to bring together two land battles fought near the sea; only the battle which Diodorus says (xi. 23) was usually compared with Himera was one which he does not bring into any connexion of time, namely the inland fight of Platais. One odd point of contrast is brought out, namely that Pausanias and Themistoklēs both fell from their place of honour, while Gelōn grew old in his (*ἐγγηρόσκει τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τελευτᾷσιν θανμαζόμενος*). Certainly Gelōn died in honour, but he cannot be said to have grown old in it. Thermopylai supplies its contrast also. The same day saw the most brilliant victory and the most glorious defeat (*τὴν καλλίστην νίκην καὶ τὴν ἐνδοφρόδωτον ἥττην*).

All this seems like later reflexion and surmise, while the synchronism in Herodotus is at least as likely to be true tradition as not. But after all, the exact day does not matter much, except to heighten the picture of Greece striving against both her enemies at once. For the general purposes of history it is enough that no great time can have passed between the two battles, without strictly requiring both to have been fought on



the same day. The date of Aristotle (*Post.* 16) *κατὰ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἡρόδοτος* is enough. But it is important to bring both battles at least within the second half of the year 480 B.C. This Busolt (ii. 263) does without remark. Helm has a view which I cannot accept, namely that the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily happened at least a year before the Persian invasion of Old Greece, and that the war spoken of by Gelôn as waged by him to avenge the death of Dôrieus is no other than the war of Himera. I have already (see above, pp. 478, 482) pointed out the strange way in which, if this view is accepted, Herodotus is made to contradict himself. And I hope that I have given some reasons to show that there was an earlier war with Carthage to which Gelôn is made to refer. I turn again to Holms note, i. 416, and I really find nothing to argue against. His one point is that Gelôn speaks of an earlier warfare. The simple answer is that it is Herodotus who makes him speak of his earlier warfare, and that it is Herodotus who directly after goes on to speak of the warfare of Himera as later.

I cannot see that the poem of Simonidês quoted in p. 259, which has been thought to refer to Saamis and Himera, has anything to do with the matter. It clearly refers to the battles at the Eurymedôn.

## NOTE XIX. p. 174.

THE LACEDÆMONIAN AND ATHENIAN EMBASSY  
TO GELÔN.

THE embassy sent by the Greeks at the Isthmus to Gelôn, as told by Herodotus, is so lively and dramatic, and every word so well illustrates some point in the case, that, familiar as it is, I thought it right to tell it once more at length, and to point out the force of particular expressions. But I cannot believe it to be historical. It reads to me like a piece of Syracusan satire which Herodotus heard on the spot. It is really not unlikely that it may come from a play of Epicharmos (see p. 418). We have our parallels in more modern times. The dialogue seems framed to make game of the kind of personage who, some time back, used to be spoken of as "Mr. Mother-country." A Spartan ambassador was not unlikely to say something foolish and insolent, but hardly anything quite so foolish and insolent as the

story makes him. The Athenian might have pleaded that the naval force of Athens was as great as that of Syracuse, nor was he unlikely to enlarge more fully than was needed on the mythical glories of his own city. But he was not likely to plead the merits of the Homeric king of Athens as of itself reason enough to shut out Gelón from the command. And in a true report of an assembly sent to Syracuse by the Greeks at the Isthmus, Corinth could hardly have failed to take the first place. Here we have not a word about Corinth. The reason is plain. Syracusan taste might enjoy banter against Athens or Sparta; filial piety forbade any mockery of the metropolis.

Polybios (xii. 26 b) had somewhere found an account of the dialogue between Gelón and the envoys, which reads like the serious version of which the story in Herodotus is the grotesque shape. Gelón offers twenty thousand footmen and two hundred ships of war (*καὶ στραφραγέων*), if the Greeks at the Isthmus will give him the command either by land or by sea. An answer, which Polybios thinks much to the purpose, is made, not to Gelón by envoys at Syracuse, but by the congress at Corinth to the envoys of Gelón (*φασὶ τοὺς προσεθιμένους ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πραγματοποιήσαντες ἀνέκριμα δοῦναι τοῖς κατὰ τοῦ Γελοῦς πρεσβευταῖς*). They asked him to give help; they could say nothing about the command; that must fall to him who showed himself most worthy of it (*τὴν δ' ἡγεμονίαν ἀνάγκη τὰ πράγματα περιθίσειν τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν*). This version must have come from Ephoros, as it fits in with the fragment from him preserved by the scholiasts on Pindar, Pyth. i. 146 (see above, p. 511). There, while the Persians and Carthaginians are making their alliance, the Greeks at the Isthmus send to Gelón, praying him to come to their synod (*Ἰσθμεῖ γάρ ἔφορος τινόντων, ἐπὶ παρασκευαζομένου Χέρφου τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι σὺδαν πρέσβεις παραγγέλλειν πρὸς Γελοῦν τὸν τύραννον ὑπενδύοντα εἰς τὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων σύλλογον εἰσεῖν*). The Carthaginians accept the invitation of the Persians, and Gelón—or rather Hierón (*ἱέρωνος συμμαχίαν τοῖς Ἕλλησι προσθυμουμένου*)—accepts that of the Greeks. Gelón makes ready 200 ships, 10,000 foot, and 2000 horse; but he seems to be hindered by the coming of the Carthaginians, as in the story in Herodotus, vii. 165 (see p. 205). This account falls in with that of Polybios; Ephoros must have made Gelón send envoys to the Isthmus, and make his proposals and receive his answer there. This is really the more likely story. But Polybios found another

version in Timaios which must have come much nearer to that in Herodotus, one which contained long speeches and tended greatly to the glory of Sicily (*ροσούτους ἐκτείνει λόγους καὶ τοιαύτην ποιῆται σπουδὴν περὶ τοῖ τῆς μὲν Σικελίας μεγαλομερεστέραν ποιῆσαι τῆς συμπάσης Ἑλλάδος, κ.τ.λ.*).

It is singular that Polybios does not here refer to Herodotus, nor does he elsewhere. And of Thucydides he simply speaks (viii. 13) as leaving off where Theopompos began. The historians nearer to his own time were much more in his thoughts. See Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 530.

Athénaios (ix. 64) refers to the story in Herodotus, and comments on the name Syagros.

We may be sure that some communications passed between Gelôn and the Greeks at the Isthmus, and Ephoros seems to have preserved its most probable shape. A general Hellenic alliance seems as natural as the general barbarian alliance which it had to withstand. But though as natural, it was not as necessary. The two sets of invaders had to form a plan of joint invasion; the invaded in both lands had nothing to do but to resist them. Still the two sets of Greeks would surely keep one another informed of what was going on. It is quite possible that Gelôn, whose success or failure against the Carthaginians was likely to be, and was, settled much sooner than the result of the war in old Greece, promised that, if he were victorious in Sicily, he would sail to Peloponnêsos. And out of this might have grown the story in Diodôros (see p. 205) of his preparing to set out after Himera, but being stopped by the news of Salamis. But such an engagement, though possible, is not much more. It is unpleasant to say it, but the story in Herodotus (see p. 182) about Gelôn sending Kadmos to Delphoi sounds a great deal more likely. At any rate the actual dialogue in Herodotus cannot in any case be historical as it stands. Neither can the statement that follows it, that Gelôn, even after the dialogue, still thought of sending help. We cannot too often remind ourselves that neither Herodotus nor any one else is of the same authority when he is reporting speeches or current surmises about plans which were never carried out as when he is recording plain facts. The statement of Herodotus (even his implied statement) that Gelôn did this or that is worth a great deal; his statement that Gelôn meant to do this or that is worth very little.

## NOTE XX. p. 193.

## THE BATTLE OF HIMERA.

It seems quite hopeless to try to reconcile the accounts of the battle of Himera in Herodotus and in Diodōros. Yet they have one main incident in common, namely the sacrifice of Hamilkar. But every detail is different. In the version of Diodōros, Hamilkar, ready to sacrifice to Poseidōn, is waiting in the early morning for the coming of the Selinuntine contingent. He is killed by the horsemen of Gelōn, who, being mistaken for Selinuntines, have been received into the Punic sea-camp (*πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν στρατοπέδον*, c. 21). After this follow the other details of the battle, the exploits of Gelōn himself, waged, as it seems to me, at the land-camp (*στρατοπέδον, παραβολή*, c. 22). In Herodotus (vii. 166, 167) we have no details of the battle. It went on all day (*ἰμέχοντο ἐφ' ἡμέραν ἀφ' ἡμέρας μετὰ δαδῶν ἑφίμας*); towards evening the Carthaginians were defeated. Then (*ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χρόνῳ*), Hamilkar, who had been sacrificing all day, presumably to the gods of Carthage, when he knew of the defeat of his army (*ὅτεν ἔπαιον τὰς ἑταίρας γυναικας*), threw himself into the flames. The search for him, alive or dead, made by Gelōn's orders, implies that the Greeks knew nothing of his fate. It was from a Carthaginian source, and one which he trusted (*ἵστα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων ἔδε λόγους λεγόμενος, οἰκτιρὲς χρευσίμενος*), that Herodotus heard it. In the version of Diodōros there is no mystery about the matter. In that version Hamilkar is killed by Greek hands at the very beginning of the battle; in Herodotus he dies by his own act as its last stage.

There is something very strange in the casual way in which Herodotus brings in his account of this famous battle. He records (c. 153-162) the embassy to Gelōn, bringing in the earlier history of Gelōn by way of explanation. Then (c. 163) comes the sending of Kadmos to Delphoi (see p. 182) and his earlier history (see p. 110). But after all, Gelōn would, it was said in Sicily, have sent to the help of Greece (c. 165), if he had not been hindered by the Carthaginian invasion. When Herodotus comes to the battle itself, he first mentions (c. 166) that the body of Hamilkar could not be found, and then goes on, as if by way of explanation, with his short account of the battle. Presently (c. 167) he adds; *ἀφαιρούμεν δὲ*

Ἄμλας, τρέψας ἔτε τοσούτους, ὡς Φοίνικας λέγουσι, εἶτε ἑτέρως. The next words, *ὡς Συρηκαῖοι* or *ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Συρηκαῖοι*, seem to be doubtful, and, in the latter shape at least, they must be corrupt. But in any case Herodotus implies that there was another version, seemingly a Syracusan version, different from that which his Carthaginian informants told him.

This other version is presumably that which we find in Diodōros. Busolt takes for granted that it comes from Timaios. So it may likely enough, as it may likely enough have come from one of the earlier writers; and Timaios in any case must have found it somewhere. Taken by itself, I see nothing to object to in it. It is not very clearly told; but it becomes intelligible on the ground, and I have tried in the text to reproduce it as I understand it. I cannot so utterly cast it aside as Grote (v. 298) seems to do; and Diodōros' peculiar synchronism, placing the battle of Himera on the same day, not as Salamis, but as Thermopylai (see above, p. 514), has nothing to do with the details of the battle. The only thing is that this story, the Syracusan story, cannot be reconciled with the Carthaginian story in Herodotus, and that Herodotus himself implies as much.

Polyainos has preserved two stories of the battle, of very different degrees of value. The first (i. 27) is rightly called by Busolt (i. 265) "eine ganz tolle Fabel." But it is surely a confused version of the attack on the sea-camp in Diodōros, and it keeps on the tradition of the sacrifice, though in a strange shape. Gelôn—Σικελῶν τύραννος—is afraid (*ὥς ἐθάμβει*) of Himilkôn (Ἱμῖλκων βασιλεὺς Καρχηδονίων; the name seems to come from a later war). He therefore sends Pidiarchos, captain of his bowmen, who was very like himself, dressed in tyrant's dress (*ἐμφύσας τὴν αὐτοῦ τυραννικὴν ἰσθῆτα*), whatever that was, who is to sacrifice at an altar before the camp. The archers are about him, dressed in white, but with hidden bows (*ἐν ἰσθῆτι λευκῇ παρέχοντας μυρίνας, τόξα ὑπὸ ταῖς μυρίναις κρύπτοντας*). Himilkôn, suspecting nothing, comes to sacrifice too, and they shoot him.

The other story (i. 28) I have tried to work into the text (see p. 199), as it is the only account of any action of Thêrôn's in the battle. The followers of Gelôn (*οἱ Σικελῖωναι*) have entered the camp, and are withstood by the Iberians. Then,

Θήρων πολλὸν χρόνον διαθρῶν ἰδὼν ἱερεύει τοῖς κυκλωσμένοις παραγγέλλας θύσθαι καὶ σκεπῆς καταπρήσαι· φλογὸς δὲ πολλῆς αἰρομένης οὐκ ἔχοντες οἱ

πολέμιοι πηγάς ἐπὶ τὰς ναὺς ἔφηνον. αἱ δὲ Σικελῖται δέκοντες κατὰ ταῖς ναυσὶ τοὺς πλείονας διέφθειραν.

Busolt (ii. 265, 266) knows that this comes from Philistos, and I hope it does, though Antiochos would be better still. But he takes it as an account of the entrance into the sea-camp, differing from that of Diodōros. I read it as an attack on the land-camp at a later stage. The only thing the least suspicious about the story is φλάξ πολλὴ ἀπομύη, which looks a little as if it had made its way from the ships to the tents. But this really does not prove anything; the story will do very well.

One hardly knows what to make of the fragment of Ephores (C. Müller, 111) preserved in a very corrupt form by the scholiast on Pindar (Pyth. i. 146; see above, p. 516). This seems to speak of a sea-fight between Gelon and Hamilkar (Γέλων διακοσίας ναὺς εὐνενήσαντα καὶ διεχάλεως ἰσχυρῶς καὶ περὶ τοὺς κυρίους κατακτεῖναι στόλον Καρχηδονίων πλείονα ἐπὶ Σικελίαν καὶ διαμαχησάμενον οὐ μόνον τοὺς Σικελίους διευθερῶσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα σύμψασαι). One is tempted to say once more, "Nefas est corrigere hunc scholiastam stuporem." Meltzer (i. 500) and Busolt (ii. 266) suggest that the notion of the sea-fight came from a misunderstanding of the word στόλος. Only who made the misunderstanding, the man of "stupor" for himself, or Ephores whom he professes to quote? In either case whence come the two hundred ships? It is possible that the story of the sea-fight may have grown out of certain Himerian coins (Coins of Sicily, p. 81) in which Nika is represented as holding the *aplastre* of a ship. From this Salinas (Archivio Storico Siciliano, N. S. i. 196) was inclined to accept the sea-fight. But Busolt truly remarks that the burning of the ships was an incident quite striking enough to suggest the device on the coins, which do not seem to be contemporary.

The real question is, Shall we accept the Carthaginian version given by Herodotus, or the Syracusan version which Diodōros found, perhaps in Timaios, perhaps elsewhere? The two accounts of the death of Hamilkar cannot be reconciled. But it would be perfectly possible, though somewhat arbitrary, to take Diodōros' account of the fighting by the land-camp as the details of the long battle which Herodotus records in a general way, and to accept the statement of Herodotus as to the death of Hamilkar in the evening. If so, we must give up the story of Gelon's horse-

men personating the Selinuntines, a kind of tale which is a little suspicious; and it is further worth noticing that there is no mention of the coming of the real Selinuntines at all. We must also move the burning of the ships from the morning to the evening. These are rather violent changes. The story in Herodotus is so striking in itself, so thoroughly Semitic, and so effectively told, that it needs a hard struggle to give it up. But the same characteristics would be likely to be found in a false story devised at Carthage to lessen the shame of defeat. On the other hand, we must not forget the statement of Herodotus (see p. 194) that Gelôn sought everywhere in vain for Hamilkar living or dead. This certainly looks at first sight like a Greek tradition, distinct from the account in Diodôros. It looks like a fact of which the Carthaginian story supplied the explanation. But, though the Carthaginians were not likely to know anything of a real search made by Gelôn, they might have put in an imaginary one to heighten their picture. In any case it would seem that Herodotus must have misunderstood his Phœnician informants as to the worship of Hamilkar as a hero. This is a Greek, not a Phœnician, idea. There must have been (see Movers, i. 612 Meltzer, i. 215; Busolt, ii. 266) some confusion between the god Melkart and his worshipper *Obed-melkart* (see above, p. 184).

Meltzer (i. 215 et seqq.) gives the fullest examination of the two versions. According to him, the account in Diodôros represents, as is perfectly possible, the local traditions, strung together and adorned by Timaios. Holm (i. 207. 415), who knows the ground, tells the general story according to Diodôros, but notices the different statement in Herodotus without seeming to decide between them. He places, as I do, the camp of Gelôn to the east of Himera, but on the low ground rather than on the hill. But I certainly take the *ὑπερκεῖμενοι λόφοι* of Diodôros (xi. 21) for the highest ground of all, behind the city to the southward. (See above, p. 196). But the topography is a good deal harder than in some other cases.

Salinas, in the paper already quoted, raises the question whether the temple at Himera (see above, p. 195, and vol. i. p. 415) is older than the battle or built to commemorate it. I do not in any case see how it can be one of the temples which the Carthaginians were to build under the treaty of peace (Diod. xi. 26; see

p. 210). Those, if they ever were built (see Diod. xiv. 77), were surely at Carthage.

One source of knowledge about the matter we have lost by the disappearance of the play of Æschylus in which he brought in the fight of Himera as the fellow of his own fight of Salamis. The tetralogy of which the Persians formed a part was, according to the old text of the Ὑποθεσις, Φινεύς, Πέρσαι, Γλαῦκος Περσεύς, Προμηθεύς—of course not the Προμηθεύς which we all know. But the word Περσεύς is now, on better manuscript authority, struck out of the text, and Lorenz (Epicharmos, 83) reads Πόντος. The historian perhaps need not settle such questions. The passage about Hēraklēs at Himera, which we have had to refer to already (see vol. I. p. 414), comes (Schol. Pind. Pyth. i. 152) from a Γλαῦκος not defined either way. There is certainly every likelihood that this play in some way brought in the historic fame of Himera (see Lorenz, u. s.). It has been well suggested by O. Müller (Hist. Greek Lit. c. xxiii. § 4, 5, Eng. Tr.) that the plays Phineus, Persians, and Glaukos hung together as all bearing on the Eternal Question. Phineus would bring in that early Argonautic stage of it on which Herodotus is emphatic.

Pausanias (ix. 12. 7, x. 4. 7) refers to two passages from a Γλαῦκος which seem connected with the passage quoted by Strabo (x. 1) from Γλαῦκος Περσεύς, which speak of τύμβος ἀθλίου λίσσας, suggesting matters concerning Hēraklēs. And from the scholiasts on Euripides (Phon. 1194) and Aristophanes (Frogs 1403) we get two lines of Γλαῦκος Περσεύς, which are warlike enough for any battle;

ἐφ' ἄρματος γὰρ ἄρμα καὶ νεκρῷ νεκρὸς,  
ἵπποι δ' ἐφ' ἵπποις ἔσαν ἐμπεφυρμένοι.

Only would this do for Himera, if we may trust our one narrative (see pp. 185, 186) according to which the Punic chariots were all drowned on the way! The poet however may not have attended to such niceties.

All perhaps that concerns us is that there once was a contemporary picture of the battle of Himera from the hand of Æschylus. Being an eyewitness and actor at Salamis, he could not have been an eye-witness at Himera. But he must have known the exact date of both.



## NOTE XXI. p. 208.

## GELÓN'S TREATY WITH CARTHAGE.

THE authority for the statement that Gelón bound the Carthaginians by treaty to give up the practice of human sacrifice is certainly not strong. And it is the kind of statement for which the strongest evidence would be needed. For, as Grote says (v. 299), "such an interference with foreign religious rites would be unexampled in that age, and we know moreover that the practice was not permanently discontinued at Carthage." The scholiast on Pindar (Pyth. ii. 3) quotes it from Theophrastos. He first speaks of the submission of Carthage to Gelón (ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τῆς Καρχηδόνα γενέσθαι, ὅτε καὶ ὑπακούειν), a subject on which it was very easy to exaggerate, and then adds, τὸ γοῦν ἀνθρωποθυτεῖν φησὶ δ Θεόφραστος ἐν τῇ περὶ Τυρσηνῶν παύσασθαι αὐτοῖς Γέλωνος προστάξαντος. Plutarch has two references to the story. One comes in a remarkable passage in the treatise De Sera Numinis Vindicta (6), where he mentions Gelón (see p. 218) among the tyrants who gained power by bad means but used it well; Γέλων δὲ καὶ προπολεμήσας ἄριστα καὶ κρατήσας μάχῃ μεγάλῃ Καρχηδονίων, οὐ πρότερον εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς θεομένους, ἢ καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περιλαβεῖν, ὅτι παύονται τὰ τέκνα τῇ Κρόνῳ καταθύντες. He mentions it again among the anecdotes of Gelón in the Apophthegmata (Γέλωνος 1) in nearly the same words, but speaking of Himera by name. Diodōros either found nothing about it in his authorities or else passed it by.

If there was any such general obligation imposed, the treaty most certainly, as our own Chronicles say, "stood no while." Human sacrifice was again in full force when we have next to speak of Carthage. In short, the story, as it stands, is altogether unworthy of belief. Yet I cannot get rid of a lurking notion that it may have arisen out of some provision against the sacrificing of Greeks. It would be a strange tale for anybody to invent whole.

One is somehow reminded of the wild story (see Norman Conquest, iv. 518) of William the Conqueror requiring the Scots to give up their ancient practice of eating human flesh.

## NOTE XXII. P. 213.

THE TEMPLES OF DÉMÊTÊR AND PERSEPHONÊ  
AT SYRACUSE.

THE building of the temples of the two goddesses by Gelôn is recorded by Diodôros (xi. 26); ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων πανεπισύσας κοινὸν ἀξιολόγους Διμήτρος καὶ Κόρη. The position is fixed by a later passage (xiv. 63), where Himilkôn πανλάβετο τὸ τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς προέστειον, καὶ τοὺς νεὺς τῆς τε Διμήτρος καὶ Κόρης ἐσώλησεν. That is, the temples stood near the present burying-ground under the *Portella del Fusco*. Late diggings there have brought to light a wall of great width, or rather two walls meeting at an angle. They do not rise above the level of the ground, and they are finished with a smooth surface. They are clearly not works of fortification of Dionysios or anybody else; but the matter is complicated by their crossing an earlier wall which might be military. It is tempting to believe that we have the *εὐρίβαλος* of the twin temples, or, as it has been suggested, a sacred path round them. Only, if this wall is the work of Gelôn, whose is the wall that it crosses?

There were clearly twin temples of Mother and Daughter. The lax phrase of Diodôros (xiv. 70), τοῦ τε τῆς Διμήτρος καὶ Κόρης ἱεροῦ, whether we amuse ourselves by improving the text or not, proves nothing against it. The two had a joint *τέμενος*, τὸ τῶν θεσμοφόρων τέμενος, as Plutarch calls it (Dion, 56), which is the same as τὸ τῆς Διμήτρος ἱερὸν in Diodôros, xix. 5. See Schubring, *Bewässerung*, 624; Holm, *Topografia*, 184; Lupus, 102.

The *μέγας ὄρκος* by the two goddesses is described by Plutarch, Dion, 56, ἣν δὲ ταῦτα. καταβὰς εἰς τὸ τῶν θεσμοφόρων τέμενος ἐδιδόκει τῶν πίστιν ἱερῶν τῶν γενομένων περιβάλλεται τὴν περιφρίδα τῆς θεοῦ, καὶ λαβὼν ὁρὰ περικύβησιν ἀπέμνησι. This is the case of Kallippon. That of Agathoklês comes in Diod. xix. 5. On the oath by the Palici see vol. i. pp. 167, 523.

The foundation of the temple at Ætna is also recorded by Diodôros (xi. 26). The question is what site he means by Ætna. There was no town of Ætna in Gelôn's day. The name was afterwards borne, first by Katani and then by Intesa. Diodôros may have simply meant that the temple was somewhere near the mountain, without reference to any town, or he may have carried back

either of the later uses of the name to Gelôn's day. If so, it would more likely be the later and more abiding use of the two, that by which *Inēssa* was called *Ætna*. In either case it implies that Gelôn held a dominion somewhere not very far from Kataû, though the name of that city is not mentioned in his time.

The words of Diodôros are ;

*ἐπεβάλετο δὲ ὕστερον καὶ κατὰ τὴν Αἴττην κατασκευάζειν νεὼν Δῆμητρος ἐννηὸς δὲ οὐσῆς τοῦτον μὲν οὐ συντέλεισε μισολαβηθεὶς τὸν βίον ὑπὸ τῇ πεπραμένῃ.*

Whatever exact site we here understand by *Ætna*, there is no possible reason to change *Ætna* to *Henna*, which was perhaps suggested by the notion of Henna being a colony of Syracuse. See Holm, i. 418.

#### NOTE XXIII. pp. 214, 236.

##### HIERÔN, POLYZÉLOS, AND THÊRÔN.

Diodôros (xi. 38) speaks without any qualification of Hierôn as succeeding Gelôn in what he calls his kingdom. His words are *τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν παράδωκεν Ἱέρων τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν*. Directly after he speaks of Hierôn as *ὁ διαλέξμενος τὴν βασιλείαν*. Neither here nor in xi. 48 does he seem to know anything of the division of power which most modern writers assume between Hierôn and Polyzélos. It seems to come from Timaios as quoted by the scholiast on Pindar, Ol. ii. 29, who says that *Πολυζήλοι ἀδελφοὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ τὴν γαμετὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διαδέχεται κατὰ τὰς Γέλωνος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ προστάξεις*, words which have perhaps been made a little too much of. If this writer copies Timaios quite literally, Gelôn gave his brother not only the generalship but the wife too while he was still alive ; *τοῦ Γέλωνος τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον μέλλοντος*.

Neither does Diodôros show any knowledge of Gelôn's son. But his existence seems to be quite well established by a passage in Aristotle's *Politics* (v. 10. 31) to which we shall come again, and by the passage of Timaios quoted by the scholiast on Pindar (*Nem.* ix. 95) where he appears under the guardianship of Chromios and Aristonous. See above, p. 493.

When we come to the somewhat later story in which Hierôn, Polyzélos, and Thêrôn all play a part, we find it told by Diodôros

(xi. 48) clearly and straightforwardly enough, so far as he tells it at all, but with some odd gaps. Hierón envies Polyzélos on account of his popularity in Syracuse, and wishes to get rid of him (Ἱέρων δὲ βασιλεὺς τῶν Συρακοσίων μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Γέλωνος τελευτὴν, τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν Πολύζηνλον ὅρῳ εὐδοκμεύοντα παρὰ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις καὶ νομίζων αὐτὸν ἰσχυρῶς ὑπάρχειν τῆς βασιλείας, ἰσχυρῶς ἐμποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι). Diodóros then mentions Hierón's gathering of mercenaries, seemingly to account for what follows. Hierón takes advantage of the war between Krotón and Sybaris—or the remnant of Sybaris—(Συβαριτῶν πολιορκουμένων ὑπὲρ Κροτωνιαῶν καὶ δομένων βοηθήσαι), to send a large force—seemingly a mercenary force—under the command of Polyzélos to the help of Sybaris (στρατιῶτας πολλοὺς κατέγραψεν εἰς τὴν στρατίαν, ἣν παρεδίδου Πολυζήλου). This is with the object of getting rid of Polyzélos (νομίζων αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Κροτωνιατῶν ἀναριθήσεσθαι). It seems implied, though it is not distinctly said, that Hierón sent a force of mercenaries, because they would be more ready than native Syracusans to betray Polyzélos.

Of course this surmise as to Hierón's purpose is like all other such surmises, even in contemporary writers. It proves very little as to actual fact, it proves a great deal as to general belief. Polyzélos is conceived as at least suspecting his brother; it is for that reason that he declines the command. Hierón on this treats his brother as an open enemy (τοῦ δὲ Πολυζήλου πρὸς τὴν στρατίαν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντος διὰ τὴν ῥηθείαν ἐκποσίαν, δι' ὁρῆς εἶχε τὸν ἀδελφόν). Polyzélos then flees to Thérón, and Hierón declares war against Thérón, evidently on the ground of his sheltering his rebel, and makes preparations for war (φυγόντα πρὸς Θέρωνα τὸν Ἀκραγαντίνου τύραννον καταπολεμῆσαι τοῦτον παρεσκευάζει). Here there would seem to be a gap; at least Diodóros mentions only preparations for war, while, in other versions, as we shall see, though there is no actual fighting, there is at least a march and a mediation. Hierón is presently described as wishing to settle matters peacefully with Thérón (ὁ δὲ Ἱέρων κρίναι εἰρημικῶς διαλύσεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Θέρωνα), and as using the affair of Himera as a means thereto. The oppression of Thrasydaos at Himera is described (Θρασυδαίου . . . ἐπιστατοῦντος τῆς τῶν Ἱμεραίων πόλεως βαρύντερος τοῦ καθήκοντος, συνίβη τοὺς Ἱμεραίους ἐπαλλοτριωθῆνα παρὰ τὸν αὐτόν). The people of Himera, instead of applying to Thérón (πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸν πατέρα πορεύεσθαι καὶ κατηγορεῖν ἀπεδοίμαζον, νομίζοντες οὐχ εἴηαι ἴσων ἀλευστήν),

offer to make a *deditio* to Hierôn (*ἐπαγγελλόμενοι τῇν τε πόλιν ἐκείνην παραδόντων καὶ συνειπθῆναι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Θήρωντα*). Hierôn betrays them to Thêrôn (*προέδωκε τοὺς Ἱμεραίους καὶ τὰ βεβουλευμένα λαθραῖα ἔμνησε*). Thêrôn, finding the story told him by Hierôn to be true, makes peace with Hierôn, the restoration of Polyzêlos being seemingly the condition (*πρὸς μὲν τὸν Ἱέραν διελύσατο καὶ τὸν Πολύζηλον εἰς τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν εἰνοίαν ἀποκατέστησε*). He then does his massacre at Himera (*τῶν δὲ Ἱμερῶν τοὺς ἐναντίους πολλοὺς ὄντας συλλαβὴν ἀποσφάζει*).

This is our one narrative strictly so called. The scholiasts on Pindar have preserved a great number of other versions. Among them is one which professes to be an extract from Timaios, which, as Diodôros no doubt had Timaios before him, it is well to compare with his account, though we cannot feel at all certain that we have Timaios' real words. The extract is brought in very oddly and at secondhand. The passage in the text is Ol. ii. 29 (15);

... τῶν δὲ πεπραγμένων  
ἐν δίκῃ τε καὶ παρὰ δίκαν ἀποητον οὐδ' ἂν  
χρόνος ὁ πάντων πατήρ δύναιτο θέμεν ἔργων τέλος,  
λάσα δὲ πότμη σὺν εὐδοίῳ γένοιτ' ἂν.

Then the question is raised, *δε' ἦν αἰτίαν εὐζάμενος τῷ Θήρωνι τὰ κάλλιστα κατάπαυσιν τῶν πραχθέντων δεινῶν αἰτεῖται τὸν Δία*. Aristarchos, it seems, referred it to the original migration of Thêrôn's forefathers from Rhodes (see p. 144); *ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος* [the elder Alexandrian grammarian of the name] *τὸ ἀκριβέστερον τῆς ἱστορίας ἐκτίθειν μάρτυρα Τίμαιον τὸν συντάξασα τὰ περὶ τῆς Σικελίας προσφερόμενος. ἡ δὲ ἱστορία οὕτως ἔχει*. If the scholiast has rightly copied Didymos, and if Didymos has rightly copied Timaios (Fr. 90. Müller, i. 214), Diodôros must have departed a good deal from his account, perhaps in the direction of Philistos or any other. Hierôn makes use of the Sybarite war to get his brother out of the way, but seemingly not to kill him (*λαμπρῷ αὐτῷ καὶ περιβλεπτῷ τυγχάνοντι κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Ἱέρων φθονήσας ὁ ἀδελφός, καὶ πρόφασιν σιεψάμενος τὸν πρὸς Συβαρίτας πόλεμον, ἀπελαύνει τῇ πατρίδι*). But, unlike the account in Diodôros, Polyzêlos, instead of declining the command, wins great distinction in it (*ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον κατόρθωσε τὸν πόλεμον ὁ Πολύζηλος*). On this Hierôn hates him the more, and openly charges him with plotting a revolution (*ὁ δὲ μὴ φερων, γυμνότερον αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο νεωτερισμοῦ*). Thêrôn then declares war

against Hierôn; the armies meet by the river Gelas, which implies an invasion on the part of Thêrôn. But Simônidês reconciles the two tyrants before they come to blows;

Καὶ οὕτω τὸν Θήρωνα, ὑπεραγασκόμενα θιγατρός ἄμα καὶ γυμνοῦ, συρρήξαι πρὸς Ἱέρωνι πόλεμον παρὰ Γέλλῃ τῇ Σικελιωτικῇ ποταμῷ, οὐ Καλλίμαχος μέμνηται;

οἱ δὲ Γέλα ποταμῷ κεφαλῇ ἐπιείμουν ἔστε

μή γε μὴν εἰς βλάβη, μηδὲ εἰς τέλος προχωρήσαι τὸν πόλεμον. φασὶ γὰρ τότε Σιμωνίδην τὸν λυρικὸν περιτυχότα διαλύσαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τὴν ἔχθραν. Nothing is said about Himera.

It is quite inconceivable that we have here the words of Timaios, though we may have his facts; and anyhow those facts are different from those in Diodôros. One would specially like to know whether Timaios spoke of Thêrôn as *king*, a name not given to him by Diodôros or Pindar. Besides *βασιλεῖς* just above, he is called *Θήρων ὁ τῶν Ἀκραγαντίων βασιλεὺς*.

In another version, also preserved by the scholiasts (Ol. ii. 39), Polyzêlos is sent, not against Greeks in Italy, but against Sikels at home (*πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἱέρωνος πολεμῆσαι τοῖς περιόικοις Σικελιώταις*—he must mean *Σικελοῖς—βαρβάρου*). He offends Hierôn by making peace without his consent (*ἵκανται τὸν πόλεμον χωρὶς τῆς τοῦ Ἱέρωνος γνώμης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔσθ*). Then comes a very strange tale, in which we seem to see some lurking traces of the story about Himera as told by Diodôros. Thimaydaïos persuades Polyzêlos to attack Hierôn. Then Hierôn designs a general vengeance (*ἔκρινεν αἰρήσας τὴν Ἀκράγαντα καὶ Θήρωνα καὶ Θρασυδαῖον*). Simônidês reconciles them in a not very intelligible way, and with a clearly corrupt text (*μελλόντων δὲ τῶν φίλων ἱκεῖναι Σιμωνίδης ὁ λυρικὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν συμβουλεύων, ἐκταράξει μᾶλλον βουλόμενος τῷ μυνέειν τὴν μύλλαντας αὐτῷ προδοσίαν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς προδόντας*). Here is surely some confusion with the betrayal (*προδοῦναι*) of the Himeraians in Diodôros. But what follows is yet stranger. Thêrôn seemingly gives up his tyranny and takes it back as something like a fief from Hierôn (*ὁ δὲ εὐλαβηθεὶς ἐξιχώρησε τῶν πραγμάτων τῷ Ἱέρωνι, ὅστιρον δὲ ἀπέλαβεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς τυραννίδας*). Then follows the marriage of Hierôn with Thêrôn's sister, that is, with his niece.

Another scholiast has a version almost too foolish to examine in detail. Polyzêlos succeeds Geïôn in the kingdom (*βασιλεία*).

Hierôn envies him, and somehow, king as he is, sends him to the Sybarite war. In that he succeeds and gains glory. Hierôn conspires against him (*οὐκ ἔχων ἑ τὴ κατ' γένειον, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπειρᾶτο νεοτερίσειν*). Thêrôn makes war on Hierôn; Simônîdês reconciles them, and Hierôn marries Thêrôn's sister.

There is another question whether all these stories stand in any relation to another set of stories which are found in the scholiasts on Pindar in another place, namely Ol. ii. 173 (95). There the poet, having praised the bounty of Thêrôn, goes on to imply that he had enemies;

ἀλλ' εἶνον ἐπέβα κόρος  
οὐ διαφ' ἐναντιόμενος, ἀλλὰ μάγαν ἔπ' ἀνδρῶν,  
τὸ λαλαγῆσαι θέλων πρύφον τε θέμεν ἱσθαιῶν πολλοῖς  
ἔργοις.

So they set to work to explain the allusion. Thêrôn, it seems (see pp. 147, 238), had enemies in his own house, Kapys and Hippokratês. In one version they seem to have something to do with the quarrel between Thêrôn and Hierôn. The date of the ode is said to be τοῦ Θήρωνος πολέμοιτος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἱέρωνα κηδεῖαν. This, however oddly put, must mean the war which we have just been discussing. We then hear of certain friends of Thêrôn who betrayed him to Hierôn (*τὸ δὲ χαριστιανὸν, φησὶ τοῦ Θήρωνος ἐπέβητε πολλοῖς εἰς ὕβριν δηλονότι αὐτοῦς προηγάγετο, ἐπεὶ οἱ προδιδόντες αὐτὸν Ἱέρωνι φίλοι ἦσαν*). It is not quite clear whether Kapys is meant to be reckoned among them, but it is said directly after that he made war on Thêrôn because he could not endure his glory (*δύναται δὲ τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τοῖς περὶ Κάπυ τείνειν, οἱ ἱπποκράτευσαν αὐτῷ μὴ ὑπομένοντες αὐτὸν ὄραν αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ὄντα*). It is not easy to make much out of this; and there is another scholion in the same page which refers the κόρος simply to the quarrel between Thêrôn and Hierôn. Another scholion contains what is at least an intelligible story, which is something Kapys and Hippokratês levy war against Thêrôn, and he defeats them in a battle near Himera (*Κάπυ καὶ Ἱπποκράτης Θήρωνος ἦσαν ἀνεψιοί, αὐτοὶ πολλὰ ἔπ' αὐτοῦ εὐεργετηθέντες, ὥς ἔφρων ὑψημένην αὐτοῦ τὴν τυραννίδα, φθονοῦντες πόλεμον ἤρσαν πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς παρὰ Ἱμέραν ἐνίκησε*). This suggests all manner of things. Did the malecontents join the Carthaginians? Did they mix themselves up with the movement against Thrasydaïos at Himera? Bunbury (Dict. Geog., Theron) understands the story of a separate revolt of

Kapys and Hippokratēs earlier in the reign of Thêrôn, and a defeat by the river Himeras. One guess is quite as easy as another, and not more unlikely.

I must confess to putting exceedingly little faith in these scholiasts, except when they quote the exact words of some earlier writer. They remind one of a certain old-fashioned class of commentators on the Old Testament, who used to think they had explained a difficulty, if they put forward any guess of their own, ushered in with the formula "It is supposed." It is not likely that they absolutely invented their stories, but they so mangled and confused them that it is impossible to make anything out of them. I do not profess to know exactly what happened between Thêrôn and Hierôn; but it would not be very violent to put the march of Thêrôn and the mediation of Simonidēs into the narrative of Diodōros, and to suppose that the betrayal of Himera by Hierôn to Thêrôn was part of the terms of peace. There is no reason to doubt the marriage of Hierôn with Thêrôn's niece, and it might be worth while thinking whether there may not be some truth in the alleged homage of Thêrôn to Hierôn.

After all these stories it is wonderful to read Ælian's picture of Hierôn, V. H. ix. 1; *ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνδρειότατος, ἀσσανίστως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς συνεβίωσεν ἑρσιν οὖσι πάνυ σφέδρα ἀγαπήσας αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν φιληθεὶς ἐν μέρει.*

#### NOTE XXIV. p. 265.

##### BACCHYLIDÈS AND THE ENEMIES OF PINDAR.

It is not at all my business to go minutely into Pindaric questions, except when they directly concern Sicilian history. And it would be endless to discuss all the guesses, either of ancient scholiasts or of modern scholars. And, unless a saying has very clearly to do with some of the persons of my story, I am not bound to add to the number of guesses.

In the second Pythian ode, addressed to Hierôn, we read (77 or 131);

*μαθὼν καλὸς τει πῖθον παρὰ παισὶν αἰεὶ  
καλός.*



In the second Olympic ode, addressed to Thérôn, we read (86 or 155);

σοφὸς δὲ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φύψ· μαθήσεται δὲ λάβροι  
παγγλῶσι, κέραιες ὡς, ἀκράντα γαρίωνον  
Διὸς πρὸς δρυὶν χα θεῶν

Again in the third Nemean, an ode altogether Aiginetan and containing no reference to Sicily, after a reference to the αἰτὸς ὥπλις ἐν ποτανοῖς, come (82 or 143) the words κρυγέας δὲ κολοιοὶ ταπεινὰ μέμονται.

In all these passages the scholiasts tell us to see Bacchylidēs. If so, Bacchylidēs must have persecuted Pindar all over the world. He troubles him, not only (as is likely enough) at the court of Thérôn as well as that of Hierôn, but also somewhere where it concerned a man of Aigina. I had long thought that the two crows in the Olympic ode (γαρίωνον in the dual) were Karys and Hippokratēs (see the last note); and I see that Mezger (*Siegeslieder*, 165-167), without distinctly saying this, will hear nothing of Bacchylidēs, and makes a great deal in the ode refer to those two. I can hardly believe that the two crows in an Akragantine ode can be the Syracusans Korax and Tisias (see pp. 286, 329, and Appendix XXXI). And it is almost too subtle to see in the word κρυγέας—certainly not a common, perhaps an unique, word—in the Aiginetan ode a dark reference to the name 'Ακράγας. If so, the eagle just above must be the eagle on the Akragantine coins. I had thought that the δρυὶς θεῶν of the Akragantine ode might be Thérôn himself with thus distinctly Akragantine allusion. But it would rather seem that the eagle and the crows or jays are a standing parable which may be used anywhere. It was not only at Akragas or Aigina or any other one place that

"Once the jays sent a message  
Unto the eagle's nest."

NOTE XXV. p. 268.

#### LOCAL SIKELIOT GAMES.

WE see that, while Hierôn himself (see p. 270) did not scorn to be magnified in song for prizes won in the lesser games of Old Greece, candidates from Old Greece came to local Sicilian games.

M m 2

In the long list of places where the Corinthian Xenophôn had won prizes, Pindar (Ol. xiii. 111 or 156) mentions

ταῖς δ' ἐπ' Αἴτναις ἐφελόφου καλλίπλοστοι  
πόλεις.

Here one scholiast says; πόλεις δὲ λέγει τὰς Συρακούσας . . . Ἰσθμία γὰρ καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς τελεῖται, ἃ καὶ ἐνίκησε Ξενοφῶν. Another adds; ἐπ' Αἴτναις τῆς Σικελίας πόλεις ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀγεται ἐγὼν Νεμεα καλούμενος. They use the present tense, as if the games still went on in their own day, but that may be only a figure of speech. It is plain that Pindar's words, though they doubtless take in Syracuse and the Isthmia, cannot possibly mean them exclusively or specially. The reference is most specially to Ætna, Hierôn's Ætna, and her Nemea. Why Hierôn should have founded Nemea is not so clear as why there should be Isthmia at Syracuse; but no one else could be their founder. Now the ode is fixed by Bergk to the year 464 B.C. Hierôn was then dead, and his dynasty at Syracuse was overthrown. Our chronology just then is so confused that we can hardly say whether in that year the Hieronian Ætna was still at Katanê or whether it had been already moved to Inêsaa (see p. 312). But it is likely that all Hieronian rites would go on in the new Ætna, though one would doubt their being of importance enough to tempt candidates from Corinth. The reference is more likely to be to a victory won at Ætna in Hierôn's own day. There it would suit Hierôn's purpose to get together all the company that he could from all parts of Greece, and from Corinth above all.

Quite another side of this Xenophôn, and of Pindar too, will be found in the skolion preserved by Athênaios, xiii. 33 (Bergk, i. 419). One is driven to confess that Ashtoreth had set up her throne on Akrokorinthos as well as on Eryx.

#### NOTE XXVI. p. 269.

##### XENOKRATÊS SON OF AINÊSIDAMOS.

XENOKRATÊS, there can be no reasonable doubt, was the son of Aînêsidamos and brother of Thêrôn. The way in which the scholiasts speak of him shows how much there is of confusion and guess-work both in themselves and in the writers whom they quote. Thus the scholiasts on the second Isthmian (Abel, p. 379) ode tell us;

τὸν δὲ Ξενοκράτην ταῦτον αἱ μὲν προῦπομηματισσάμενοι Θήρωνος ἀδελφὴν εἶναι φασιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρτίμενος σφέδρα τοὺς περὶ τοὺς Σικελώτας πεπολυπραγμονηκὸς αὐτὸν μόνον συγγενὴ φησὶν εἶναι Θήρωνος.

That he was an Emmenid appears from Pyth. vi. 5 ;

. . . δαβέουσιν Ἐμμένιδαις  
καταμῆλ' Ἀσράγωντι καὶ μὲν Ξενοκράτει.

That he was son of Aînêsidamos and brother of Thêrôn appears from Isth. ii. 28 or 41 ;

. . . Ἰν' ἰθαγάτοις Αἰνησιδέμου  
παῖδες ἐν τιμαῖς ἔμυχθεν

and again from Ol. ii. 49 or 89 where Thêrôn is congratulated on his Olympic victory, and there immediately follows,

. . . Πυθῶνι δ' ἰμάδαρον ἐκ ἀδελφείης  
Ἰσθμῷ τε κοινὰ Χάρμεις ἀνθεα τεθρίπτον ἰνυδαυδρόμασ'  
ἄγαγον.

Here there is a clear reference to the subjects of the two odes to Xenokratês, Pythian and Isthmian.

The scholiasts are yet more puzzled as to the kindred between Xenokratês and Thrasyboulos, who is clearly his son ;

ὁ δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος ἀδελφὸν ἠπειλάηκε τοῦ Ξενοκράτους εἶναι τὸν Θρασύβουλον, ἔναι δὲ υἱὸν Ξενοκράτους . . . βέλτιον δὲ ἀδελφὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ξενοκράτους ἢ υἱὸν τὸν Θρασύβουλον, οὐχ ὅτι τινες πατέρα.

Yet it is plain from Pyth. vi. 28-36 that Thrasyboulos had done something for Xenokratês which could be likened to Antilochos defending Nestôr ; and that is pretty much the same as saying that he was his son.

One scholiast further describes this Thrasyboulos (distinguishing him from the son of Deinomenês) as ἀτῆς γυναῖκος τοῦ Ἱέρανος ἀδελφός, οὗ τὴν μενιμανεύει Πανδάρως. That is, the kinswoman of Thêrôn who was given to Hierôn after their reconciliation (see pp. 236, 239) was not Thêrôn's own sister, but a daughter of Xenokratês and sister of Thrasyboulos.

There is a good deal that is remarkable, something that is puzzling, in both the odes which bear the name of Xenokratês. Both are directly addressed, not to him, but to his son Thrasyboulos. There is very little of local colouring, very little that is Akragantino, even in the Pythian ode, and still less in the Isthmian. Less is made of the Emmenid house than we might have looked for,

and there is only the faintest reference to Thérôn personally as a kinsman. There is nothing wonderful in any of these things as regards the Isthmian ode, written when Xenokratês and Thérôn were both dead. And when the Pythian ode was written, Thérôn had not yet risen to power. Both odes are short, and, especially the Isthmian, remarkably affectionate in tone. These two things may have something to do with one another. A short poem written really in earnest may have been more prized by some minds than a long story about mythical forefathers. The real question is why Thrasyboulos, and not Xenokratês himself, is addressed in the Pythian ode.

That ode is assigned to the year B.C. 494. That was the year of Xenokratês' Pythian victory in the chariot-race. The victory was also celebrated in an ode by Simônides. So witnesses the scholiast on the ode; οἷτος δ' Xenokratês πρὸς μῶνον Ἰσθμια κενέηκεν ἔπος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πύθια τὴν εἰκοστὴν τεταρτὴν Πυθιάδα, ὥς Ἀριστοτέλης ἀναγράφει καὶ Σιμωνίδης δι' ἐπαυῶν ἀμφοτέρων αὐτοῦ τὰς νίκας κατατάσσει. And the victories of Xenokratês, Isthmian and Pythian, are further referred to in the passage already quoted (Ol. ii. 49 or 89 and the scholia). This is of course an earlier Isthmian victory, not that commemorated in the second Isthmian. According to Bergk (iii. 90), this ode of Simônides was not strictly an *epinikion*, but a poem written to Xenokratês long after, when the poet was in Sicily. Mr. Lloyd, on the other hand (257), sees a reference to the ode of Simônides in the opening lines of Pindar, and holds that that ode was strictly the *epinikion*, and that Pindar wrote his some time after, when Thérôn was already tyrant, and so addressed it to Thrasyboulos. I see no evidence for this. The Euménids were a great family before Thérôn was tyrant—Xenokratês' victory is of itself enough to prove it—and the reference to Thérôn personally is very slight (44);

... Θρασύβουλος  
πατρίαν μάλιστα πρὸς στήθεσιν ἔβα,  
πάτρῃ τ' ἱερρχόμενος ἀγλαῶν ἔδιδεν.

Nor can I see in the mention of Memnôn, either here or in the second Olympic ode, any reference to the battle of Himera, or thereby any sign that the poem was written after B. C. 480.

What it was that Thrasyboulos did for his father I do not profess to know (see Lloyd, 260; Mezger, 176). Perhaps he drove the chariot. We cannot infer that, because Nikomachos was the charioteer of

Xenokratēs in B. C. 476 (Isth. ii. 22 or 35), he therefore held that place in 494. But one would think from the reference to Nestōr and Antilechos that Thrasyboulos had saved his father from some more special danger.

The second Isthmian records a victory of Xenokratēs with the chariot in B. C. 476. Between the Pythian ode and this must have come the earlier Isthmian victory, and one at Athens (v. 19 or 28);

καὶ τότῃ κλειναῖν τ' Ἐρεχθεῖδιν χαρίτεσσιν ἀραρῶς  
ταῖς λιταραῖς ἐν Ἀθήναις οὐκ ἐμέμψθη.

Now comes the mention of Nikomachos, whom the scholiast infers to have been an Athenian.

The scholiast at the beginning of the ode quotes from Kallistratos an absurd story that Pindar addressed the ode, not to Xenokratēs but to his son Thrasyboulos, because Xenokratēs did not pay him highly enough. But he mentions also the more reasonable belief of Asklepiadēs that it was because Xenokratēs was dead.

ὁ δὲ Ἀσκληπιάδης κατεκκοβολεῖ λέγων ἐπὶ τετελευτηκότῃ τῷ Ξενοκράτει τοὺς λόγους εἶναι, ἐκ τοῦ πολλὰ ἐν τῇ ψῆῃ ἐπὶ παρωχημένου χρότου λέγεσθαι, λεχθησόμενα ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ παρόντι, εἴπερ περιῆν ἔτι. Καλλίστρατος δὲ φησι τὸν Πίνδαρον μὴ τυχόντα τοῦ κατ' ἀξίας μισθοῦ διὰ τὴν μικρολογίαν τοῦ Ξενοκράτους, προσδιαλέγεσθαι Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ νίῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ εἰς Ξενοκράτην, φησὶ, γέγραφε τὴν ψῆδον, ἀλλ' εἰς Θρασυβούλον· καὶ γὰρ ἡ εἰσβολὴ περὶ ἀργυρίου μέμψεώς ἐστιν ὅτι θέλοντες αὐτοῦ τὸν κατ' ἀξίαν μισθὸν κομίσασθαι.

Nothing can be plainer than that Xenokratēs was dead when the ode was written. His merits are all spoken of in the past tense (see p. 269). As far as this goes, Xenokratēs might have died very soon after his victory in B. C. 476, before Pindar had had time to write an *epinikion*. But I certainly think (see Lloyd, 356; Mezger, 185) that the whole tone of the ode shows that it was written a few years later, after the overthrow of the Eumeneid power, that is, not earlier than B. C. 472. It is not so much any particular words that suggest this thought as the general tone, and the absence of any such references as would be looked for in a poem addressed to one whose family was still in power. The lines near the end become much more intelligible on this view;

μή νύν, ὅτι φθονεραὶ θνατῶν φρένες ἀμφικρέανται ἐλπίδες,  
μήτ' ἀρετῶν ποτε σιγάτω πατρίαν  
μηδὲ ταύσδ' ὕμνοι.

And the opening lines, so oddly misunderstood by Kallistratos, seem to mean that, as the Muse was once not mercenary, so now she shall cease to be mercenary. Pindar will sing the praises of a fallen house as willingly as those of a ruling one.

Still we do not understand why Pindar should have so long delayed writing the ode. And the words at the end,

. . . ἐπεὶ τοι

ὅκ' ἐλευθέρωντας αἰτοῖς [ἔμορσεν] ἐργασάμεν,

do not make it clearer. The tone towards Thrasyboulos, *ζέων ἐμὸν ἡσάιον*, is singularly affectionate. Then the words near the beginning,

ὅστις ἐὼν καλὸς εἶχεν Ἀφροδίτῃ  
εὐθρόου μνάσμεναι ἀδίστατο δαΐραν,

would most naturally apply to the youthful beauty of Thrasyboulos. But here we are in the year 472, and, twenty-two years before, Thrasyboulos, though young, was not a mere child. It may be therefore that the saying is general, without any personal reference, both here and in the opening words of the second Pythian.

Lastly, one would like to know whither Nikasippos, at the end of the second Isthmian, was to take the ode to Thrasyboulos. As Mr. Lloyd says, Thrasyboulos need not have been at Akragas. After the fall of his house, he most likely was somewhere else. The only local allusion in the ode is when (17 or 25) Xenokrates is called *εὐάρματος ἀνὴρ γεραίρων Ἀκραγαντίων φάος*.

There is also a skolion of Pindar (Bergk, i. 422) addressed to Thrasyboulos, but it contains nothing local, unless we make something out of the *ἔχνημα* (see p. 276). It suggests that Thrasyboulos had no dislike to good cheer.

#### NOTE XXVII. p. 270.

#### THE PINDARIC ODES ADDRESSED TO HIERŌN.

THE dates of the Hieronian odes, or at any rate the order in which they were written, seem now to be fairly settled. The earliest is that which goes by the name of the second Pythian, though the one thing certain about it is that it is not Pythian. The

scholiast at the beginning quotes a great number of opinions, showing that nothing was really known. Modern scholars incline to the belief that the ode, undoubtedly, as the first few verses show, sent from Thebes (*τῶν λιπαρῶν ἀπὸ Θηβῶν*), commemorated a victory won in Theban games. To the belief of Boeckh and others (see Metzger, 49), that the games were those of Hēraklēs and Iolaos, Mr. Lloyd (278) objects that the ode contains nothing about those heroes. Much might have been said of them at Agyrium, but a man of Agyrium would as yet have found no welcome in any Hellenic festival. In v. 69 or 127 the ode itself which is to cross the sea from Thebes to Syracuse is called *Καστέρειον*. On this the commentators have a good deal to say, but nothing that points to any games bearing that name.

The date, it seems universally allowed, must be B.C. 477 or 476. This is shown by one very important historical allusion, namely to the deliverance of Lokroi by Hierôn. It is in this ode that we get the picture of the Lokrian maiden singing his praises (see p. 234). Less obvious references have been found to the affair of Thêrôn and Polyzêlos. Polyzêlos is even said (Lloyd, 281, 282) to be the Ixiôn of the ode, and his marriage with Damareta at the bidding of Gêlôn is supposed to be hinted at in the reference (v. 27 or 50) to passages with regard to Hêra of which Zeus certainly did not equally approve. If there is anything in my guess as to a possible connexion with the story of Themistoklēs, we cannot place it before 476 as an Olympic year.

As to its contents, I have already spoken a word or two on some points, the reference to the ape among them. Far more interesting is the reference to the three forms of government (v. 86 or 159);

ἐν πάντα δὲ νόμον εὐθύλασσοι ἀνὴρ προφέρει  
παρὰ τυραννίδι, χαλκόντα ὁ λάβρος στρατὸς,  
χάτων πόλιν οἱ σοφοὶ τηρέωντι.

The Boiotian's sympathies are clearly on the side of oligarchy.

Of the local allusions I have already said something. The same scholiast who (see above, p. 505) calls Ortygia *Chersonêsos* explains that ἐν τῇ Ὀρτυγίᾳ ἦν τὰ ἱερωτοφείῃ Ἱέρασις. The colts, it must be remembered, were broken in by the help of our Artemis of the Island (v. 7 or 10);

πονταίῃς ἵδου Ἀρτέμιδος, ἃς οὐκ ἄτερ  
κεῖνας ἀγαναῖσιν ἐν χερσὶ ποικιλαίνουσιν ἐδάμασσε πώλους.

Next comes the so-called third Pythian ode. This is really Pythian, so far as it refers to a Pythian victory; but that victory was won (Mezger, 68) long before the date of the poem, when Hierôn was not yet tyrant. The date is fixed to some time later than B.C. 476 by the words *Αἰτναῖος ξίφος* in v. 69 (121), and it is more definitely fixed by Mr. Bury, Appendix C., to July or August 474. But the victory was one of old standing (*στεφάνους τοῖς ἀρστέων Φερένικος ἔλεε Κίρρα ποτέ*, v. 74 or 131), fixed to B.C. 486 or 481. The former, when Hierôn was still of Gela, seems unlikely.

The so-called first Pythian, the great ode to Hierôn of Ætna, now follows with the date of 474. The earthquake and the foundation of Ætna fix the time. Here we get the kingship of Deinomenês, the reference to the fights of Himera and Kymê, and the earliest witness (see above, p. 451) to the brazen bull of Phalaris. The supposed foundation of the new city and the victory in the Pythian race are strongly brought together in the lines (29 or 56) which follow the description of Typhôs and Ætna ;

εἴη. Ζεῦ, τὴν εἴη ἰνδάνειν,  
 δε τοῦτ' ἐφίπεις ἄρος, εὐκόρπισο γαίης μέτωπον τοῦ μὲν ἐπισσημίαν  
 κλεινὸς οἰκιστὴρ ἐκύδανεν πόλιν  
 γαίτονα, Πυθιάδος δ' ἐν δρόμῳ πάρος ἀνέκπευεν ἀγγέλλων Ἴερανος ἑνὲρ  
 καλλινίκου  
 ἄρμασι.

Hierôn enjoys (v. 48 or 94)

. . . ταμὴν  
 οἶον αἶψα Ἑλλάνων θρίπαι  
 πλοῦτος στεφάνωμ' ἀγέραςχον.

And the poet prays for his success in all things (v. 56 or 109) ;

αὐτῷ δ' Ἴερωι θεὸς ὀρθωτὴρ πόλοι  
 τὸν προσέρποντα χρόνον, ὃν ἔραται παρὸν διδοῖς.

Pindar seems to have come to Sicily between the writing of the first Pythian and that of the first Olympic. Holm (i. 420) is inclined to fix his coming to some time before the eruption of 475, because he thinks that his language is that of one who saw it. But Mr. Bury argues that the words quoted above from the third Pythian (*καί κε ἐν ναυσίῳ*), implying that he was not there when that ode was written, show that he did not come till 474 at the earliest. But he was there to celebrate, in the so-called first Olympic ode, the victory of the horse Pherenikos at Olympia in 472. As Mr



Bury says, personal presence is implied in the words near the beginning ;

*ἐς δ' ὀφθαλμὸν ἱκομένους  
μύσσειον Ἱέρανος ἱστίαν*

and again soon after ;

*οἷα παύομεν φίλαν  
ἀνδρῶν ἑμφὶ θαμὰ τράπεζαν.*

The length of Pindar's stay in Sicily seems uncertain. (See Mr. Bury's Appendix.) He can hardly have been there when he wrote the ninth Nemean to Thrasyboulos (see above, p. 535) ; but we know not how soon the ode followed on the fall of the Emmenida.

More interesting than the exact dates is the question which naturally arises when we compare the praises heaped on Hierôn by Pindar with the known character of his government. It is strange to turn from the picture of the cruel and suspicious tyrant which had been handed down to Xenophôn and to Diodôros, to the opposite picture of the king, not only gracious and bountiful to strangers, but mild to his citizens and who envied not the good. So he appears in Pyth. iii. 70 (124) ;

*ὅς Συρακόσασσι νέμει βασιλεύς  
πρῶτος ἀστοῖς, εὖ φρονέων ἀγαθοῖς, ξείνοισι δὲ θαυμαστὸς πατήρ.*

This last he doubtless was ; it was his calling and interest to be so. The question is as to the poet's frame of mind when he wrote the other part of the character, or again when he wrote (Ol. i. 12 or 19) of Hierôn as one

*θεμιστίων δὲ ἀμφέει σπᾶπτον ἐν πολυμήλῃ  
Σικελίᾳ, δρέπων μὲν κορυφὰς ἀρετῶν ἀπὸ πάντων*

or again the lines in the ode to Agisias, quoted in p. 501, which were found stamped on a brick at Syracuse, perhaps by Hierôn's own order. (See Bergk's note.)

Now was all this simple flattery paid for by the tyrant's money ? Did Pindar not care how Hierôn dealt with the people of Syracuse as long as he was a " wonderful father " to the poets who sang his praises ? Or are we to suppose that the poet put on indeed the guise of a flatterer, that he uttered words which he knew to be literally false, but that he did it in order to put in an occasional word of warning ? Some passages certainly have this kind of sound. If one were as clever as some of the commentators, one might even see in the

phrase *ἀρίων κορυφὰς ἀρίων ἀπὸ πικρῶν* a hidden reference to that form of the craft of the tyrant which consisted in striking off the tallest poppies or ears of corn. But without going so deep as this, there surely are passages in which one seems to hear the note of warning. Towards the end of the same ode Hieron and his kingship are lifted to the highest place on earth (Ol. i. 113 or 181);

*ἔπ' ἄλλας δ' ἄλλαι μεγάλοι, τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφοῦται  
βασίλειαι· μηκέτι πάντῃσι πόρσιον.*

Surely the tyrant is here gently warned against some ambitious scheme. And the same note may seem to be heard in the third Pythian (31 or 36);

*ἔστι δὲ φίλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ματαιότατος,  
ἔστις αἰσχύναν ἐπιχόρμα, παταίνει τὰ πόρσω,  
μεταμένοια θηρέων ἀνάνταις ἐλαίων.*

The whole latter part of the first Pythian ode is a sermon of advice to a ruler, which might have been professedly meant rather for the young Deinomenês than his father, but in which one cannot but feel throughout that the father is glanced at. Elementary precepts of truth and justice, warnings not to listen to deceivers, all winding up with the famous exhortation to make Cræsus and not Phalaris the model, certainly suggest that Pindar knew that there was something not as it should have been in Hieron's rule. To carry on the examination farther belongs rather to special students of Pindar. The historian of Sicily can describe only the Hieron of history. But he will be well pleased to let off a great poet as easily as he can. "Can it be necessary," asks Mr. Lloyd in commenting on the first Olympic, "to refute categorically the notion that the German critics propound that Pindar glances here at Hiero's misdeeds of political violence?" I do not undertake to "refute" the other notion "categorically," but I certainly have, in this matter, a fellow-feeling with "the German critics."

A point specially to be noticed is the way in which the kingly style of Hieron seems gradually to grow upon the poet. In the earliest ode, the second Pythian, Hieron is not directly called king, though he is by implication classed among kings (v. 13 or 24);

*ἄλλας δὲ τις ἐνέλεσσαν ἄλλας ἀνὴρ  
ἐπαχέα βασιλευσσοῦ ὕμνον, ἀπὸν' ἀρετῆς.*

The title by which he is directly addressed is purely colourless (v. 58 or 106). His wealth is the thing specially enlarged on;

. . . τὸ πλοῦταϊν δὲ νῦν τύχῃ τότῳ σοφίας ἄριστον.  
 τὸ δὲ σάφα νιν ἔχεις, ἐλευθέρα φρενὶ πεπαρεῖν  
 πρότῳ κύμα πολλῶν μὲν εὐσταφάνων ἀγοιῶν καὶ στρατῶ. εἰ δέ τις  
 ἤδη κτεάτεσσιν τι καὶ περὶ τιμῇ λέγει  
 ἕτερόν τιν' ἄν' Ἑλλάδα τῶν πάροιθε γινέσθαι πύρρον,  
 χαῖν' ἡ κραδίη παλαίμωνεϊ κενεά.

I have already remarked that, in the piece about the three forms of government, τυραννίς is used in a quite colourless way, as the equivalent of Aristotle's βασιλεια.

In the third Pythian there is an advance. The title of βασιλεὺς is here distinctly given to Hierôn in that passage of special flattery to the sick tyrant of which we have already spoken more than once. The poet, who has not yet visited Sicily in person, makes his wish;

καὶ κεν ἐν ναυσὶν ῥόλον Ἰονίαν τέμνων θάλασσαν  
 Ἀρήθουσας ἐπὶ κέραν παρ' Αἰτναίων ἔλθων,  
 ὅς Συρακόσσιαι νέμει βασιλεὺς  
 πρὸς αὐτοῖς, εὖ φρονέων ἀγαθοῖς, ζέλοισ τε θαυμαστοῖς πατήρ.

Not long after comes the line which shows that he did not shrink from the other name (84 or 150);

τὴν δὲ μοῖρ' εὐδαιμονίας ἔτετα.  
 λαγέταν γάρ ποι τυραννὸν δέρεται,  
 εἴ τιν' ἀεθρόων σ' ὁ μέγας πότμος.

In the first Pythian, the Ætnean ode, the kingship of Hierôn seems to pale before that of his son. It is distinctly Deinomenês and not Hierôn who is called (58 or 111) king of Ætna (see above, p. 245);

Μοῖνα, καὶ νῦν Δεινομένην πελαδῆσαι  
 πῖθέ μοι ποιῆν τεθρίσκων χάρμα θ' οὐκ ἀλλότριον μεταφορά πανέρος  
 ἀγ' ἔπειτ' Αἴττας βασιλεῖ φίλον ἐξευρωμέν ὕμνον.

Then comes the wish for the constitutional ruler;

τῇ πόλιν κείνῳ θεοδμάτῃ σὺν ἐλευθερίῃ  
 Ὑλλίδος στάθμας Ἴερον ἐν νόμοις ἑκτισσε' θέλοντι δὲ Παμφύλου  
 καὶ μὲν Ἡρακλεῖδαν ἐπγοιοι  
 ὄχθαις ὑπὸ Ταίγηντος ναίοντες αἰεὶ μένῃν τεθμοῖσιν ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ  
 Δωριεῖς.

Hierôn himself, Hierôn of Ætna, is simply (v. 73 or 141) Συρακοσίῳ ἀρχός.

In the last of all, the first Olympic, where Hierôn, Hierôn of Syracuse, is the one subject, his kingship comes up again. He

is (23 or 35) the Συρακόσιοι ἱπποχάρμας βασιλείς, and near the end come the words already quoted, where kingship is placed above all things, τὸ δ' ἰσχυρόν κορυφοῦται βασιλεύειν.

The real oppressiveness of Hierón's government led to a strange legendary exaggeration to which I have referred in p. 236. According to the author of the *Προλεγόμενα τῆς Ἑρμογένους Πηγαίης*, c. 6 (Walz. *Rhet. Græc.* iv. 11), Hierón went wonderful lengths in oppression, and with remarkable results; λέγεται ὅτι τοσούτον ὀμότητι ἐχρησάτο κατ' αὐτῶν ὥστε προστάξει τοῖς Συρακουσίοις μηδὲ φθέγγεσθαι τὸ παράπαν ἀλλὰ διὰ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀμμάτων σημαίνειν τὰ πρόσφορα καὶ ὡς ἂν τις ἐν χρεῖᾳ γένοιτο, ἴσθαι καὶ τὴν ὀρχηστικὴν λαβεῖν τὰς ἀρχάς· τῇ γὰρ ἀποκλεισθαι λόγον τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἐμνησκύνοντε σχήμασι δεικνύειν τὰ πράγματα. (The art is not wholly forgotten, though it flourishes still more at Naples.) This writer gives Hippokratēs two under-tyrants (*παροδυναστεύοντες*), Gelôn and Enaisimos—some confusion with Aînēsidamos, father of Thêrôn of Akragas. Enaisimos is a Rhodian (see p. 145, and vol. i. p. 431), and on Gelôn's death goes to Rhodes and is tyrant there; Gelôn stays and is king at Gela; ἔμεινεν βασιλεύων ἐν τῇ Γέλᾳ τῇ πόλει. Then ἔρχεται ἐν τῇ Συρακούσῃ [mark the late angular form], ἥστι δὲ ἡ Συράκουσσα μητρόπολις τῆς Σικελίας, κακεῖ διέτρεψε τυραννῶν. Hierón was either his brother or his son.

This wild notion of forbidding to speak was plainly suggested by what Aristotle says about the way in which he spied out what men did speak. An intermediate form of the legend might be that some one cried out; "If things are to be like this, we had better not speak at all."

#### NOTE XXVIII. p. 283.

#### THE BIRTH-PLACE OF EPICHRAMOS.

EPICHRAMOS and his writings form an endless subject, many sides of which have little to do with the history of Sicily. Some points however in his life cannot be passed by, and we are concerned to know whether he was a native of our island or not. Lorenz (*Leben und Schriften des Koers Epicharmos*) goes deeply into many matters, and Holm (*G. S.* i. 432) has brought together

a vast store of references. To two of Lorenz's fragments (260) I was somehow led fifty years back. One is in Marcus Cicero's Letters to Atticus, i. 19; "Ita tamen his novis amicitis implicati sumus, ut crebro mihi vater ille Siculus insusurret Epicharmus cantilenam illam suam,

*νήφε καὶ μέμνας' ἀπιστεῖν ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρονῶν."*

The other was from his brother Quintus, De Petitione Consulatus, 10, "Quamobrem Ἐπιχαρμίων illud teneto, nervos atque artus esse sapientiae non temere credere." After one's general experience of translators, one wishes to know what were the words of Quintus' original.

In the article in Hēsychios of Mlētōs, copied also by Sonidas, which bears the name of Epicharmos he figures as the joint inventor of comedy with Phormos; *εὗρε τὴν κωμῳδίαν ἅμα Φόρμῳ*. This is an expansion of Aristotle, Poet. 5; *τὸ δὲ μέθους ποιῶν Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμος ἤρξαντο τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ Σικελίας ἦλθε*.

As to the birth-place of Epicharmos, the only thing to be said for Krastos (see vol. i. p. 120) is that it might come under the rule "Credo quia impossibile." Stephen of Byzantium says;

*ἐκ ταύτης ἦν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ κωμικὸς καὶ Λαῖς ἢ ἐν αὐτῇ, ὡς Νεάνθης ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν ἔχει δὲ ἡ πόλις εὐπρεπεστάτας γυναῖκας, ὡς Φιλῆμων.*

What should have put Krastos into the head of Neanthēs or of anybody else? Hēsychios also gives as an alternative birth-place, *ἐκ Κραστοῦ πόλεως τῶν Σικανῶν*. Both Stephen and Hēsychios are clear on this last head (how one longs to be able to verify the reference *Φιλιστος Σικελικῶν τρισκαίδεκάτῳ*); yet Lorenz (45), who will have none of Krastos, and whom all its beauties do not move, in the teeth of this evidence calls it "sikelisch." Yet, as Laas, still however keeping in Sikan places, belongs to Hykkara rather than to Krastos, so, though there is a fair case for Krastos, it might be dangerous to withstand the strong evidence in favour of the version which brings the babe Epicharmos from Kōs to the Sicilian Megara. Diogenēs Laertios (viii. 3) says; *τρεμνηταῖος ὑπάρχων ἀπηχέθη τῆς Σικελίας εἰς Μεγαρα, ἐνταῦθεν δὲ ἐς Συρακοῦσας*. So Aristotle (Poet. 3), after noticing the elder Megara (*Μεγαρῆς οἱ ἐνταῦθα*) and its connexion with comedy, adds; *καὶ οἱ ἐκ Σικελίας, ἐκείθεν γὰρ ἦν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ ποιητής*.

That a physician from Kōs should be an Asklepiad follows as a

matter of course. But Ptolemy Hēphaistion (Phōtios, 147) traced the pedigree of Epicharmos up to Achilleus, who also on occasion showed some medical skill. And besides Elothālēs there are other fathers to choose from.

Granting that Epicharmos or his father came from Kôē, the story in Hēsychios which makes them come with the ex-tyrant Kadmos (see p. 110) was doubtless a mere guess. Lorenz, after many pages, says wisely (62) "so fällt denn die ganz unglückliche Combination." Another of Hēsychios' stories gives a better approach to a date; *ἦν πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν ἔτη ἐξ ἀδελφικῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις*. That would be about B.C. 484.

The acrostic arrangement of Epicharmos' prose writings is witnessed by Diogenēs Laertios, viii. 3; *καὶ παραστιγίδια ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ὑπομνημάτων πεποίηκεν εἰς διασφαιεῖν ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἐστι τὰ συγγράμματα*. On the identity of the poet and the philosopher see Lorenz, 63.

We hardly recognize our comedian, philosopher, and physician, when the good Fazello (ii. 48) refers to him for a historical fact; "Scribit Epicharmus quod cum Anaxilas Rheginorum et Messanensium tyrannus Locros Epizephyrios funditus perdere tentaret, Hieron illum sola interminatione compescuit." Yet from the scholiast on Pind. Pyth. i. 98, it looks as if Epicharmos was our one authority for the mission of Chromios.

#### NOTE XXIX. p. 302.

##### THE RETIREMENT OF MIKYTHOS.

THE more detailed story of Mikythos comes from Diodōros, xi. 66. It is told more briefly by Herodotus, vii. 170. Herodotus brings it in quite casually. He tells the story of the death of Minōs and the Cretan siege of Kamikos (see vol. i. pp. 112, 495). Then the Cretans become Iapygians (see vol. i. pp. 116, 500); then he comes to the Iapygian victory over Taras and Rhēgion, and how the Rhēgines were constrained to their share in the war by Mikythos (see above, p. 253). He then adds;

*ὁ δὲ Μίκυθος οἰκίτης ἔων Ἀναξίλειω, ἐπίτροπος Ῥηγίου καταλέλειπτο*

οὗτος δασπερ ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ Ῥηγίου καὶ Τεγέην τῆς Ἀρκάδος αἰήσας, ἀνέθηκε ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας.

He then says that what he has said about Taras and Rhégion τοῦ λόγου μοι παρεθήκη γέγονε, and goes on to tell how the wrath of Minos fell on the Cretans.

Of the statues offered by Mikythos we have had casually to speak (see above, p. 487 and p. 301) when speaking of the change of name from Zankiê to Messana. Pausanias (v. 26. 1 et seq.) has a great deal to say about them. They were offerings on the recovery of a son from sickness (τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα ἀνέθηκαν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν εὐχὴν τινα ἐκτελῶν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ παιδὸς νοσήσαντος νόσον φθινύδα). He refers to the story of Herodotus and adds that the inscriptions on the offerings mentioned Rhégion and Messana, but not Tegea; αἰεὶν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐπιγράμματα ἐν Τεγέᾳ οὐ φησιν αὐτὸν. He calls him δοῦλος καὶ ταμίης τῶν Ἀναξίλου χρημάτων.

One might raise the question whether the word ἐκπεσὼν in Herodotus is consistent with the voluntary retirement recorded by Diodoros. Pausanias had no such difficulty, as his own words are ἀπὸν οἶχοντα ἐς Τεγέαν τελευτήσαντος Ἀναξίλου. What exercised his mind was that Herodotus seemed to imply that Mikythos made the offerings after he had withdrawn to Tegea, while he himself could not find anything about Tegea in the inscriptions. But surely it is not needful to press the words of Herodotus quite so strictly as that. The offering is much more like the act of a ruler than that of a private man; and the inscriptions read by Pausanias show that it was while the two cities were in his charge that he dedicated the statues.

Diodoros says nothing about the statues. He first (xi. 66) mentions the sunning practice of Hierôn;

Ἰερὼν δὲ τῶν Συρακούσων βασιλεὺς τοὺς Ἀναξίλου παῖδας τοῦ γινομένου τυράννου Ζόγελου εἰς Συρακούσας μετασπεψάμενοι μεγάλας δωρεαῖς ἀνέμεινε καὶ τῆς Γέλας γενομένης πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν εὐεργεσίας, καὶ συνεβούλευεν αὐτοῖς ἤδη τὴν ἡλικίαν ἡνδρωμένοις ἀπαιτῆσαι λόγον παρὰ Μικίθου τοῦ ἐπιτροπεύοντος καὶ τὴν δυνατείαν αὐτοὺς παραλαβεῖν.

Mikythos is with Diodoros simply ἐπίτροπος. With Herodotus he is αἰετής and ἐπίτροπος, names which Pausanias lets down to δοῦλος καὶ ταμίης τῶν χρημάτων. He was clearly more than this last; but does the word αἰετής in Herodotus imply that he was or had been actually a slave? Pausanias certainly so understood it; but that does not make it quite certain. The plural (see Herod.

viii. 4, 106, 142) certainly does not always imply slavery. Blakesley refers aptly to the story of Maiandrios at Samos in Herod. iii. 141, who also εἶχε τὸ κράτος, ἐπιτροπαίην παρὰ Πολυκράτους λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν. The excessive predominance of freedmen is Roman rather than Greek; but then we have here got among tyrants, who in many things forestall emperors. Both Mikythos and Maiandros have fathers, though the name of the father of Mikythos forestalls Gaius Verres, and though Maiandros was spoken of by his enemies as γεγονώς τε κακὸς καὶ εὖν δλιθρός.

Diodōros goes on to say how the young tyrants make their demand (τὸν ἐπίτροπον λόγον ἀπαιτούστων τῶν διεσπασμένων); and then tells the main story;

ὁ Μίκυθος, ἀνὴρ ἦν ἀγαθός, συνήγαγε τοὺς πατρικοὺς φίλους τῶν παίδων, καὶ τὸν λόγον οὕτω καθαρῶς ἀπέδωκεν, ὥστε ἅπαντας τοὺς παρόντας θαυμάζειν τὴν τε δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν πίστιν.

The sons of Anaxilas repent, and ask him to keep on the administration;

τοὺς δὲ παῖδες μεταμεληθέντας ἐπὶ ταῖς πραχθείσῃ, ἀξιοῦν τὸν Μίκυθον πύλιν τῆς ἀρχῆς παραλαβεῖν, καὶ πατρὸς ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα καὶ τάξιν, διοικεῖν τὰ κατὰ τὴν δυναστείαν.

But Mikythos will not stay;

οὐ μὴν ὁ Μίκυθος γε συνεχώρησεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα παραβοὺς ἀκριβῶς, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν οὐσίαν ἐνθήμερος εἰς πλοῖον, ἐξέπλευσεν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥηγίου προσηυπόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ὄχλων εὐνοίας.

He goes to Tegea and lives and dies there in honour.

I cannot believe that all this belongs to a mere slave or freedman. Surely Mikythos held the same kind of office as Chromios at Ætna, who is called ἐπίτροπος. See above, p. 493. I should fancy that Mikythos also belonged originally to Tegea, that he was one of the Arkadians who came to seek their fortunes in Sicily, only he sought his from Anaxilas and not from Gelon.

#### NOTE XXX. pp 306, 312.

#### TYCHA

I HOPE I am not a wrong-doer in accepting a topographical theory which depends largely on conjectural emendation in a text. But Ἰρίκη in Diodōros, xi. 68, is such manifest nonsense that we



cannot hesitate, with Casaubon, Cluver, and others, to read Τύχη or Τύχη; the difference of κ and χ does not greatly matter. This passage, compared with xi. 73, seems to give a consistent story. The Syracusan patriots, twice driven out of Ortygia and Achradina by the mercenaries, each time occupy a part of the hill, from which they besiege their enemies in the older part of the city. In the former passage (67) we read how, in B.C. 466, Thrasyboulos τῆς πόλεως καταλῃψὼς τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἀχραδινὴν καὶ Νῆσον, ὀχυρὰν οὖσαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὀρμώμενος, διηπολίμει πρὸς τοὺς ἀφιστάτας. Then follows;

οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μέρος τῆς πόλεως καταλάβοντα τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἰτίκην [Τύχην]· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ὀρμώμενοι, κ. τ. λ.

Then in xi. 73 we read how again in B.C. 463 the mercenaries held Achradina and the island; τὴν τε Ἀχραδινὴν καὶ τὴν Νῆσον, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν τόπων τούτων ἔχοντων ἰδίαν τεῖχος καλῶς κατασκευασμένον. Then again;

οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι πάλιν ἐμτεσόντες εἰς παραχὴν τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς πόλεως κατέχον, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὰς Ἐπιστολάς [see vol. i. p. 578] τετραμμένον αὐτῆς ἐπετείχισαν καὶ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἑαυτοῖς κατασκεύασαν.

By this I understand that the first time they occupied, that the second time they not only occupied but fortified, a certain part of the hill westward of Achradina, and that that part, then or afterwards, bore the name of Tycha. Considering that Diodōros most likely copied the two passages from two different writers, there is nothing strange in his change of expression. When he speaks of Tycha as already part of the city (μέρος τῆς πόλεως, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς πόλεως), he may be carrying back the language of later times to the times of which he speaks. Or he may be speaking lazily of the state of things in the earlier time. Tycha and Temenitēs were not yet strictly parts of the πόλις; but they were so far part of it that they were inhabited spaces continuous with the fortified town.

Thucydides does not speak of Tycha any more than of Achradina. His story did not call on him to record the fortification of either of them, as it did to record that of Temenitēs (vi. 75). But the explanation just given of the passages in Diodōros exactly falls in with the way in which Tycha is spoken of by Livy and Plutarch. Plutarch (Marcellus, 18) says, ἔμωον δὲ τὸ καρτερώτερον καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον (Ἀχραδινὴ καλεῖται) διὰ τὸ τετειχίσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑξω πόλιν, ἥς τὸ μὲν Νέαν, τὸ δὲ Τύχην ὀνομάζουσιν. Achradina, once ἡ ἑξω πόλις,

has now become *ἑνός*, and ὁ ἱεὺς consists of Neapolis and Tyche. The name, according to the well-known passage of Cicero (*Verr.* iv. 119), came from a temple of Fortune—Tyche—in it. It comes into one's head whether this may not be a mere coincidence. The spelling may possibly be *Τύς* rather than *Τύχ*. Anyhow there is no reason to think that it has anything to do with the *Τυχ* of Thucydides, vi. 98.

Livy, in describing the siege by Marcellus, twice (xxiv. 21, xxv. 25) speaks of Tyche, in both cases as something outside Achradina; in the second it is, as by Plutarch, coupled with Neapolis. All this seems to agree very well with the account in Diodorus. We cannot exactly fix the extent of the new quarter to either the west or the south. It must have reached westward as far as the Hexapylon (*Diod.* xiv. 18), wherever we place that, while the position of the camp of Marcellus (*Livy*, xxv. 25) shows that it could not have gone so far south as to join Temenitis. To these points we shall come again. Tyche is also referred to by Stephen of Byzantium in his blundering way; *Τύχη, πόλις Συακίας πλησίον Σαρακωνῶν. Ἐφόρος ἐν δυσκαταστάσει νῆσος Τυχίας φησὶ*. We must remember that Stephen calls Achradina an island, so we are prepared for any misreport of the text of Ephorus. His eighteenth book dealt with the times of Dionysius.

See more on Tyche in the *Topografia*, p. 190; *Lupus*, pp. 108, 109. So Göller, *De Situ et Origine Syracusarum*, 66. Only one cannot read *Τυχ* for *Τυχ* in Thucydides, vi. 98. I do not see Banbury's difficulty (*art. Syracuse*, p. 1065) as to the silence of Thucydides compared with the description in Diodorus. He places it on the same site, but holds it to have grown up later. Holm and Lupus, arguing from Cicero's uses of the past tense—"Fortunæ fanum antiquum fuit"—incline to think that the temple no longer existed, perhaps never existed at all, and that it may have been only a piece of *Voltestymologie* to explain the name *Τύχη*.

## NOTE XXXI. p. 329

## KORAX.

I CANNOT come back to the question whether the orator Korax croaked at Pindar or Thérôn or any one else. But his position in Sicily at this time is well marked enough by Cicero (Brutus, 12) on the authority of Aristotle; "Itaque ait Aristoteles, cum sublati in Sicilia tyrannis res privatae longo intervallo iudiciis repeterentur, tum primum, cum esset acuta illa gens, et controversa natura, artem et præcepta Siculos Coracem et Tisiam conscripsisse. Nam antea neminem solitum via nec arte, sed accurate tamen et descripto plerosque dicere." Dionysios of Halikarnassos also (Jud. de Isoc. 34) mentions Gorgias and Tisias, but not Korax.

An absurd account of Korax is given by the author of the *Προλεγόμενα τῆς Ἑρμογένους Ῥητορικῆς*, c. 5, 6 (Walz. Rhet. Græci, iv. 12), whose odd account of Hierôn we have already come across; see above, p. 342. Korax had great influence with Hierôn; he was almost a sharer in his power (*παρεδυνάμηναι τούτου Κόραξ τις οὗτος ὁ Κόραξ ὅπερ ἂν ἐβούλετο παρὰ τῇ βασιλείᾳ μέγας ἡκούετο*). When the democracy was restored, Korax wished to keep his influence (*ἤθελε πείθειν καὶ τὸν δῆλον καὶ ἀκούεσθαι καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἱέρωνος ἡκούετο*). Considering what the δῆμος was, ἀστέβητον καὶ ἀτακτον πρᾶγμα, he hoped to come over them by the power of speech. He first flattered them, and so gradually tamed them (*τὸ δορυβάτης καταπραῦναι τοῦ δήμου*), and then gave them advice. To this end he devised rules and figures; in short he invented rhetoric (*ἔφεύρετο ὁ Κόραξ τὴν ῥητορικὴν*). He taught his art for money. Tisias learned of him, and Gorgias of Tisias. Absurd as much of this is, it marks the position of Korax as an important one.

To Tisias we shall come again later.

## NOTE XXXII. p. 338.

## THE WARS IN WESTERN SICILY, c. B. C. 454.

I HAVE given in the text some account of the different statements which we find in different quarters as to certain local wars which

were going on in Western Sicily about the year B.C. 454, the archonship of Ariston at Athens. We may say for certain that there was some war. Selinous beyond all doubt won a victory over some enemy, and made peace. We may say for certain that Segesta sent an embassy to Athens, and that in the decree which was passed in consequence of that embassy mention was made of Halikyai. We may say with all but certainty that Halikyai was mentioned as the enemy of Segesta. These things are proved by inscriptions, that is by contemporary documents, which are still in being. And we may say with all but certainty that Akragas carried on a victorious war against Motya. For Pausanias gives that as the substance of a contemporary inscription which he had clearly read, and of which he could hardly have mistaken the meaning. These three documentary statements in no way contradict one another; it is not absolutely necessary to hold that they stand in any relation to one another. But it is far more likely that they have something to do with one another, and we can, if we please, amuse ourselves by putting them together as we may think best. On the other hand, we may say with certainty that there was not, as the text of Diodorus asserts, a war between Segesta and Lilybaion. For such a war is impossible before the foundation of Lilybaion. But it is a very easy supposition that by Lilybaion Diodorus meant Motya; and a war between Segesta and Motya, though very unlikely, is not impossible. With this correction, we may, if we please, believe the statement in the text of Diodorus as recording a separate event, having nothing to do with any of the documentary statements. But we cannot bring it into agreement with any of the documentary statements except by taking to arbitrary conjectures.

Such is the case. Let us now look at the evidence, beginning with what we find in our two printed books, Diodorus and Pausanias. Diodorus of course copies, he clearly abridges, he most likely confuses, the statements of some earlier writer. The higher criticism, as usual, tells us that that earlier writer was Timaeus. Pausanias reports what he himself saw at Olympia.

First of all then, Diodorus (xl. 86), under the archonship of Ariston, that is the year B.C. 454, tells us;

*καὶ δὲ τῇ Σακκίᾳ Ἑγεστῆσι καὶ Λιλυθαίοις ἐπίσται πόλεμος περὶ χώρας τῆς πρὸς τῇ Μεζάρῳ ποταμῷ· γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρῶς συνέβη τολλυνοῖς περ' ἀμφοτέρου ἀναρπῆσθαι καὶ τῆς φιλονικίας μὴ λῆξαι τὰς πόλεις.*

He then goes on to mention the disputes about the *πολιτογραφία* in various cities (see p. 330) as if they had something to do with the matter.

In this passage two things strike us without going beyond the text of Diodóros. In that text there seems to be no various reading, beyond the different spellings of *Λίγυρα* and *Ἐγυρα*. First, there were no such people as *Λαλυθαίοι* at this time. The town of Lilybaion was not founded till B.C. 397 (Diod. xiii. 54, xvii. 10). Movers alone (ii. 334), as far as I know, accepts the passage as it stands, supposing the existence of a Lilybaian people, Phœnician or Libyphœnician, of whom there is no further account. The most obvious explanation is that Diodóros by *Λαλυθαίοι* meant the people of Motya. Both he and other writers have made much worse mistakes than that.

But, secondly, a war between Segesta and any Carthaginian dependency is not at all what we should look for; and it is hard to understand how a war between two barbarian cities can have had anything to do with the *πολιτογραφία* or any other matter of dispute in Syracuse or any other Greek city. Also, what is here said of Segesta and the *Λαλυθαίοι* is wonderfully like what seems to have been the normal state of Segesta and Selinus a little later. This is a state of constant disputes about border-lands, lands on some river, presumably, but not quite necessarily, the river Mazaros. See Thuc. vi. 6; Diod. xii. 82, xiii. 43. Grote therefore (vi. 197), seemingly without going beyond these texts, suggests that the war B.C. 454 "may probably have been a war between Egesta and Selinus." If so, *Λαλυθαίοι* cannot be, as it would be if Motya were meant, a mere inaccuracy of expression. Either Diodóros wrote *Λαλυθαίοι* when he meant to write *Σελινουσίους*, or his transcribers made the mistake afterwards. Neither of these is a likely blunder, like that of saying Lilybaion instead of Motya. Schubring, on the other hand (Topographie der Stadt Selinus, 424), understands Motya by *Λαλυθαίοι*, but wishes to read *Σελινουσίους* instead of *Ἐγυραίων*. The war, he holds, is between Selinus and Motya. This suggestion is approved by Holm, G. S. i. 257, 431.

Thus, as far as Diodóros and his improvers go, we have to choose between a war between Segesta and Motya, a war between Selinus and Segesta, and a war between Selinus and Motya. We get into a region of clearer, though not perfect, light, when we turn to the passage of Pausanias. That goes far to show that, whether Motya

warred with Selinous or not, it certainly had Greek enemies to war with. The place is v. 25. 2, to which I have had already to refer on other grounds at vol. i. p. 272. The words stand thus;

ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τῆς ἄκρας ἐν Σικελίᾳ τῆν τετρακμήνην ἐπὶ Λιβύης καὶ Νότου, αἰλουμένης δὲ Πάχυνος, Μοτύῃ πόλιν· εἰσπύει δὲ Λίβυες ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Φοίνικες. πάντες τοῖς ἐν Μοτύᾳ βαρβάρους Ἀκραγαντῖνας κατακτώντας ἐν πόλεμον καὶ λείαν τε καὶ λάφυρα ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαβόντες ἀνέθεσαν τοῖς παῖδας ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοὺς χαλκοῖς, προτείοντάς τε τὰς δεξιὰς καὶ εἰκασμένους εὐχομένους τῷ θεῷ, κίοντες δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους οὖτοι τῆς Ἀλκμεῶν. Καλάμιδαι δὲ εἶναι σφῶν ἔργα ἰγὼ τε εἴκασεν, καὶ ἐκ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ εἶχεν ὁ λόγος.

(Immediately on this follows the list of the nations of Sicily, to which I have often referred, as vol. i. p. 477.)

Here, it will be at once seen, is an astounding geographical confusion. Pausanias must have somehow mixed up Motya and Motyca. Motya, I need not say, is far away from Pachynos. Motyca too is not very near to Pachynos, and it was not inhabited by Libyans and Phoenicians. Still it is much nearer to Pachynos than Motya is. But we may be sure that the blunder of Pausanias is simply in his geography. As one Sicilian tyrant is always as good as another, the same rule may apply to those Sicilian promontories which are so much less real than the tyrants. We may be sure that Pausanias is talking of Motya, and that we may trust him as having read an inscription which spoke of Motya. That is to say, the offerings of which he speaks were made by Akragas after a victory over Motya. And, if the war was waged in company with any Greek ally, that ally can hardly fail to have been Selinous. This would fall in with the view of Schubring and Holm. Holm remarks (p. 431), "Sount wollte man statt *Αἰλ.* vielmehr *Σελινουσίους* lesen; aber das Mesaragebiet war eher zwischen Selinus und Motya als zwischen Selinus und Segesta streng." The date of the artist Kalamis (see Dict. Biog., Calamnis) agrees with the date in Diodōros. He was at work at least from about B.C. 466 (as the artist employed by Deinomenēs, see above, p. 303; Paus. vi. 12. 1) till after 429 (after the plague at Athens, Paus. i. 3. 3). One really need not discuss another view spoken of by Holm, that this war between Akragas and Motya means the great war of Himera.

This victory of Akragas over Motya has been thought to be confirmed by the evidence of coins. Motya (see Head, 138) adopted the coinage of the victorious city. The pieces appear in

Coins of Sicily, 243. There is the Akragantine eagle on one side, the Akragantine crab on the other and the name Motya in Phoenician letters. Here is undoubted imitation of an Akragantine type on the part of Motya. Only does this prove more than imitation? The vanquished would have no special call to imitate the coinage of the victors, unless victory went the length of making Motya a dependency of Akragas, forced to accept an Akragantine coinage. This is too much to accept without some further evidence. Indeed it would be easy to argue the other way, that the imitation of Akragantine coins by Motya implied friendly relations between the two cities.

Thus far Selinous has been brought into the matter only on the strength of Grote's conjecture. But, since Grote wrote, since Holm wrote, it has been proved by the best of all evidence that about this time Selinous had a war with some people, which war led to a Selinuntine victory and to a peace. Unluckily the name of the people is not preserved. This is the inscription found in 1871 in one of the eastern temples of Selinous, that called the temple of Apollôn. It is printed in facsimile by Benndorf, 27, and in ordinary letters in Hicks' Greek Inscriptions, 30. The part with which we are concerned runs thus:

[ΔΙ]Α ΤΟΞ ΘΕΟΣ ΤΟ[Ξ]ΔΕ ΝΙΚΟΝΤΙ ΤΟΙ ΞΕΙΝΟΝ[ΤΙΟΙ]  
[ΔΙ]Α ΤΟΝ ΔΙΑ ΝΙΚΟΜΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΦΟΒΟΝ  
Δ[ΙΑ] ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ Π[ΟΞ]  
ΞΙΔΑ[ΝΑ] ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΔΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙ ΑΘ[Α]  
ΝΑΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΜΑΛΦΟΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΠΑΞΙ[Κ]  
ΡΑ[ΤΙ]ΕΛΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙ[Α] Γ[Ι]ΟΣ ΑΛΛΟΞ ΘΕΟΣ [Δ]ΙΑ Δ[Ε]ΔΙΑ  
ΜΑΛΙΣΤ[Α] ΜΑΙ[ΛΑΣ] ΔΕ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΑΣ κ.τ.λ.

(Of these gods the most interesting locally is Dêmêter *Μυλοφόρος*. See vol. i. p. 127.) The Selinuntines go on to make their offerings to the great sum of sixty talents of gold.

The writing, says Mr. Hicks, is not later than B.C. 450. So the date suits very well. Benndorf argues at some length that the enemy must have been Segesta, and accepts Grote's suggestion of *Σελινουρίαις* for *Αδυσβαίαις*.

This inscription, though not perfect, can be made out without difficulty even by those who are not special experts. The Athenian inscription, printed by Köhler (*Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Institutes in Athen*, 1879, p. 30), and again by

Hans Droysen (*Athen und der Westen vor der Sicilischer Expedition*, Berlin, 1882), is much harder. The letters actually abiding seem to stand thus ;

ΕΓΕΣΤΑΙ

ΜΙΚΙΝΟΑΙ

ΤΕΙΒΟΑΙ

ΜΑΤΕΤΕΡ

ΗΤΑΙΟΙΣ

ΤΑΙΠΟΣΑΘ

ΟΛΕΞΑΝΑΓ

ΠΕΡΙΗ

Köhler reads this thus in ordinary spelling (I keep the uncial character for the words and parts of words actually in being) ;

Τοῖς κατ' ΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΟΝ πρόσθεν

ΜΙΚΙΝΟΥΑΙ . . . . .

Ἰδὲν ΤΕΙΒΟΥΑΙ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ

. . . . . τῆς ἐπικράτειος . . . . . ἐγγραμμάΤΕΤΕΡ . . . . .

'ΑΛΙΚΥΑΙΟΙΣ . . . . .

. . . . . ΤΑΙΠΟΣΑΘηραίων

τὸν γραμματέα τῆς ΒΟΥΛΗΣΑΝΑΓράφει

. . . . . ΠΕΡΙΗαλικυαίων.

Here one can have no doubt as to the 'Εγεσταῖοι in the first line. The *ε* in the fourth line is the end of the name of the tribe. In the fifth, as Köhler says, *κναῖοις* must be the name of some people not very far off from Segesta, and the 'Αλικυαῖοι (though he oddly calls them "eine Stadt der Sikaner oder Sikuler") are the only people that will fit. And in the last line it looks very much as if ΠΕΡΙ Η . . . was the beginning of ΠΕΡΙ ΗΑΛΙΚΥΑΙΟΝ. We have not the name of the archon for certain ; but Köhler suspects that ΑΡ at the end of the fourth line is ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ, the archôn of B.C. 454, a date which agrees with the writing. Köhler wishes to substitute for Αλικυαίων in the passage of Diodôros, not Σελινουσίους but 'Αλικυαῖους ; and in the uncial letters the change certainly seems less violent. He sees in the story a movement of Sikans at Halikyai against Segesta, which he connects with the movement of Ducetius against the Greeks ("der Erhebung der alteinheimischen Bevölkerung Siciliens gegen die fremden Colonien"). To the obvious answer that the Segestans were not



Greeks, he makes the rejoinder that there was said to be a Phokian or Thessalian element among them. See vol. i. p. 542.

Hans Droysen, on the other hand, objects to the filling up, on purely technical grounds of "epigraphy," the size of the stone and the like, of which it is hard to judge in one's library. The point which is of historical importance is that he rejects the reading *ἐν* at the end of the fifth line, and wishes to read

ἈΛΕΚΤΑΙΟΙΞΕῖναι συμμαχίαν.

This is startling, as it would turn the whole thing round, and make the men of Halikyai allies of Athens. But Droysen does not (pp. 21, 57) give us any explanation. Are we to suppose an alliance between Athens, Segesta, and Halikyai? Such an alliance is conceivable, if Selinous were the enemy. The Sikan city might have complaints against its Greek neighbour as well as the Elymian. But, so far as we can judge from so fragmentary a document, the position in the decree is rather that in which one would expect to find the enemy of Segesta. In any case it must surely be Segesta which made the application to Athens.

Now what comes of this singularly piecemeal collection of notices? All of them clearly refer to something which happened in western Sicily about the very middle of the fifth century B.C. It is not at all necessary that all should refer to the same thing. Yet it is most likely that, if several different things are referred to, they stood in some kind of relation to one another. Our statements stand as follows.

1. Diodôros, if we accept his text, asserts a war between Segesta and Lilybaion, by which last we must understand Motya.

2. Pausanias asserts a war between Akragas and Motya, and a victory of Akragas over Motya. He quotes no narrative; but he must have read the inscription, and his account reads as if he had compared the inscription with some narrative.

3. The Selinuntine inscription *proves* a victory of Selinous over some enemy, but we are left to guess over what enemy.

4. The Athenian inscription *proves* dealings between Athens and Segesta, which dealings can hardly fail to have been a Segestan embassy. It *proves* that those dealings had some relation to some other city, which can hardly fail to have been Halikyai.

It seems quite impossible, without indulging in the most arbitrary guesses, to make these four statements refer to one

event. The inscriptions prove what they do prove without doubt; but they prove, especially the very fragmentary Athenian one, less than we could wish. Diodóros was apt to make confusions, and Pausanias made them sometimes; and it is to my mind more critical to suppose such confusion in either of them than to go altering their texts out of our own heads. Diodóros is very likely to have written Lilybaion for Motya. Pausanias blundered grievously as to the geography of Motya; but the offerings which he saw at Olympia must surely have had inscriptions in which the words Akragas and Motya occurred. There is therefore strong evidence for a victory of Akragas over Motya. But a victory of Akragas over Motya almost necessarily implies an alliance between Akragas and Selinous, and a victory of Selinous over somebody is proved by the Selunentine inscription. We are therefore brought very near to a joint victory of Akragas and Selinous over Motya.

In this line of reasoning we have not a word about Segesta. But the Athenian inscription sets before us, we may safely say, the Segestans as asking help at Athens against some people, and it looks very much as if that people were those of Halikyai. A war between Akragas and Motya and a war between Segesta and Halikyai, if they were going on at the same time, could hardly fail to have stood in some relation to one another. They would, so to speak, have crossed each other's path. If the two statements are parts of the same story, the most natural grouping of both gerents would be to put the Sikan town along with the two Greek towns and the Elymians and Phoenicians on the other side. But it is quite possible that two such wars might happen, not at the same moment, but within a few years, without any reference to one another.

We may then, I think, accept, partly as certain, partly as highly probable, a war of Akragas and Selinous against Motya and a war of Halikyai against Segesta. But we need not decide whether the two had anything to do with one another. Then comes the question, whether anything can be made out of the account in Diodóros. Can the fact stated in his text as it stands, a war between Segesta and Lilybaion, understanding Motya by Lilybaion, be made to agree with any of the more trustworthy statements? Or are we justified in the hazardous task of trying to improve his text? A war of Motya and Halikyai against Segesta is possible, but it

is not at all likely. A war between Segesta and any Carthaginian dependency is unlikely in itself. And moreover, if Motya and Halikyai were joined against Segesta, Motya rather than Halikyai would have had the most prominent place in the Athenian inscription. On the other hand, Köhler's conjecture of *Ἀλυκαίαις* for *Ἀλυβαίαις* in the text of Diodóros seems less violent than Grote's suggestion—if Grote meant it as a correction of the text—of *Σελινουρίαις* for *Ἀλυβαίαις*. An unfamiliar name like that of Halikyai was far more likely to be changed by a copyist than a well-known name like Selinous. The conjecture of *Σελινουρίαις* is in fact suggested only by the mention of warfare for the lands on the Mazaros, so like the later warfare between Selinous and Segesta. But it is not distinctly said that this later warfare was on the Mazaros, and in the shifting of boundaries the same lands might, as Helm suggests, be at different times disputed between different pairs of claimants. Segesta, Selinous, and Motya might easily have claims near one another on the upper course of the Mazaros. On the whole, I must leave the passage of Diodóros uncertain, with a slight inclination, if we are to take to the dangerous game of guessing in any shape, to the emendation of Köhler.

One small comfort there is in one case. If Halikyai was at war with Segesta, it can hardly have been Elymian. (See vol. i. pp. 120, 121, 512.) But if we are to read, with Droysen, *ἑμμάχων εἶναι* in the Attic document, things are made worse.

As often, we cannot learn everything; but we can learn some things. And we learn something about greater powers, not only than Halikyai, but even than Akragas. We see with certainty that Athens was thought likely to be inclined to action in Sicily twenty years before the Peloponnesian war. And we see the very highest likelihood that a Greek city won a victory over a Carthaginian dependency without Carthage taking any action in the matter. Whatever we make of anything else, these points really add to our knowledge of the state of things in Sicily in the middle of the fifth century before Christ.

## NOTE XXXIII. p. 341.

## EMPEDOKLĒS AND HIS REFORMS.

Our chief source for the acts of Empedoklēs is his Life by Diogenēs Laertios. This is of course put together from all manner of quarters, and contains notices of every degree of value and worthlessness. But it is greatly to the biographer's credit that he has given a real, and fairly intelligent, account of the political side of a man who had become legendary. In this he stands in honourable contrast both to the mass of the ancient collectors and to some modern writers. Aulus Gellius, Julius Pollux, John of Stoboi, and such like, have something to say about Empedoklēs, but nothing in his character as political reformer. Neither has Hēsychios of Milētos, nor yet Soudas who copies his article, either there or under *Ἄσπετος*, where he also speaks of Empedoklēs. So in the article Empedocles in the Dictionary of Biography—one which does not bear the signature E. H. B.—there is not a word about the political side of the sage. Whoever it was that wrote about him in the old French Dictionary of Moreri knew better.

Diogenēs and Hēsychios give us a choice of several fathers for Empedoklēs. But the best account makes him the son of Metōn and grandson of an elder Empedoklēs. For this Diogenēs quotes Hippobotos, Hermippos (of Smyrna), Hērakleidēs, Eratosthenēs, Aristotle, Timaios (in his fifteenth book), and the iambic chronicle of Apollodōros; λαμπρὰ δὲ εἶλες ἱεροπονηδὸς τοῦ πάρος. The Olympic victory won with the single horse (εἰλητός) happened in the seventy-first Olympiad, B.C. 496, that is, before the tyranny of Thérōn began. Satyros gave him a father Exainetos and a son of the same name, of whom the latter won a victory in wrestling in the same Olympiad in which Empedoklēs—here the sage himself—won in the horse-race. This is late confusion. Empedoklēs cannot have been winning victories in B.C. 496. He was most likely born about B.C. 484. The time of his death seems well ascertained by a very curious argument. Diogenēs (c. 51) quotes the iambics of Apollodōros;

οἱ δ' ἱεροποῖντες δὲ πεφονεῖν ἐλάττω  
 εἰς τὰς Σαραντέσσας μετ' ἑκένων ἐπύλασαν  
 πρὸς τοῖς Ἀθροῖσι . . . ἔφρονον

τελεῖαί μοι δοκοῦσιν· ἡ γὰρ οἶκίτ' ἦν  
ἡ παντελὴς ὑπεργεγραυρὸς, ὅπερ  
οὐ φαίνεται.

But, as Holm says, much to the point, the chronological objection applies only to the great Athenian expedition. The action of Empedoklēs doubtless happened at some of the earlier times of Athenian intermeddling, those which ended with the Peace of Gela in 424. A life of sixty years only—others gave him seventy-seven and even 110—witnessed by Aristotle and Hērakleidēs (Diog. L. viii. 1, 11), would carry back his birth to a time later than his grandfather's victory Timaios and others, quoted by Diogenēs (viii. 10, 11), distinctly asserted that Empedoklēs went to Peloponnēsos and died there. The tomb at Megara seems to come only from Favorinus in Hadrian's day; but it falls in with the notice of Timaios. But there seems a chance that Favorinus copied from some one who knew better, and that he was himself thinking of the Sicilian Megara. For he says;

ὑστερον δὲ διὰ τινα πανήγυριν πορευόμενον ἐκ' ἀμάξης ὡς εἰς Μεσσήνην  
πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν κλάσαι· νοσήσαντα δ' ἐκ τούτου τελευτῆσαι ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ  
καὶ ἐβδόμηκοντα· εἶναι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τάφον ἐν Μεγάρῳ.

Timaios did not know where his tomb was. This notice seems unconsciously to supply it. We must not forget that it was at the Nisaian Megara that a tyrant of Akragas had been tried and put to death (see p. 298). Empedoklēs would doubtless be welcome there.

One hardly knows what to make of another statement quoted by Apollodōros from Glaukos of Rhêgion, which makes Metōn the father of Empedoklēs settle at Thourioi on its foundation in 443;

ἦν μὲν Μέτωνος υἱός, ὃς δὲ Θουρίους  
αὐτὸν νεωστὶ παντελὴς ἐκτισμένοι  
ὁ Γλαῦκος ἐθεὶν φησίν.

It is not easy to reconcile this with the statement in Diogenēs (11) from Neanthēs of Kyzikos about the political action of Metōn;

Νεάνθης . . . φησὶ Μέτωνος τελευτήσαντος τυραννίδος ἀρχὴν ἀποφύεσθαι·  
εἴτα τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλῆα πύσαι τοὺς Ἀκραγαντίους παύσασθαι μὲν τῶν ἀνά-  
σσεων, ἰσότητα δὲ πολιτείας ἀποιεῖν.

(One might have looked for the word *ισογορία* rather than *ισότης*.) This cannot mean that Metōn died before the rise of Thērōn in 488. We have therefore to suppose candidates for the tyranny at

Akragas answering to Tyndarion and perhaps others at Syracuse (see pp. 330-332). Whether they were a lingering Emmenid faction we cannot tell.

One would like further to know the date of Empedoklés refusal of kingship or tyranny; but grave authority is cited for it by Diogenés (viii. 2. 9);

*φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐλευθερὸν γεγονέναι καὶ πάσης ἀρχῆς ἀλλότριον, εἴ γε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ βιδομένην παρετήσεν, καθάπερ Πάνθοι ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγοις.*

Timaios told the same story as witnessing *δηματικὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα*. One would like to know whether Aristotle's words imply that he refused all ordinary magistracies.

The strange story from Timaios about the feast and the accusation of the host and the king of the feast must stand or fall as any one thinks good. As for the constitutional changes made by Empedoklés, Diogenés (viii. 2. 9) does not distinctly quote any one for the action of Empedoklés about the Senate. He says, in his own name;

*ὕστερον δ' Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ τὸ τῶν χυλίων ἄθροισμα ἐπέλυσε συνιστῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τρία, ὥστε οὐ μόνον ἦν τῶν πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τὰ δηματικὰ φρονούντων.*

This is the whole account, and the meaning is far from clear. The word *ἄθροισμα* (though it has also a philosophical meaning) has an ancient sound, and it agrees with some things in the language of the document referred to in the text. This is the inscription 5491 in Boeckh (iii. 593). It belongs to a time when embassies were sent to Rome, but surely to a time earlier than the date suggested by Boeckh, B.C. 210. The formal heading runs, *ἐν: ἱεροθύῃ Νυμφαδωρον τοῦ Φίλωνος, παραπροστα[τούσας] τῇ βουλᾷ, προεδρευούσας τῆς φυλᾶς τῶν Ὑλλίων, προαγορεύοντες Διοκλῆος τοῦ Διοκλῆος, γραμματεύοντες Ἀδρανίανος Ἀλεξάνδρου, δλίσμα ἐκδοῖς ἀμύρου, Καρνείου ἐξήκοντος πάντα*. The decree itself begins *ἰδοῦς τῇ δλῇ καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῃ*. The older name *βουλῆ* is used in the most formal part, the preamble, the later *σύνκλητος* is the body of the decree. But we get *δλῆ* for the assembly, and *δλίσμα* (like *ἄθροισμα*) for a meeting of the assembly, and the action of the Senate as proposing the name. Boeckh sends us to the seemingly contemporary inscription (5752, iii. 672) from Melitè, an island whose newly learned Greek is naturally more polite than that of Akragas, for the form *ἰδοῦς τῇ συγκλήτῃ καὶ τῇ δήμῳ*.

An instance of the Senate of a thousand is to be found at Rhégion before the tyranny of Anaxilas; see above, p. 489. But that seems to have been a distinctly oligarchic body. The reforms of Empedoklēs seem rather to answer to the changes at Taras from less to more advanced democracy (see p. 255). At least Diodōros, though one does not expect him to be very accurate in such matters, speaks (see p. 298, note 4) of the constitution of Akragas as democratic from the time of the fall of Thrasydalos.

As for the teachers of Empedoklēs (Diog. Laert. viii. 2. 2), Neanthēs made him hear Parmenidēs; Theophrastos made him hear Xenophanēs; Timaios made him a scholar of Pythagoras himself, which is doubtless a careless confusion with his grandfather. It seems to be only in this story that he was said to be *καταγινωθεὶς ἐπὶ λογοκλοπῇ* by the Pythagorean brethren. We are perhaps more concerned with the report of Apollodōros, which made Gorgias the pupil of Empedoklēs, than with any of his masters, though the mention of Xenophanēs awakens some little interest. It seems to carry the young democrat of Akragas to the court of Hierōn. Parmenidēs does not touch us in Sicily, but Soudas has preserved an ugly scandal as to his relations with Empedoklēs, just as we read of Empedoklēs himself and the Pausanias who figures in the story (Diog. vii. 4, *ἣν δ' ὁ Πασανίας, ὡς φησὶ Ἀρίστιππος καὶ Ζένυρος, ἐρώμενος αὐτοῦ*). In the state of morals in which Æschylus could turn the Homeric story into the *Μυρμιδόνες* and the *Ἀχαιῆες Ἑρασταί*, we must expect this kind of misrepresentation or misunderstanding.

If any one cares to go minutely into the miraculous part of Empedoklēs' story, he should look to the examination of the whole matter in Bishop Stubbs' Preface to the *Inventio Sanctæ Crucis Walthamensis*. The rules and distinctions which are there laid down apply just as much to a miracle of Empedoklēs as to a miracle of Saint Thomas of Canterbury. The story of Empedoklēs' wonderful end we may put aside as simple fiction, seeing we happily know how he really died. The original relation of the assumption of Empedoklēs appears in two shapes in his Biographer (viii. 2. 11). In both the death of the sage follows on the recovery of Pantheia. In the story of Hermippos she is simply healed by Empedoklēs when she was despaired of by other physicians (*Ἑρμιππος δὲ φησι Πάνθειαν τινα Ἀκραγαντίην ἀπηλπισμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν θεραπεύσαι*

αὐτὸν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν θειάν ἐπιτελεῖν, τοὺς δὲ κληθῆντας εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα. He apparently agreed with Πέρakleidēs as to the further details which Diogenēs quotes from him. But there was this great difference, that Hērakleidēs declared that Pantheia was actually raised from the dead after thirty days (viii. 2. 6; τὴν γοῦν ἄπνουν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης φησὶ τοιοῦτόν τι εἶναι, ὥς τριάκοντα ἡμέρας σωτηραῖν ἄπνουν καὶ ἀσφύκτον τὸ σῶμα, εἶθεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτὸν καὶ λατρὸν καὶ μάντιν. Ib. 11 Ἡρακλείδης μὲν γὰρ τὸ περὶ τῆς ἄπνου διηγησάμενος, ὥς ἐδοξάσθη Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν νεκρὰν (ᾧσαν). The feast was held on the lands of Peisianax, and Pausanias was there. To this Timaios objected that Peisianax was a Syracusan and had no land at Akragas. This suggests that there was a version in which the last days of the banished man—whose banishment is quite forgotten in these stories—were placed at Syracuse.

The story about his plunging into Ætna, with the further tale of the shoe, was recorded by Hippobotos, and we are told that it was denied by Pausanias. It comes (Diog. viii. 2. 11) as the wind-up of the story of the feast, instead of the real assumption which was recorded by Hermippos and Hērakleidēs ;

Ἰππόβοτος δὲ φησιν ἐξυμνασάντα αὐτὸν ὠδενκέναι ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴτνην, εἶτα παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς κρατῆρας τοῦ πυρὸς ἐναλίσθαι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι, βουλόμενον τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμην βεβαιῶσαι ὥς γεγῆναι θεός, ὕστερον δὲ γνωσθῆναι ἀναρρηπισθείσης αὐτοῦ μιας τῶν κρηπίδων· χαλκῆς γὰρ εἶδητο ὑποδεῖσθαι πρὸς τοῖς ὁ Πανσωίας ἀντέλεγε.

This denial of Pausanias looks as if the story got about early. It is added that Διόδωρος ὁ Ἐφέσιος περὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρου γράφων φησιν ὅτι τοῦτον ἐξηλώκει, τραγικὸν ἀσκῶν τύπον καὶ σερμην ἀναλαβὼν ἐσθῆτα. It does not however appear that Anaximandros threw himself into any volcano.

#### NOTE XXXIV. p. 356.

#### THE RISE OF DUCETIUS.

THERE seems to be no kind of question that Ducetius first founded a city on the hill, and then came down to Palica in the plain. And there seems no doubt that the city which he founded on the hill is that which appears in later history as Menænum, and is now called Minco. It is not quite so clear whether the



city on the hill is the same as his supposed birth-place. And there is a good deal of confusion about the name. The two passages in Diodōros are xi. 78 and 88. The first records the foundation of the city on the hill, the second the removal to the plain. Ducetius had been already mentioned in xi. 76 as having had a share in driving the Hieronian settlers from Katanê. The first passage runs thus, under the year 459 ;

ἄμα δὲ τοῖσι πρᾶττομένοις κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Δουκέτιος ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν βασιλεὺς ὢν, ὠνομασμένος τὸ γένος, ἰσχυρῶν δὲ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, Μίναιον μὲν πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ τὴν συνεγγὺς χώραν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν διέμερσε.

There seems no various reading of the name except Μίναιον.

In the other place, xi. 88, we read under the year 453 ;

παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σικελῶν ἀθροίσας δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον, τὰς μὲν Νέας, ἧτις ἦν αὐτοῦ πατρίς, μετέκισεν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ πλησίον τοῦ τεμένου τῶν ὀνομαζομένων Παλικῶν ἔκτισε πόλιν ἀξιόλογον, ἣν ἐπὶ τῶν προειρημένων θεῶν ὠνόμαξε Παλικήν.

For Νέας some seem to read Νόας. Stephen of Byzantium has, under Μεναί (the manuscript reading seems to be Μένδας; but one is inclined with Holm, G. S. i. 364, to think that that must be a mistake), πόλις Σικελίας ἐγγὺς Παλικῶν. Under Παλική, πόλις Σικελίας, he has the description of the Lake of the Palici referred to in vol. i. p. 536. His only Νέαι is an island near Lâmnos; but he has a Νεας πόλις Σικελίας. So Soudas.

Ptolemy (iii. 4. 12) reckons Μέναι or Μένας among the island towns of Sicily.

There is also Νομαί, the place of Ducetius' defeat. See p. 371. In Silius, xiv. 266, the reading seems really to be "Nemæis," which has been improved into "Nomæis," also into "Menæis." So from Cluver onwards it has been usual to improve the Νέας of Diod. xiv. 88 into Μένας.

The question seems to me to come to this. Are the Μιναιοὶ which Ducetius founded, and the Νέαι, or whatever else we choose to call it, which is called his πατρίς and from which he went down into the plain, one place or two? Strictly speaking, as Holm says, a man cannot be said to found his own birth-place. But he may so enlarge and strengthen it as to be practically its founder, and to be spoken of as such. Or again, though πατρίς strictly means the place of a man's birth, it would be no very great licence to apply it to a place where he dwelled as citizen or as prince.

O O 2

I could quite believe that Diodorus, specially if he copied the two accounts from two different sources, might mean the same place in both entries, though in the one he speaks of the town as founded by Ducetius, while in the other he calls it his *urbs*. Only he uses two different names, *Ménæon* and *Néa*. The later existence of Menæum is fully proved by coins (Coins of Sicily, 97-98, Head, 132) and by Cicero's notice of the "Meneni," Verres, III. 22, 43. And *Ménæon* is pretty certainly the same as the *Ména* of Ptolemy, and the *Ména* or *Ménda* of Stephen. And we may fairly suppose that the *Néa* of Diodorus is the same as the *Néa* of Stephen. But the *Néa* of Diodorus evidently stood, no less than his *Ménæon*, on a hill near the Lake of the Paici. It therefore can hardly be the place (whatever be the name) spoken of by Silium. For that appears in company with "Amastra," which must surely be a form of Mytiatratus or Amēstratus (see vol. i. p. 144), far away from the scene of Ducetius' earlier exploits. It is perfectly possible that the name *Néa* may be wrong, and that Diodorus in xi. 88 meant the same place that he meant in xi. 78. It is equally possible that Ducetius' birth-place may have been called *Néa* or *Néa*, and that it stood on some other hill, say that of Catalfaro, in the neighbourhood. In this case one would suppose that *Néa* was quite forsaken at the foundation of Palica, while Menæum need not have been formally or physically touched in any way. But it yielded the first place to Palica; it ceased to be the seat of Sikel dominion and the centre of Sikel nationality. And we should mark that the Syracusans destroyed Palica (see p. 386); they did not destroy Menæum. It should also be remembered that, though it is a fair and all but certain inference that *Ména* is the same as *Ménæon*, yet we do not get the name *Ména* in the history of Ducetius, except as an arbitrary correction of *Néa*.

Of the general historians of Greece, Curtius tells us nothing; he only remarks generally on Ducetius' beginning to found towns. Grote (vii. 168) fully takes in the religious importance of the site, and seizes the admirable analogy of Dardaniā and Ilion in II. xx. 216. Of the actual migration he says only; "He transferred his own little town from the hill-top, called Menæ, down to a convenient spot of the neighbouring plain near to the sacred precinct of the gods called Paliki." Thus leaves out the foundation of Menæum. Thirlwall (iii. 203) best grasps the whole

position. He distinguishes the foundation *Mensenum* from the birth-place, which he calls "*Mensæ*." This time at least the great master of our youth is not "superseded," even by Grote, much less by Curtius.

It strikes me that there is no need to bring *Nymai*, the place of Ducetius' defeat in Diodōros, xi. 91, into the question of his foundations at all. There is no presumption that *Nymai* is the same as *Néai* or as *Ménaium*. Anyhow it cannot have anything to do with the place mentioned by Silius. It cannot be anywhere near Mistretta. It must be somewhere in the triangle formed by Akragas, Morgantina, and Syracuse.

The different ways in which Diodōros speaks of Ducetius are worth notice. When he is first mentioned in xi. 76, he is *ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἡγεμὼν*. This is when he helps Syracuse against the Hieronians. When Diodōros comes (xi. 78) to the beginning of his wider career, he comes in as *ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν βασιλεὺς αἶν*. In xi. 88 we seem to see a change of language ;

Δουκίτιος ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἀφηγούμενος τὰς πόλεις ἀπασας τὰς ὁμοθυμῆς πλὴν τῆς Ὑβλάς εἰς μίαν καὶ κοινὴν ἡγὰρ συντέλειαν δραστηκὸς δὲ ὢν, νεωτέρῳ ὀρέγετο πραγμάτων, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σικελῶν ἀθροιστὴς δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον, τὰς μὲν Νέας . . . μετέκτισε, κ.τ.λ.

In c 91, when he goes forth against Ætna, he is *ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἔχων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν*. In xi. 8, when he comes back, his former position is described as *δυναστεύς τῶν Σικελῶν*. When he dies in xii. 29, he is *ὁ γεγονὼς τῶν Σικελικῶν πόλεων ἡγεμὼν*.

Here he is only once called *βασιλεὺς*, that is, when he founds his own city *Mensenum*. In xi. 88 the language is distinctly federal ; it makes us long to know the exact terms on which the *συντέλεια*, the *κοινὸν τῶν Σικελῶν*, was put together. Diodōros must have copied some one—may one whisper Philistos?—who understood such matters. On the whole it looks very much as if Ducetius was *Βασιλεὺς* at *Mensenum*, but only *ἡγεμὼν* or the like in the federal city of Palica. So a King of the Macedonians came to be President (*ἡγεμὼν*, Arrian, i. 1) of an Hellenic confederacy; so a Prince of Orange came to be Stadholder of Holland and other provinces. In this view, *ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν βασιλεὺς* is too lofty a title for the prince of a single city or tribe ; but it is only from Thucydides (vii. 1) that we can look for such accuracy of phrase as *τῶν ταύτῃ Σικελῶν βασιλείων τινων*.

The taking of Morgantia or Morgantina comes between the foundation of Menænum and the foundation of Palica (Diod. xi. 78); στρατευσάμενος δ' ἐπὶ πόλιν ἀξιολόγον Μοργαντίαν καὶ χειρωσάμενος αὐτὴν δεξὰν ἀπηνέγκαστο παρὰ τοῖς ὁμοεθνεῖσι. I suppose it is these last words which made Grote (vii. 167) speak of Morgantia as a "Grecian town," and Mues (19) as "urbs Græca." Ducetius would surely win credit among his own people by bringing in, even by force, a Sikel town which withstood the national movement. Thirlwall again is not "superseded." "He afterwards made himself master of Morgantia, the ancient capital of a kindred tribe, the Morgetes." See vol. i. pp. 154, 491.

Then follows the union of all the Sikel towns except the (Galeatic) Hybla; then comes the foundation of Palica. It is after recording its foundation that Diodôros gives (c. 89) the account of the Palici themselves quoted in vol. i. p. 519. He notices the strength of the fortifications and the prosperity of the city, for however short a time (90);

ὁ γὰρ Δουκέτιος τὴν Παλικὴν κτίσας καὶ περιλαβὼν αὐτὴν ἀξιολόγῃ τείχει, κατεκληρούχησε τὴν ὅμορον χώραν. συνέβη δὲ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκητῶν ταχέϊαν λαβεῖν ἀξίαν. οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον εὐδαιμονήσασα κατεσκάφη καὶ διέμεινεν ἀοίκητος μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων. περι ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγραφόμεν ἐν τοῖς αἰκείοις χρόνοις.

This promise ought to have been fulfilled in xii. 29, where he describes the action of the Syracusans after the death of Ducetius. Unluckily, when he comes to the αἰκείοις χρόνοι, he tells us nothing about Palica, though he has something to say about Trinakia.

It has now and then struck me, in reading his account of these special events in the history of the Sikel people, that the man of Agyrion did sometimes remember his own nationality.

#### NOTE XXXV. p. 378.

#### THE RETURN OF DUCETIUS.

It is curious to find Mitford and Holm agreeing in opposition to Grote, the German writer not quoting the two Englishmen.

Mitford (ch. xiii. § 1. vol. iv. p. 11) tells the story of the return of Ducetius as follows;

"The only competitor with Syracuse for superiority among the Sicilian towns was Agrigentum, and while the competition remained, peace could not easily hold between them. The Syracusan chiefs brought back Ducetius from Corinth, apparently to make him instrumental to their own views for advancing the power of their commonwealth. They permitted, or rather encouraged, him to establish a colony of mixed people, Greeks and Sicels, at *Cale Acte*, on the northern coast of the island. This by the Agrigentines was considered as a measure inimical to them; war followed; the Agrigentines, defeated, were compelled to receive terms of peace from Syracuse, and thus the Syracusan democracy became decidedly the leading power among the Greeks of Sicily."

For this Grote (vii. 171) rebukes Mitford with some solemnity;

"The statement that 'the Syracusans brought back Duketius, or encouraged him to come back or to found the colony of *Kalê Aktê*,' is a complete departure from Diodorus on the part of Mr. Mitford; who transforms a breach of parole on the part of the *Sikel prince* into an ambitious manœuvre on the part of the Syracusan democracy. The words of Diodorus, the only authority in the case, are as follows."

He then quotes the passage from Diodôros at length.

Holm, in his notes (i. 431), cuts Ducetius a little short. In his text (i. 260) he discusses the circumstances of his return at some length, and comes to the same conclusion as Mitford. The oracle must have been a genuine one; Corinth would not have allowed deceit in such a matter. But he ("der Fremde und Gefangene") could not have got any oracle without Greek help ("nicht anders als auf Betrieb von einflussreichen Hellenen"), and he could not have got Greeks to do anything for him ("einen Barbaren"), unless his schemes had fallen in with Greek interests of some kind ("wenn es nicht mit zugleich einem griechischen Interesse gegolten hatte"). Nor could he have left Corinth with an armed company without the leave of the Corinthians. And the Corinthians would not have given that leave, unless the Syracusans had, at least secretly, favoured his enterprise ("dass die Syrakusauer, in deren Interesse er in Korinth gefangen gehalten wurde, sein Unternehmen unter der Hand begünstigten"). Their motive must have been to use him against Akragas.

Now Grote's censure on Mitford is well founded so far as this, that Diodôros, "the only authority in the case," states the bare

facts in a dull way without any explanation, and that Mitford's narrative is not the narrative of Diodôros, but a very probable explanation of it. Grote gives no explanation. A modern German scholar is led by an elaborate argument to the same conclusion on which Mitford, it would seem, stumbled instinctively. And there certainly is no withstanding part of Holms reasoning. Ducetius could not have done what he did without the consent of Corinth, and we cannot conceive that consent being given, unless it suited the purposes of Syracuse. But it is less easy to see what interest Syracuse had in bringing him back. If it was policy, it was surely a very shortsighted policy.

Even the devoutest follower of the great champion of Greek democracy cannot help being a little amused at his master's turning aside from the real difficulties of the case to mark the seeming wrong of attributing to a democracy a breach of faith really done by a prince. Yet, though Mitford's treatment of this particular passage is—if only his text had been a note—essentially reasonable, one is not surprised at Grote being stirred up by the general ravings against democracy at Syracuse and everywhere else in which Mitford indulges throughout, and in which he had been indulging just before. One wonders why a man undertook to write the history of a people with whom he had so little sympathy. Yet, after all, as I have had more than once to point out in other writings, some honour is due to Mitford, as the first who made the men of Greek story appear as living beings and not as names in a list.

Thirlwall (iii. 433) follows the narrative of Diodôros without entering on the point of difficulty.

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